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Outlines

OF THE LIFE

OF

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GENERAL LAFAYETTE:

WITH AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

OF

1830,

Until the choice of

LOUIS PHILIP AS KING.

Tappan, N. Y.

PUBLISHED BY WM. BROADWELL AND CO.

1830.

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SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, SS.

Be it Remembered, that on the thirtieth day of November, A. D. 1830, and in the fifty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, William Broadwell & Co of the said district, have deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

“Outlines of the Life of General Lafayette: with an account of the French Revolution of 1830, until the choice of Louis Philip as king.”

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned” And also to an act, entitled “An act, supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

FREDERIC I. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN presenting to the people of these United States, a short outline of the life of their illustrious friend and benefactor, the only surviving Major General of the army of our Revolution ; together with a brief sketch of the principal events of the last holy and triumphant Revolution which has been begun and completed by his generous countrymen ; the Compiler comes not before the public with any claim as an *Author*. He comes but with the humble title of compiler.

Though the journals of the last two months have given full accounts of the proceedings in France, yet these same accounts are detached, and the journals not always at hand for those who are interested in hearing and reading of the chivalrous doings of *Le Grand Nation*. On this account it was thought that a correct, though rude compilation from the various sources of intelligence respecting France, might not be unacceptable to Americans.

And, when it is considered how great a part Lafayette has played in this last great drama, and how much more sympathy, on that very account, we, as Americans, must entertain for those who have been his fellow laborers, the compiler has thought best to prefix to the 'Account of the Revolution,' a slight sketch of the life

of the present General of the National Guard. And though all that he has here told is already known to Americans, he trusts that their admiration for the Hero, will prevent the reperusal of his "deeds of daring," and of his patriotic sacrifices, from becoming tedious. With the most sincere gratitude to the giver of all good, that we as a nation, are yet free from tyranny;—and with a fervent prayer that France may hereafter be as we are *now*, this little work is presented to the free and independent citizens of America, by

Their Friend and Fellow Citizen,

THE COMPILER.

THE family of General Lafayette has long been distinguished in the history of France. As early as 1422, the Marshal de Lafayette, one of the most distinguished military men of his time, defeated and killed the Duke of Clarence at Beaugé, and thus saved his country from falling entirely into the power of Henry Fifth, of England. Another of his ancestors, though not in the direct line, Madame de Lafayette, the intimate friend and correspondent of Madame de Sevigné, and one of the most brilliant ornaments of the court of Louis Fourteenth, was the first person who ever wrote a romance, relying for its success on domestic character, and thus became the founder of the most popular department in modern literature. His father fell in the battle of Münden, and therefore survived the birth of his son only two years. These, with many more memorials of his family, scattered through the different portions of French history for

nearly five centuries, are titles to distinction, which it is particularly pleasant to recollect when they fall, as they now do, on one so singularly fitted to receive and increase them.

Gilbert Mottie Marquis de Lafayette, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Auvergne, in the south of France, about 400 miles from Paris, on the 6th of September, 1757. At the early age of seven years, he was sent to the College of Du Plessis at Paris, where he received that classical education, of which, when recently at Harvard University, Cambridge, he twice gave remarkable proof in uncommonly happy quotations from Cicero, suited to circumstances that could not have been foreseen. Somewhat later, he was sent to Versailles, where the court constantly resided; and there his education was still further continued, and he was first made a page of the queen, and in common with most of the young noblemen, appointed an officer in the army. When only between sixteen and seventeen, he was married to the daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, son of the Duke de Noailles, and grandson to the great and good Chancellor d'Aguesseau. The fortune of this lady, who was one of the most amiable and affectionate of wives, added to his own patrimonial estate, increased his income to about 40,000 livres annually; and thus his condition in life seemed to be assured to

him among the most splendid and powerful in the empire. His fortune, which had been accumulating during a long minority, was vast; his rank was with the first in Europe; his connexions brought him the support of the chief persons in France; and his individual character, the warm, open, and sincere manners, which have distinguished him ever since, and given him such singular control over the minds of men, made him powerful in the confidence of society wherever he went. It seemed, indeed, as if life had nothing further to offer him, than he could surely obtain by walking in the path that was so bright before him.

It was at this period, however, that his thoughts and feelings were first turned towards these thirteen colonies, then in the darkest and most doubtful passage of their struggle for independence. He made himself acquainted with our agents at Paris, and learned from them the state of our affairs. Nothing could be less tempting to him, whether he sought military reputation or military instruction, for our army, at that moment retreating through New Jersey, and leaving its traces in blood from the naked and torn feet of the soldiery as it hastened onward, was in a state too humble to offer either. Our credit, too, in Europe was entirely gone, so that the commissioners, as they were called, without having any commission, to whom Lafayette still persisted in

offering his services, were obliged, at last, to acknowledge that they could not even give him decent means for his conveyance. "Then," said he, "I shall purchase and fit out a vessel for myself." He did so. The vessel was prepared at Bordeaux, and sent round to one of the nearest ports in Spain, that it might be beyond the reach of the French government. In order more effectually to conceal his purposes, he made, just before his embarkation, a visit of a few weeks in England, the only time he was ever there, and was much sought in English society. On his return to France, he did not stop at all in the capital, even to see his own family, but hastened with all speed and secrecy, to make good his escape from the country. It was not until he was thus on his way to embark, that his romantic undertaking began to be known.

The effect produced in the capital and at court by its publication, was greater than we should now, perhaps, imagine. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, required the French ministry to despatch an order for his arrest not only to Bordeaux, but to the French commanders on the West India station; a requisition with which the ministry readily complied, for they were, at that time, anxious to preserve a good understanding with England, and were seriously angry with a young man, who had thus put in jeopardy the relations of the two countries.

In fact, at Passage, on the very borders of France and Spain, a *lettre de cachet* overtook him, and he was arrested and carried back to Bordeaux. There, of course, his enterprise was near being finally stopped; but watching his opportunity, and assisted by one or two friends, he disguised himself as a courier, with his face blacked and false hair, and rode on ordering post-horses, for a carriage which he had caused to follow him at a suitable distance for this very purpose, and thus fairly passed the frontiers of the two kingdoms, only three or four hours before his pursuers reached them. He soon arrived at his port, where his vessel was waiting for him. His family, however, still followed him with solicitations to return, which he never received; and the society of the court and capital, according to Madame du Deffand's account of it, was in no common state of excitement on the occasion. Something of the same sort happened in London. "We talk chiefly," says Gibbon in a letter dated April 12, 1777, "of the Marquis de Lafayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty; with a hundred and thirty thousand livres a year, the nephew of Noailles, who is ambassador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingston's yacht, and is gone to join the Americans. The court appear to be angry with him."

Immediately on arriving the second time at Passage the wind being fair, he embarked.

The usual course for French vessels attempting to trade with our colonies at that period, was, to sail for the West Indies, and then coming up along our coast, enter where they could. But this course would have exposed Lafayette to the naval commanders of his own nation, and he had almost as much reason to dread them, as to dread British cruisers. When, therefore, they were outside of the Canary Islands, Lafayette required his captain to lay their course directly for the United States. The captain refused, alleging, that if they should be taken by a British force and carried into Halifax, the French government would never reclaim them, and they could hope for nothing but a slow death in a dungeon or a prison-ship. This was true, but Lafayette knew it before he made the requisition. He, therefore, insisted until the captain refused in the most positive manner. Lafayette then told him that the ship was his own private property, that he had made his own arrangements concerning it, and that if he, the captain, would not sail directly for the United States, he should be put in irons, and his command given to the next officer. The captain, of course, submitted, and Lafayette gave him a bond for forty thousand francs, in case of any accident. They, therefore, now made directly for the southern portion of the United States, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Charleston, S. C. on the 25th of April, 1777.

The sensation produced by his appearance in this country was, of course, much greater than that produced in Europe by his departure. It still stands forth, as one of the most prominent and important circumstances in our revolutionary contest; and, as has often been said by one who bore no small part in its trials and success, none but those who were then alive, can believe what an impulse it gave to the hopes of a population almost disheartened by a long series of disasters. And well it might; for it taught us, that in the first rank of the first nobility in Europe, men could still be found, who not only took an interest in our struggle, but were willing to share our sufferings; that our obscure and almost desperate contest for freedom in a remote quarter of the world, could yet find supporters among those, who were the most natural and powerful allies of a splendid despotism; that we were the objects of a regard and interest throughout the world, which would add to our own resources sufficient strength to carry us safely through to final success.

Immediately after his arrival, Lafayette received the offer of a command in our army, but declined it. Indeed, during the whole of his service with us, he seemed desirous to show, by his conduct, that he had come only to render disinterested assistance to our cause. He began, therefore, by clothing and equipping a body of men at Charleston

at his own expense ; and then entered, as a volunteer, without pay, into our service. He lived in the family of the Commander in Chief, Gen. Washington, and won his full affection and confidence. He was appointed a Major General in our service, by a vote of Congress, on the 31st of July, 1777, and on the 11th of September of the same year, was wounded in the leg at Brandywine. As soon as his wound would permit, he joined Gen. Greene, who was then in New Jersey. There, with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, he attacked the enemy's picquet, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. "The Marquis," says Gen. Greene, in a letter addressed to Washington, "is charmed with the spirited behaviour of the militia and rifle corps ; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground until dark. The enemy's picquet consisted of about three hundred men, and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger."

He was employed in 1778 in many parts of the country, as a Major General, and as the Head of a separate Division, and after having received the thanks of Congress for his important services, embarked at Boston in January, 1779, for France, thinking he could assist us more effectually, for a time, in Europe than in America.

He arrived at Versailles, then the regular

residence of the French court, on the 12th of February, and the same day had a long conference with Maurepas, the Prime Minister. He was not permitted to see the king; and in a letter written at court the next day, we are told, that he received an order to visit none but his relations, as a form of censure for having left France without permission; but this was an order that fell very lightly on him, for he was connected by birth or marriage with almost every body at court, and every body else thronged to see him at his own hotel. The treaty, which was concluded between America and France at just about the same period, was, by Lafayette's personal exertions, made effective in our favor. He labored unremittingly to induce his Government to send us a fleet and troops; and it was not until he had gained this point, and ascertained that he should be speedily followed by Count Rochambeau, that he embarked to return. He reached the Head Quarters of the Army on the 11th of May 1780, and there confidentially communicated the important intelligence to the Commander in Chief,

Immediately on his return from his furlough, he resumed his place in our service with the same disinterested zeal he had shown on his first arrival. He received the separate command of a body of infantry, consisting of about two thousand men, and clothed and equipped it partly at his own ex-

pense, rendering it by unwearied exertions, constant sacrifices, and wise discipline, the best corps in the army. What he did for us, while at the head of this division, is known to all who have read the history of their country. His forced march to Virginia, in December 1780, raising two thousand guineas at Baltimore, on his own credit, to supply the pressing wants of his troops ; his rescue of Richmond, which but for his great exertions must have fallen into the enemy's hands ; his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis, who foolishly boasted in an intercepted letter, that "the boy could not escape him ;" and finally the siege of Yorktown, the storming of the redoubt, and the surrender of the place in October, 1781, are proofs of talent as a military commander, and devotion to the welfare of these states, for which he never has been repaid, and, in some respects, never can be.

He was, however, desirous to make yet greater exertions in our favour, and announced his project of revisiting France for the purpose. Congress had already repeatedly acknowledged his merits and services in formal votes. They now acknowledged them more formally than ever by a resolution of November 23d, in which, besides all other expressions of approbation, they desire the foreign ministers of this government to confer with him in their negotiations concerning our affairs ; a mark of respect

and deference, of which we know no other example.

In France, where he arrived in the fall of 1781, a brilliant reputation had preceded him. The cause of America was already popular there; and his exertions and sacrifices in it, which, from the first had seemed so chivalrous and romantic, now came reflected back upon him in the strong light of popular enthusiasm. While he was in the United States for the first time, Voltaire made his remarkable visit to Paris, and having met Madame de Lafayette at the Hotel de Choiseuil, he made her a long harangue on the brilliant destinies that awaited her husband as a defender of the great cause of popular freedom; and ended by offering his homage to her on his knees.

It is not remarkable, therefore, with such a state of feeling while he was still absent from the country, that, on his return, he was followed by crowds in the public streets wherever he went; and that in a journey he made to one of his estates in the south of France, the towns through which he passed received him with processions and civic honors; and that in the city of Orleans he was detained nearly a week by the festivities they had prepared for him.

He did not, however, forget our interests amidst the popular admiration with which he was surrounded. On the contrary, though the negotiations for a peace were advancing,

he was constantly urging upon the French government the policy of sending more troops to this country, as the surest means of bringing the war to a speedy and favorable termination. He at last succeeded; and Count d'Estaing was ordered to hold himself in readiness to sail for the United States, as soon as Lafayette should join him. When, therefore, he arrived at Cadiz, he found forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men ready to follow him, first for the conquest of Jamaica, and then for our assistance; and they would have been on our coast early in the spring, if peace had not rendered further exertions unnecessary. This great event was first announced to Congress, by a letter from Lafayette, dated in the harbor of Cadiz, Feb. 5, 1783.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, Lafayette began to receive pressing invitations to visit the country, whose cause he had so materially assisted. Washington, in particular, was extremely urgent; and yielding not only to these instances, but to an attachment to the United States, of which his whole life has given proof, he embarked again for our shores and landed at New York on the 4th of August 1784. His visit however was short. He went almost immediately to Mount Vernon, where he passed a few days in the family of which he was so long a cherished member, and then visiting Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New

York, Albany, and Boston, received every where with unmingled enthusiasm and delight, he reembarked for France. But when he was thus about to leave the United States for the third, ~~and, as it then seemed,~~ the last time, Congress in December 1784 appointed a solemn deputation, consisting for its greater dignity, of one member from each state, with instructions to take leave of him on behalf of the whole country, and to assure him, "that these United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." It was at the same time resolved, that a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense, which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty. We are not aware, that a more complete expression of dignified and respectful homage could have been offered to him.

During the year that followed the arrival of Lafayette in his own country, he found the minds of men more agitated on the questions of political right, than they had ever been before. He went, for a short time, in 1785, to Prussia, for the purpose of seeing the troops of Frederick Second, and was re-

ceived with distinguished kindness and consideration by that remarkable monarch ; at whose court, by a singular coincidence of circumstances, he frequently met with Lord Cornwallis, and several other of the officers who had fought against him in the campaign that ended at Yorktown. But the grave and perilous discussions, that were then going on in France, soon called him back from Prussia. Into some of those discussions, he entered at once ; on others he waited ; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and on all, he preserved the most perfect consistency. He was for some time ineffectually employed with Malesherbes, the Minister of Louis Sixteenth, in endeavoring to relieve the Protestants of France from political disabilities, and place them on the same footing with other subjects. He was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against the slave trade ; and it is worth notice, that having devoted considerable sums of money to purchase slaves in one of the colonies, and educate them for emancipation, the faction, which in 1792 proscribed him, as an enemy to freedom, sold these slaves back to their original servitude. And finally, at about the same time, he attempted with our minister, Mr. Jefferson, to form a league of some of the European Powers against the Barbarous Pirates, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more for their suppression, than has been done by Sir Sid-

ney Smith's Association, or is likely to follow Lord Exmouth's victories,

But while he was busied in the interests, to which these discussions gave rise, the materials for great internal changes were collecting together at Paris from all parts of France; and in February 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Lafayette was, of course, a member, and the tone he held throughout its session contributed essentially to give a marked character to its deliberations. He proposed the suppression of the odious *lettres de cachet*, of which Mirabeau declared in the National Assembly, that seventeen had been issued against him before he was thirty years old; he proposed the enfranchisement of the protestants, who, from the time of the abolition of the Edict of Nantz, had been suffering under more degrading disabilities than the Catholics in Ireland; and he proposed by a formal *motion*,—which was the first time that word was ever used in France, and marks an important step towards a regular deliberative assembly,—he made a *motion* for the convocation of Representatives of the people, “What,” said the Count d’Artois, now Charles Tenth, who presided in the assembly of the Notables, “do you ask for the States General?” “Yes,” replied Lafayette, “and for something more and better;” an intimation, which, though it can be readily understood by all who have lived

under a representative government, was hardly intelligible in France at that time.

Lafayette was, also, a prominent member of the States General, which met in 1789, and assumed the name of the National Assembly. He proposed in this body a Declaration of Rights not unlike our own, and it was under his influence and while he was, for this very purpose, in the chair, that a decree was passed on the night of the 13th and 14th of July, at the moment the Bastille was falling before the cannon of the populace, which provided for the responsibility of ministers, and thus furnished one of the most important elements of a representative monarchy. Two days afterwards, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, and thus was placed at the head of what was intended to be made, when it should be carried into all the departments, the effective military power of the realm, and what, under his wise management, soon become such.

His great military command, and his still greater personal influence, now brought him constantly in contact with the court and the throne. His position, therefore, was extremely delicate and difficult, especially as the popular party in Paris, of which he was not so much the head, as the idol, was already in a state of perilous excitement, and atrocious violences were beginning to be committed. The abhorrence of the queen

was almost universal, and was excessive to a degree of which we can now have no just idea. The circumstance that the court lived at Versailles, sixteen miles from Paris, and that the session of the National Assembly was held there, was another source of jealousy, irritation, and hatred on the part of the capital. The people of Paris, therefore, as a sign of opposition, had mounted their municipal cockade of blue and red, whose effects were already becoming alarming. Lafayette, who was anxious about the consequences of such a marked division, and who knew how important are small means of conciliation, added to it, on the 26th of July, the white of the Royal cockade, and as he placed it in his own hat, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, prophesied, that it "would go round the world;" a prediction, which is already more than half accomplished, since the tricolored cockade has been used for the ensign of emancipation in Spain, in Naples, in some parts of South America, and in Greece.

Still, however, the tendency of everything was to confusion and violence. The troubles of the times, too, rather than a positive want of the means of subsistence, had brought on a famine in the capital; and the populace of the Fauxbourgs, the most degraded certainly in France, having assembled and armed themselves, determined to go to Versailles; the greater part with a

blind desire for vengeance on the royal family, but others only with the purpose of bringing the king from Versailles, and forcing him to reside in the more ancient but scarcely habitable palace of the Thuilleries, in the midst of Paris. The National Guards clamored to accompany this savage multitude; Lafayette opposed their inclination; the municipality of Paris hesitated, but supported it; he resisted nearly the whole of the 5th of October, while the road to Versailles was already thronged with an exasperated mob of above an hundred thousand ferocious men and women, until, at last finding the multitude were armed and even had cannon, he asked and received an order to march, from the competent authority, and set off at four o'clock in the afternoon with 20,000 men, as one going to a post of imminent danger, which it had clearly become his duty to occupy.

He arrived at Versailles at ten o'clock at night, after having been on horseback from before daylight in the morning, and having made, during the whole interval, both at Paris and on the road, incredible exertions to control the multitude and calm the soldiers. "The Marquis de Lafayette at last entered the Château," continues Madame de Staël, "and passing through the apartment where we were, went to the king. We all pressed round him, as if he were the master of events, and yet the popular party was alrea-

dy more powerful than its chief, and principles were yielding to factions, or rather were beginning to serve only as their pretext. M. de Lafayette's manner was perfectly calm ; nobody ever saw it otherwise ; but his delicacy suffered from the importance of the part he was called to act. He asked for the interior posts of the Château, in order that he might ensure their safety. Only the outer posts were granted to him." This refusal was not disrespectful to him who made the request. It was given simply because the etiquette of the court reserved the guard of the royal person and family to another body of men. Lafayette, therefore, answered for the National Guards, and for the posts committed to them ; but he could answer for no more ; and his pledge was faithfully and desperately redeemed.

Between two and three o'clock, the queen and the royal family went to bed. Lafayette, too, slept after the great fatigues of this fearful day. At half past four, a portion of the populace made their way into the palace by an obscure, interior passage, which had been overlooked, and which was not in that part of the Château entrusted to Lafayette. They were evidently led by persons who well knew the secret avenues. Mirabeau's name was afterwards strangely compromised in it, and the form of the infamous Duke of Orleans was repeatedly recognised on the great staircase, pointing the

assassins the way to the queen's chamber. They easily found it. Two of her guards were cut down in an instant; and she made her escape almost naked. Lafayette immediately rushed in with the national troops, protected the guards from the brutal populace, and saved the lives of the royal family, which had so nearly been sacrificed to the etiquette of the monarchy.

The day dawned as this fearful scene of guilt and bloodshed was passing in the magnificent palace, whose construction had exhausted the revenues of Louis Fourteenth, and which, for a century, had been the most splendid residence in Europe. As soon as it was light, the same furious multitude filled the vast space, which, from the rich materials of which it is formed, passes under the name of the court of marble. They called upon the king, in tones not to be mistaken, to go to Paris; and they called for the queen, who had but just escaped from their daggers, to come out upon the balcony. The king, after a short consultation with his ministers, announced his intention to set out for the capital; but Lafayette was afraid to trust the queen in the midst of the bloodthirsty multitude. He went to her, therefore, with respectful hesitation, and asked her if it were her purpose to accompany the king to Paris. "Yes," she replied, "although I am aware of the danger." "Are you positively determin-

ed?" "Yes, sir." "Condescend, then, to go out upon the balcony, and suffer me to attend you." "Without the king?"—she replied, hesitating—"Have you observed the threats?" "Yes, Madam, I have; but dare to trust me." He led her out upon the balcony. It was a moment of great responsibility and great delicacy; but nothing, he felt assured, could be so dangerous as to permit her to set out for Paris, surrounded by that multitude, unless its feelings could be changed. The agitation, the tumult, the cries of the crowd, rendered it impossible that his voice should be heard. It was necessary, therefore, to address himself to the eye, and turning towards the queen, with that admirable presence of mind, which never yet forsook him, and with that mingled grace and dignity, which were the peculiar inheritance of the ancient court of France, he simply kissed her hand before the vast multitude. An instant of silent astonishment followed, but the whole was immediately interpreted, and the air was rent with cries of "Long live the queen!" "Long live the general!" from the same fickle and cruel populace, that only two hours before had embued their hands in the blood of the guards, who defended the life of the same queen.

The same day, that this scene was passing, the first meeting of the Jacobin club was held. Against this club and its projects

Lafayette at once declared himself. With Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, he organized an opposing club, and the victory between the two parties was doubtful for above a year and a half. The contest, however, which was produced by this state of things, placed Lafayette in a very embarrassing and dangerous position. He was obliged to oppose the unprincipled purposes of the Jacobines, without retreating towards the principles of ancient despotism; and it is greatly to his honor, that he did it most faithfully and consistently. When therefore, on the 20th of June, 1790, a proposition was suddenly made in the Assembly to abolish all titles of nobility, Lafayette, true to his principles, rose to second it. A short discussion followed. It was objected to the abolition of rank, that, if there were no titles, no such reward could be conferred as was once conferred by Henry Second, when he created an obscure person, according to the terms of his own patent, "noble and count, for having saved the country at such a time." "The only difference," replied Lafayette, "will be, that the words, noble and count will be left out, and the patent will simply declare, that on such an occasion, such a man saved the state." From this time Lafayette renounced the title of Marquis, and has never since resumed it. Since the restoration of the Bourbons indeed, and the revival of the ancient nobility, there has

been sometimes an affectation among the Ultra Royalists, of calling him by his former title ; but he has never recognized it, and is still known in France only by the address of General. At least, if he is sometimes called otherwise there, it is not by his friends.

At length the Constitution of a representative Monarchy, much more popular than that of Great Britain, which Lafayette's exertions had, from the first opening of the Assembly, been consistently devoted to establish, was prepared ; and all were desirous that it should be received and recognised by the nation in the most solemn manner. The day chosen, as most appropriate for the ceremony, was the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille ; and the open space behind the military school, called the Champ de Mars, from the Campus Martius of the Romans, was the place fixed on for this great national festival and solemnity. By the constant labor of above two hundred thousand persons of both sexes and all ranks, from dukes and duchesses, bishops and deputies, down to the humblest artisans, who all made the occasion like the Saturnalia of the ancients, an amphitheatre of earth four miles in circumference was raised in a few weeks, whose sides were formed of seats destined to receive the French people, and amidst which stood the Throne and the Altar. On the morning

of the day when the whole was to be consummated, the king, the court, the clergy, the National Assembly, a deputation of the military from the eighty-three departments, and a body of people amounting to above four hundred thousand souls were assembled in this magnificent amphitheatre. Mass was first said, and then Lafayette, who that day had the military command of four millions of men, represented by 14,000 elected military deputies, and who held in his hands the power of the monarchy, swore to the Constitution on behalf of the nation, at the altar which had been erected in the midst of the arena. Every eye of that immense mass was turned on him; every hand was raised to join the oath he uttered. It was, no doubt, one of the most magnificent and solemn ceremonies the world ever saw; and, perhaps, no man ever enjoyed the sincere confidence of an entire people more completely than Lafayette did, as he thus bore the most imposing part in these extraordinary solemnities.

The Champ de Mars, however, as Madame de Staël has well observed, was the last movement of a genuine national enthusiasm in France. The Jacobins were constantly gaining power, and the revolution was falling more and more into the hands of the populace. When the king wished to go to St. Cloud with his family, in order to pass through the duties of Easter under the mini-

stration of a priest, who had not taken certain civil oaths, which in the eyes of many conscientious Catholics desecrated those who received them, the populace and the national guards tumultuously stopped his carriage. Lafayette arrived, at the first suggestion of danger. "If," said he, "this be a matter of conscience with your majesty, we will, if it is necessary, die to maintain it;" and he offered immediately to open a passage by force; but the king hesitated at first, and finally determined to remain in Paris.

Lafayette, indeed, under all circumstances, remained strictly faithful to his oaths; and now defended the freedom of the king, as sincerely as he had ever defended the freedom of the people. His situation, therefore, became every day more dangerous. He might have taken great power to himself, and so have been safe. He might have received the sword of Constable of France, which was worn by Montmorencies, but he declined it; or he might have been Generalissimo of the National Guards, who owed their existence to him; but he thought it more for the safety of the state that no such power should exist. Having, therefore, organized this last body, according to the project he had originally formed for it, he resigned all command at the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, with a disinterestedness of which, perhaps, Washington alone

could have been his example : and retired to his estate in the country, followed, as he had been for many years, by crowds wherever he went, and accompanied on his way by every form of popular enthusiasm and admiration.

From the tranquillity to which he now gladly turned, he was soon called by the war with Austria, declared April 20th, 1792, and in which he was, at once, appointed one of the three Generals to command the French armies. His labors, in the beginning of this war, whose declaration he did not approve, were very severe ; and the obstacles he surmounted, some of which were purposely thrown in his way by the factions of the capital, were grave and alarming. But the Jacobins at Paris were now a well organized body, and were fast maturing their arrangements to overturn the Constitution. Violences of almost every degree of atrocity were become common, and that public order of which Lafayette had never ceased to speak on all suitable occasions, no longer existed.* Under these circumstances, he felt that his silence would be an abandonment

* It is a singular fact, that in all Lafayette's speeches and addresses between 1787 and 1792, he hardly once mentions *Freedom* without coupling it with some intimation or injunction to respect and support *Public Order*. Since that time, the two phrases have been generally united ; but they have not always meant as much as they did when used by Lafayette.

of the principles to the support of which he had devoted his life ; and with a courage, which few men in any age have been able to show, and with a temperance, which has always kept his conduct on one even line, he wrote a letter to the National Assembly, which reads as follows :—

Entrenchment camp, Maubeuge, 16th June, 1792.

“ GENTLEMEN,

At the moment, perhaps too long deferred, in which I am about to call your attention to the highest public interests, and to point out among our dangers, the conduct of a ministry, whom I have for a long time censured in my correspondence, I learn that, unmasked in consequence of its own divisions, it has fallen a sacrifice to its own intrigues. [This was the Brissotin ministry.] It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government has been delivered from its disastrous influence. The public welfare is in peril—the fate of France depends principally on its representatives—the nation expects from them its security. But in giving them a constitution, France has prescribed to them the only means by which she can be saved.

“ Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituent assembly, a constitution ought to be the law of the legislators, which that constitution shall have established. It is to you that I ought to denounce the too powerful efforts

which are making to induce you to depart from that course which you have promised to pursue.

“ Nothing shall deter me from the exercise of ~~this right as a free man~~, to fulfil this duty of a citizen ; neither the momentary errors of opinion ; for what are opinions when they depart from principles ? nor my respect for the representatives of the people ; for I respect still more the people, whose sovereign will it is to have a constitution ; nor the benevolence and kindness which you have constantly evinced for myself ; for I would preserve that as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

“ Your situation is difficult ; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. Whilst foreign powers announce the intolerable (inadmissible) project of attacking our national sovereignty, and avow it as a principle ! at the same time the enemies of France its interior enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and annoy us with their insolent malevolence. You ought, gentlemen, to repress them, and you will have the power so to do, only when you shall become constitutional and just. You wish it, no doubt ; but cast your eyes on all that passes within your own body, and around you. Can you dissemble, even to yourselves, that a faction (and to avoid all vague denunciations) the Jacobin faction,

have caused all these disorders? It is that which I boldly accuse—organized like a separate empire in the metropolis, and in its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a corporation entirely distinct in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps, by tyrannizing over its representatives and constituted authorities.

“ It is in that body, in its public meeting, the love of the laws is denounced as aristocracy, and their breach as patriotism. There the assassins of Dessilles receive their triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrist. There the recital of the massacre which has stained the city of Metz, has also been received with infernal acclamations! Have they become sacred because the Emperor Leopold has pronounced their name? And because it is our highest duty to combat the foreigners, who mingle in our domestic quarrels, are we at liberty to refrain from delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

“ Of what importance is it, as to the fulfilment of this duty, that strangers have their projects, and their connivance and concert with our internal foes? Is it I, who denounce to you this sect (the jacobins;) I, who, without speaking of my past life, can reply to those who suspect my motives—
“ Approach in this moment of awful crisis, when the character of each man must be

known, and see which of us, more inflexible in his principles, more obstinate in his resistance, will more courageously overcome those obstacles and those dangers, which traitors to their country conceal, and which true citizens know how to appreciate, and to brave for her.

“ And how could I delay longer to fulfil this duty? whilst every successive day weakens still more the constituted authorities, substitutes the spirit of party for the will of the people; whilst the audacity of the agitators, (the disorganizers) imposes silence upon peaceable citizens, throws into retirement useful men, and whilst devotion to the sect or party stands in the place of public and private virtues, which in a free country, ought to be the austere (severe or strict) and only means of attaining to public office.

“ It is, after having opposed to all the obstacles, and to all the snares, which were laid before me, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to conspiracies against its commander, (Lafayette was the commander) that I now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a ministry, worthy representative of its club—a correspondence, the calculations of which are false, its promises vain and illusory; its information deceitful or frivolous; its advice perfidious or contradictory; correspondence, in which after

pressing me to advance without precaution—to attack without means—they finally began to tell me that resistance was impossible, when I indignantly repelled the cowardly and base assertion. What a remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between the factions whom the aristocracy avow, and those who usurp the name of patriots! They both wish to overthrow our laws, rejoice in our disorders, array themselves against the constituted authorities, detest the national guards (the militia,) preach insubordination to the army; sow, at one moment, distrust; at another, discouragement.

“As to myself, gentlemen, who embraced the American cause at the moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was perilous or desperate—who from that moment have devoted my life to a persevering defence of liberty, and of the sovereignty of the people—who, on the 14th of July, 1789, (after the taking of the Bastille,) in presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to say, “that in order that a nation should be free, it is only necessary that it should will so to be.” I come, this day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause—of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully or stain it with crimes; I am ready to declare that the French nation if it is not the vilest in the universe,

can and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings who have coalesced against it.

“It is not in the midst of my brave army that timid councils should be permitted.—Patriotism, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the military and civil virtues, I find here. Here the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property held sacred. Here calumnies and factions are unknown. And when I reflect that France has many millions who can become such soldiers, I ask myself, to what a degree of debasement must such an immense people be reduced, stronger in its natural resources than in its artificial defences, opposing to a monstrous and discordant confederation, simple and united counsels and combinations, that the cowardly, degrading idea of sacrificing its sovereignty, of permitting any discussion as to its liberties, of committing to negotiation its rights, could be considered among the possibilities of a rapidly advancing futurity!

“For, in order that we, soldiers of liberty, should combat for her with efficacy, or die for her with any fruit or advantage, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of the country should be promptly made in some degree proportionate to that of our opponents; that the supplies of all descriptions should be increased so as to facilitate our movements; that the comfort and convenience of the troops, their clothes and arms,

their pay, the accommodations for the sick, should no longer be subject to fatal delays, or to a miserable and misplaced economy, which defeats its very end.

“It is above all necessary that the citizens, rallied round their constitution, should be assured that the rights, which that constitution guarantees, should be respected with a religious fidelity ; which will of itself cause more despair to our enemies than any other measure.

“Do not repel this desire—this ardent wish. It is that of all the sincere friends of your legitimate authority ; assured that no unjust consequence or effect can flow from a pure principle—that no tyrannical measure can save a cause, which owes its force, aye, and its glory, to the sacred principles of liberty and equality. Let criminal jurisprudence resume its constitutional power. Let civil equality—let religious freedom enjoy the application of their true principles. In fine, let the reign of the clubs be annihilated by you ; let them give place to the laws--their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the powers of the constituted authorities—their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty—their delirious fury to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights, and is ready to defend them—in fine, their sectarian combinations to the true interests of the country, of the nation, which in a mo-

ment of danger ought to unite all, except those, to whom its subjection and ruin are the objects of atrocious pleasure and infamous speculation. *LAFAYETTE.*"

In this letter he plainly denounces the growing faction of Jacobins, and calls on the constituted authorities to put a stop to the atrocities this faction was openly promoting. There was not another man in France, who would have dared to take such a step, at such a time ; and it required all Lafayette's vast influence to warrant him in expressing such opinions and feelings, or to protect him afterwards.

At first the Jacobins seemed to shrink from a contest with him. He had said to the assembly, " Let the reign of clubs, abolished by you, give place to the reign of the law," and they almost doubted whether he had not yet power enough to effect what he counselled. They began, therefore, as soon as the letter had been read, by denying its authenticity : they declared it, in short, to be a forgery. As soon as Lafayette heard of this, he came to Paris, and avowed it at the bar of the Assembly. The 20th of June, however, had overthrown the Constitution before his arrival ; and, though he stood with an air of calm command amidst its ruins, and vindicated it as proudly as ever, he was, after all, surrounded by those who had triumphed over it. He demanded of

the Assembly, in the name of the army, and all good citizens, "the punishment of the instigators and executors of the violences of the 20th of June. He also demanded the suppression of the Jacobin societies, and that the assembly would take measures for preventing all attempts against the Constitution from internal enemies, while the army was repelling foreign foes from the frontiers." The majority of the Assembly was decidedly with him, and when on the 8th of August, his impeachment was moved, more than two thirds voted in his favor. But things were daily growing worse. On the 9th of August, the Assembly declared itself no longer free; and within two days, its number fell to less than one third, and the capital was given up to the terrors of the 10th of August. Lafayette, therefore, could do nothing at Paris, and returned to his army on the borders of the low countries. But the army, too, was now infected. He endeavoured to assure himself of its fidelity, and proposed to the soldiers to swear anew to the Constitution. A very large proportion refused, and it immediately became apparent, from the movements, both at Paris and in the army, that he was no longer safe. His adversaries, who for his letter, were determined and interested to ruin him, were his judges; and they belonged to a party, which was never known to devote a victim without consummating the sacrifice. On

the 17th of August, therefore, accompanied by three of his general officers, Alexandre Lameth, Latour Maubourg, and Bureaux de Puzy, he left the army, and in a few hours was beyond the limits of France. His general purpose was, to reach the neutral territory of the republic of Holland, which was quite near; and from that point either rally the old constitutional party, or pass to Switzerland or the United States, where he should be joined by his family. That he did not leave France, while any hope remained for him, is certain; since, before his escape was known at Paris, a decree, accusing him of high treason, which was then equivalent to an order for his execution, was carried in what remained of the Assembly by a large majority.

Lafayette and his companions hoped to avoid the enemy's posts, but they did not succeed. They were seized the same night by an Austrian patrol, and soon afterwards recognised. They were not treated as prisoners of war, which was the only quality in which they could have been arrested and detained; but were exposed to disgraceful indignities, because they had been the friends of the Constitution. After being detained a short time by the Austrians, they were given up to the Prussians, who, because their fortresses were nearer, were supposed to be able to receive and guard them more conveniently. At first, they

were confined at Wesel on the Rhine, and afterwards conveyed in a cart to the dungeons at Magdeburg, where they remained a year. But the Prussians, at last, became unwilling to bear the odium of such unlawful and disgraceful treatment of prisoners of war, entitled to every degree of respect from their rank and character; and especially from the manner in which they had been taken. They, therefore, before they made peace, gave them up again to the Austrians, who finally transferred them to most unhealthy dungeons in the citadel of Olmutz. The sufferings to which Lafayette was here exposed, in the mere spirit of a barbarous revenge, are almost incredible. He was warned, "that he would never again see any thing but the four walls of his dungeon; that he would never receive news of events or persons; that his name would be unknown in the citadel, and that in all accounts of him sent to court, he would be designated only by a number; that he would never receive any notice of his family, or of the existence of his fellow prisoners." At the same time, knives and forks were removed from him, as he was officially informed, that his situation was one which would naturally lead him to suicide.*

* One principal reason of the vindictive spirit of the Austrian Government towards Lafayette is, no doubt, to be sought in the circumstance, that, as the leader of the early part of the French Revolution, he brought on

His sufferings, indeed, proved almost beyond his strength. The want of air, and the loathsome dampness and filth of his dungeon, brought him more than once to the borders of the grave. His frame was wasted with diseases, of which, for a long period, not the slightest notice was taken; and on one occasion, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell from him entirely by the excess of his sufferings. At the same time, his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and *Fayettisme*, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death.

His friends, however, all over Europe, were carefully watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should, at least, render his existence certain. Among those who made the most vigorous and continued exertions to get some hint of his fate, was Count Lally Tolendal, then a refugee from his blood stained country. This nobleman became acquainted in London with Dr. Erick Bollmann, a Hanoverian, who, immediately after the massacres of August 10th, 1792, had been employed by Madame de Staël to effect the escape of Count Narbonne, and, by great address and courage, had suc-

those events, which led to the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the death of the Queen, who was an Austrian. Lameth was released by Prussia, at the treaty of his family, after the transfer of the three other prisoners to Austria.

ceeded in conveying him safely to England. Dr. Bollmann's adventurous spirit easily led him to engage in the affairs of Lafayette. His first expedition to the continent, under the direction of Lafayette's friends in London, in 1793, was, however, no further successful, than that he learned the determination of the Prussian government to give up Lafayette to Austria, and the probability that he had been already transferred. Where he was, and whether he were even alive, were circumstances Dr. Bollmann found it impossible to determine.

But the friends of Lafayette were not discouraged. In June 1794, they again sent Dr. Bollmann to Germany to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavour to procure his escape. With great difficulty, he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontiers, and there ascertained, that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmutz, or Holomautz, the capital of Moravia, situated on the river March, one hundred and fifty miles north of Vienna, and near the borders of Silesia. At Olmutz, Dr. Bollmann ascertained, that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half fabulous personage in the iron mask. He did not doubt but Lafayette was one of them, and making himself professionally acquainted with the

military surgeon of the post, soon became sure of it. By very ingenious means, Dr. Bollmann contrived to communicate his projects through this surgeon to Lafayette, and to obtain answers without exciting the surgeon's suspicions; until, at last, after the lapse of several months, during which, to avoid all risk, Dr. Bollmann made a long visit at Vienna, it was determined, that an attempt should be made to rescue Lafayette, while on one of the airings, with which he was then regularly indulged on account of his broken health.

As soon as this was arranged, Dr. Bollmann returned to Vienna, and communicated his project to a young American, by the name of Francis K. Hugar, then accidentally in Austria; son of the person at whose house near Charleston, S. C., Lafayette had been first received on his landing in America;* a young man of uncommon talent, de-

* Colonel Huger, the father of Francis K., lost his life in the service of his country against the British troops on the walls of Charleston, when besieged by General Prevost. The year before his death, he had retired to a small island off the Charleston bar, with his family, for the benefit of sea bathing. There happened one evening a violent storm, the report of cannon was heard at a distance; concluding the firing came from British ships, then cruising in those seas, it was necessary to avoid giving suspicion that the island was inhabited. About midnight a knocking at the door of the cottage obliged Col. Huger to open it. Two persons appeared, who, in a foreign accent, informed him that their ship had been driven on shore by the violence of

cision, and enthusiasm, who at once entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness.

Having thus agreed, they commenced their operations. It being necessary to conduct themselves with caution, as the Austrian police were very vigilant, and particularly jealous of strangers, Hugar pretended ill health, and Bollmann gave himself out for his physician. They bought three of the

the wind, and the crew had dispersed themselves over the island in search of assistance. They were hospitably received, and provided with such necessaries as they most stood in need of. When the strangers were made acquainted with the quality of their host, and his political principles, they made themselves, and the object of their voyage known to him. The one was the Marquis de La Fayette, then about eighteen, and the other an elderly gentleman, a Chevalier de St. Louis, who, like another Mentor had followed the fortunes of the young Telemachus. "They beheld," they said, "with indignation, the tyranny the inhabitants of North America labored under from the mother country; and, animated with the true spirit of liberty, they were resolved to espouse the cause of the Congress, and either partake with them the happiness of emancipation, or perish with them in the glorious effort." Colonel Huger quitted the island with his guests, and, repairing to head quarters, introduced them to General Washington, who gave each of them a command in the continental army. Francis K. Huger was only four years old when this happened, but the adventure remained deeply impressed on his memory; and though he had never seen Lafayette since, yet he felt the greatest attachment to his person, and the highest admiration of his actions; with ardor, therefore, he participated in Bollmann's scheme for the release of his favourite hero.

best horses they could find, and with one servant set out. After travelling many weeks, staying some time at different places, the better to conceal their purpose, and to confirm the idea that curiosity was the motive of their journey, they at length reached Olmutz. After viewing every thing in the town, they walked into the castle to see the fortifications, made themselves acquainted with the jailor, and having obtained permission to walk within the castle the next day, they returned to their lodging. They repeated their visits frequently, each time conversing familiarly with the jailor, and sometimes making him little presents. By degrees they gained his confidence, and one day, as if by accident, asked him what prisoners he had under his care. He mentioned the name of Lafayette; without discovering any surprise, they expressed a curiosity to know how he passed his time, and what indulgences he enjoyed: They were informed that he was strictly confined, but was permitted to take exercise without the walls with proper attendants, and, besides, was allowed the use of books, pen, ink, and paper. They said, that, as they had some new publications with them, it might add to his amusement if they were to lend them to him, and desired to know if they might make the offer. The jailor said he thought there could be no objection, provided the books were delivered open to him (the jailor) so

that he might see there was nothing improper in their contents. With this caution they complied, and the same evening sent a book and a note to the jailor, addressed to Lafayette, written in French; who, though he did not understand that language (as it afterwards appeared,) yet did not suspect any treachery where every thing was conducted so openly. The note contained apologies for the liberties they had taken; but, as they wished in any way to contribute to his happiness, they hoped he would attentively read the book they had sent, and if any passages in it particularly engaged his notice, they begged he would let them know his opinion. He received the note, and finding it was not expressed in the usual mode of complimentary letters, conceived that more was meant than met the eye. He therefore carefully perused the book, and found in certain places words written with a pencil, which, being put together, acquainted him with the names, qualities, and designs of the writers, and requiring his sentiments before they should proceed any further. He returned the book, and with it an open note, thanking them, and adding, that he highly approved of, and was much charmed with, its contents.

Having thus began a correspondence, seldom a day passed but open notes passed between them, some of which the jailor showed to persons who could read them; but, as ne-

thing appeared that could create any suspicion, the correspondence was permitted.

Their plan being at length arranged, the particulars were written with lemon juice, and on the other side of the paper a letter of inquiries after Lafayette's health, concluding with these words: Quand vous aurez lu ce billet, mettez le *au feu* (instead of *dans le feu*.) By holding the paper to the fire, the letters appeared, and he was made acquainted with every arrangement they had made. The day following was fixed upon to put the plan in execution. The city of Olmutz is situated about thirty miles from the frontiers of Silesia, in the midst of a plain, which taking the town as its centre, extends three miles each way. The plain is bounded by rising ground, covered with bushes and broken rocks; so that a man standing on the walls might distinctly see every thing that passed on the plain. Sentinels were placed for the purpose of giving an alarm when any prisoner was attempting to escape, and all people were ordered to assist in retaking him: great rewards were likewise due to the person who arrested a prisoner. It seemed therefore scarcely possible to succeed in such an attempt. Aware of these difficulties, Bollmann and Huger were not intimidated, but took their measures with the greater caution.

These were the only two persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who

had the slightest suspicion of the arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. It was therefore concerted between the parties, after the two friends had come to Clmütz in Nov. that they should ride out of town on horseback, and to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in sign of recognition. Lafayette was to endeavour to gain as great a distance as possible from the town, and, as usual, to quit the carriage with the officer, and draw him imperceptibly as far as he could without exciting his suspicion. The two friends were then to approach, and, if necessary, to overpower the officer, mount Lafayette upon the horse Huger rode, and ride away full speed.

Having ascertained a day when Lafayette would ride out, Dr. Bollmann and Mr. Huger sent their carriage ahead to Hoff, a post town about twenty five miles on the road they wished to take, with directions to have it waiting for them at a given hour. The rescue they determined to attempt was without any weapons, thinking it would be unjustifiable to commit a murder even to effect their purpose. In the morning, Huger sent his trusty servant to learn the precise time that Lafayette left the castle. After a tedious delay he returned and informed them that a carriage which he supposed must con-

tain Lafayette, since there was a prisoner and an officer inside and a guard behind, had passed out of the gate of the fortress, they mounted and followed. They rode by it, and then slackening their pace and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and passing into a less frequented track in the midst of an open country. Lafayette descended to walk for exercise, guarded only by the officer, who had been riding with him, and with whom he was walking arm in arm. They approached gradually, and perceiving that Lafayette, and the officer, appeared to be engaged in earnest conversation about his (the officer's) sword, which Lafayette had at the time in his hand, they thought this the favorable moment, and put spurs to their horses; and after an inconsiderable struggle with the officer, from which the guard fled to alarm the citadel, the rescue was completed. One of the horses, however, owing to a gleam of the sun upon the blade of the sword, took fright and escaped during the contest; thus leaving only one with which they could proceed. Lafayette was immediately mounted on this horse, and Mr. Huger exclaimed to him to "Lose no time, the alarm is given, the peasants are assembling, save yourself;" and in English told him to go to Hoff. He mistook what was said to him for a mere

general direction to go *off*—delayed a moment to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked once more, if he could be of no service—and finally, urged anew, galloped slowly away.

The horse, that had escaped, was soon recovered, and both Dr. Bollmann and Mr. Huger mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette. But the animal proved intractable,* threw them and left them, for some time, stunned by their fall. On recovering their horse a second time, Dr. Bollmann alone mounted; Mr. Huger thinking that, from his own imperfect knowledge of the German, he could not do as much towards effecting their main purpose. These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Mr. Huger, who could now attempt his escape only on foot, pursued his way until exhausted with fatigue, and breathless, he sunk to the earth; he was soon come up with by a peasant, to whom he offered his purse to assist him to escape, but the Austrian snatched the money with one hand, and seized him with the other, calling to his companions, who had witnessed all the events that had passed, to come to his help. Resistance was vain, and the intrepid Huger, was con-

* This was the horse prepared for Lafayette. The other, on which it had been necessary to mount him, had been expressly trained to carry two persons,

veyed back to Olmutz in triumph, inwardly consoling himself with the glorious idea, that he had been the cause of rescuing from tyranny and misery, a man he esteemed one of the first characters upon earth. He was shut up in a dungeon of the castle as a state prisoner.

Lafayette, having taken a wrong road, and pursued it till his horse could proceed no further, was stopped at the village of Jagersdorff, as a suspicious person, and was there carried before a magistrate to whom he represented himself as an officer of the excise ; that having friends at Olmutz, he had been there on a visit ; had been detained by indisposition longer than he intended, and, as his time of leave of absence was expired, he was hastening back, and begged he might not be detained, for if he did not reach that day, he was afraid his absence might be noticed, and he should lose his office. The magistrate was so much prepossessed in his favor, by this account, and by the readiness of his answers to every question, that he expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and was going to dismiss him, when the door of an inner room opened, and a young man entered with papers for the magistrate to sign. While this was doing the young man fixed his eyes upon Lafayette, and immediately whispered the magistrate : " Who do you say he is ?" " The General Lafayette." " How do you know him ?"

“I was present when the General was delivered up by the Prussians to the Austrians at ———; this is the man, I cannot be mistaken.”

Lafayette entreated to be heard. The magistrate told him it was useless for him to speak; he must consent immediately to be conveyed to Olmutz, and his identity would then be ascertained. Dismayed and confounded, he submitted to his hard fate, was carried back to Olmutz, and the same day which rose to him with the fairest prospects of happiness and liberty, beheld him at the close of it plunged in still deeper misery and imprisonment.

Dr. Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff; but not finding Lafayette there, lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he dismissed the chaise, and made a circuitous journey, in hopes his friends might have escaped by a different route; but could gain no information whatever, till, on the third day, a rumour of Lafayette's having been retaken in attempting to escape, dissipated his hopes; and, anxious to learn the truth, he took the road to Olmutz. He soon was told the melancholy tale, with the addition, that his friend Huger had shared a similar fate. In despair at having been the primary cause of his misfortune, and determining to share it with him, he voluntarily surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the castle.

Thus, all of them were separately confined in the same prison, without being permitted to know any thing of each other's fate. Thus, by a train of most untoward accidents, which no prudence could foresee or guard against, failed a plan so long meditated and so skilfully projected.

We will now revert again to Mr. Huger, who was stripped of his own clothes, and others given him that had already been worn by many an unfortunate prisoner ; he was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six feet by eight, without light and with only bread and water for food ; and once in six hours, by day and by night, the guard entered, and, with a lamp, examined each brick in his cell, and each link in his chain. To his earnest request to know something of Dr. Bollmann, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his more earnest request to be permitted to send to his mother in America merely the words, " I am alive," signed with his name, he received a rude refusal. Indeed, at first, every degree of brutal severity was practised towards both of them ; but, afterwards, this severity was relaxed. The two prisoners were placed nearer together, where they could communicate ; and their trial for what, in Vienna, was magnified into a wide and alarming conspiracy, was begun with all the tedious formalities, that could be prescribed

by Austrian fear and caution. How it would have turned, if they had been left entirely unprotected, it is not difficult to conjecture ; but at this crisis of their fate, they were secretly assisted by Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near their prison, whom neither of them had ever seen, and who was interested in them, only for what, in the eyes of his government, constituted their crime. The means he used to influence the tribunal that judged them, may be easily imagined, since they were so far successful, that the prisoners, after having been confined for trial eight months, were sentenced only to a fortnight's imprisonment as their punishment, and then released. A few hours after they had left Olmutz, an order came from Vienna directing a new trial, which under the management of the ministers would of course have ended every differently from the one managed by Count Metrowsky ; but the prisoners were already beyond the limits of the Austrian dominions.

The following extracts from a letter written by Huger to a near friend and relation, describes his situation and feelings in a forcible manner.

“ I am equally ignorant how this affair may have been represented, or what may be thought in these times, of an attempt to deliver M. de Lafayette. The motives which, however, induced me to engage in it

cannot be judged by those who examine all similar enterprises according to their success or failure. Believe me, it was neither unreasonably undertaken, nor rashly executed, but failed from accidents which prudence could not foresee. To the mortification of a failure were added the miseries of a prison, which, in Austria, exceed any thing known in England. In a small room, just long enough for my bed of straw, with eight pence a day for my support; at night chained to the ground, and without books or light, I passed the first three months of my captivity. After this time my situation became gradually better, but I was not allowed to write to my friends, to be delivered from my chains, or permitted the smallest intercourse with the world, till a fortnight before my release.

“ In such a situation, the consciousness alone of having done nothing dishonest or dishonorable, could afford that internal satisfaction, and inspire that stern patience, necessary to support calmly so sudden and severe a reverse of fortune; but it has convinced me, that a mind at peace with itself, can in no situation be unhappy. Daily habit also soon removed the unpleasant sensations excited by disagreeable and unaccustomed objects, and the mind, which no power can restrain, will always derive consolation from hope, and rarely want some subject to be actively employed upon. My friend and

companion, Dr. Bollmann, was in the same house, and our efforts to establish some communication, or to procure a momentary interview, afforded exercise for invention ; and, in proportion to the difficulty of effecting our wishes, the smallest success rewarded days of project and expectation. I once, also, found means to disengage myself from my chains, and felt an emotion beyond the power of words to describe. The slave, liberated by the bounty of his master, experiences nothing similar to it, he feels obligation for a favor conferred ; but a person formerly free, breaking the chain of tyranny and oppression, has the double enjoyment of overcoming his enemy, and regaining his liberty by his own exertions. Mine was but ideal, for I was still surrounded by walls and sentinels ; it was an event which might be of such consequence that I did not permit the reality to interrupt the happiness it afforded me : and I probably felt more enjoyment at that moment, than in general one half of the world ever experienced in their lives, even those possessing freedom, wealth, and friends. My long captivity has not then been wholly miserable, nor without some pleasure."

Lafayette, in the meanwhile, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated, except by his death. During the winter of 1794-5, he was reduced to al-

most the last extremity by a violent fever ; and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe, that he was only reserved for a public execution, and that his chivalrous deliverers would perish on the scaffold before his window ; while, at the same time, he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, of which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts.

Madame de Lafayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to be possible. She had been released from prison, where she, too, had nearly perished ;* and, having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of General Washington, she set out, accompanied by her two young daughters, for Germany, all in disguise, and with American passports. They were landed at Altona, and, proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience of the Emperor, who refused to liberate Lafayette, but as it now seems probable, against the intentions

* Her grandmother, the Duchess de Noailles, her mother, the Dutchess d'Ayen, and her sister, the Countess de Noailles, all perished in one day on the scaffold. The same scaffold was destined for Madame de Lafayette ; and she was saved only by the death of Robespierre.

of his ministers gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmutz ; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should pass its threshold, never again to leave it. Madame de Lafayette's health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe purer air and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned ; and then she was told, that no objection would be made to her leaving her husband ; but that, if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination "to share his captivity in all its details ;" and never afterwards made an effort to leave him. Madame de Staël has well observed, when on this point of the history of the French Revolution ;— "antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General Lafayette, his wife, and his daughters, in the prison of Olmutz."

One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of Lafayette, and it was made in the place and in the way, that might have been expected. When the Emperor of Austria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame de Lafayette, he told her that "his

hands were tied." In this remark, the Emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies in the war against France. England was one of these allies, and General Fitzpatrick, in the house of Commons, made a motion, for an inquiry into the case, in which he was supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia. Afterwards, on the 16th of December 1790, General Fitzpatrick renewed his attempt more solemnly, and was supported in it by Wilberforce, by Sheridan, and by Fox, in one of his most powerful and happy speeches, which caused the following debate.

"Gen. Fitzpatrick observed, that the disapprobation shown by the Minister on a former night, when it had been mentioned in the House, that the King of Prussia refused to liberate Monsieur de Lafayette, and three other state prisoners, on the ground that they were the prisoners of the allied powers, was sufficient to exempt the character of the British nation from the odium of having any share in so execrable a transaction. He thought, however, that humanity, justice and policy, required an interference from this country, in behalf of this unfortunate man. The General entered into a very able review of the whole conduct of Monsieur de Lafayette,—his firm attachment to the constitution of 1789, which had been

approved by this country ; his loyalty, which was proved by the most signal services to the royal family, and his refusal to join the republican party, although allured by every honor which could flatter his ambition. On this party obtaining the ascendancy, what was his conduct ? He resolved no longer to head the army, though he would not lead it against his country, but posted it so advantageously, that General Clairfait was deterred from attacking it. When commissioners came to remove him from the command of the army, still faithful to the constitution and monarchy he had sworn to defend, he consigned them to the civil power. He soon afterwards passed the frontier, with a determination not to join the enemies of his country, and this was the cause of his dungeon and his sufferings. Had he, the General said, deserted his country, as a traitor, and delivered the commissioners to the enemies of his country, he would have now been at liberty, and his virtues extolled. Had he carried away the military chest, he would have received rewards. On neutral ground (the bishopric of Leige) he was taken prisoner. He was invited by the promises of officers, who were in the service of Austria, who assured him of a safe passage. With them he was taken prisoner, and transferred to a fortress belonging to the King of Prussia, where he was offered his liberty, on condition of joining the army of

the French princes. This he refused ; and then the officers of the King of Prussia claimed him as a prisoner of their master, not as a prisoner of war. Whatever might be the law of nations, the General said he thought it extremely hard to confine a man in one nation for a crime committed against another nation. Lafayette and three other gentlemen, who had been members of the constituent assembly, were now confined in filthy and unwholesome dungeons, without the liberty of breathing the fresh air more than one hour in a day, and debarred from all communication with each other. The General humanely urged the obligation which this country lay under, to protect Monsieur de Lafayette, according to the proclamation of the 29th of October, which promised protection to all who should throw off anarchy, and declare for monarchy. If we refuse to interfere, what dependance could the royalists place upon our promises ? He noticed the gross impolicy shown in our conduct towards those who had deserted the republic, and warned the House against the propagation of an opinion that this country was not sincere in the proclamation of October 29th ; which must inevitably be the case, if we did not mark our disapprobation of the imprisonment of Monsieur de Lafayette and his companions, who were the defenders of the constitution of 1789. A favorable moment for negotiating

upon this subject might certainly be found ; as for instance, when solicitations were made to his Prussian majesty to accept a sum of 7 or £800,000 from this country. He urged, that the conduct of Monsieur de Lafayette in America, ought to be no bar to such an interposition, as we should have been happy to have saved, by such a step, the life of Louis the sixteenth, whose conduct in the American war would never have been thought of as an obstacle. The General continued to urge the policy and humanity of this interference, and mentioned the intention of the President of the United States, to make an application in favour of the unhappy prisoner. He concluded, by moving for an address to his majesty, stating, that the detention of Monsieur de Lafayette and his three friends in prison, by order of the King of Prussia, was injurious to his majesty and the cause of his allies, and beseeching him to intercede for their deliverance, in such a way as he in his wisdom shall judge proper.

“ This motion was seconded by Colonel Tarleton, who gallantly expatiated upon the merits of a General who had once been his adversary, and, to prove the attachment of Monsieur de Lafayette to monarchy, read an extract of a letter from him, written in the camp at Maubeuge. This letter he stated, had, on its arrival in Paris, excited against him the rancour of the Jacobin faction. It produced an accusation against him

before the assembly, which, on his arrival, pronounced a unanimous acquittal and approbation. In his absence, Jacobin emissaries corrupted his army, and he resolved to flee from a country which he was then prevented from serving.

“ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Pit,) denied that the four persons mentioned in the motion ever were the real friends of liberty, and thought their detention no infraction of the law of nations. The question, he said, was, whether this country was implicated to interfere from motives of justice, honor, and policy? The interference required would be setting ourselves up as guardians of the consciences of foreign states. This country had, he said, no participation in the matter, since Monsieur de Lafayette had been taken prisoner before we were a party in the war. With respect to the gentlemen being entitled to the protection of this country on account of the proclamation at Toulon, that declaration was addressed only to such as were willing to come as friends and supporters of the genuine cause of liberty. This was not the case with Monsieur de Lafayette and his friends. He should, he said, oppose the motion as equally improper and unnecessary.

“ Mr. Fox thought it was difficult to say which was the more extraordinary, that this country should refuse to interfere, or that the court of Berlin should exercise such

abominable tyranny. On the pretext alleged for continuing the treatment received by Monsieur de Lafayette, that he was the prisoner of the allied powers, not to interfere was to be implicated in the odium, and to be handed down to posterity as accomplices in the diabolical cruelty of the Prussian cabinet. Mr Fox stated that these unfortunate prisoners were confined in separate apartments, suffered only to breathe the fresh air one hour in a day, confined in subterraneous caverns, in which the only light came from a confined and dreary court, where the executions of malefactors was the only spectacle. In this dreary situation, they had still one comfort, that of thinking themselves confined under the same roof; but this consolation was put an end to, by the removal of two of them to another prison; and the request of Monsieur de Lafayette to the King of Prussia, that Monsieur Latour Maubourg might remain in the same prison with him, was denied. As a proof that we might interfere in such a case, Mr. Fox cited the instance of an application made from this country to the court of France in the case of Captain Asgill. He did not, however, conceive that any authority was requisite on the present occasion. He mentioned, that Monsieur de Lafayette was neither treated as a prisoner of war nor as a prisoner of state. The King of Prussia had repeatedly declared him and

his friends prisoners to the allied powers, and that he could not be released but by their consent ; there was no way for those powers to clear themselves from such an imputation, but by declaring their disavowal of the whole proceeding. National honor and policy required this. Monsieur de Lafayette, he contended, stood exactly in the same predicament with those to whom protection had been offered by this country. Had he staid in France, and come forward on the proclamation at Toulon, could we then have refused him protection ? Mr. Fox mentioned, that the treatment experienced by Monsieur de Lafayette and his friends, had prevented many persons in France from joining the standard of royalty. Frenchmen must suppose, from our conduct, either that our declarations were as faithless as those of the King of Prussia, and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, or that our allies thought differently from us ; that all the supporters of limited monarchy were to be proscribed, and the advocates of unlimited monarchy only protected. He showed the unpopularity of the old government of France ; so much so, that after Louis the seventeenth was proclaimed, the partisans of royalty were with much difficulty prevailed upon to lay aside the national cockade, and substitute the white for the tri-coloured flag. Mr. Fox mentioned, in pointed terms, the abominable treachery by which

Lafayette had been captured. Of his company, consisting of forty persons, all but himself and three others, who had been members of the Constituent Assembly were released. No man could, he said, point out that part of the law of nations, by which the subjects of one independent nation could be made prisoners of state by the sovereign of another, for offences committed, or supposed to be committed, in their own country ; it could only be done by the law of tyrants, which condemns all principles, human and divine. Mr. Fox spoke in the highest terms of Monsieur de Lafayette and his fellow prisoners, and vindicated the General from the charge which had been urged against him, that of instigating the flight of the royal family, and afterwards betraying them, from the testimony of the unfortunate Queen on her trial.

“Mr. Burke strongly opposed the motion, on the ground that no precedent existed of such an interference, and that it was improper, as we had forborne to interfere in preventing the numerous massacres, &c. in France. Of these calamities, he considered Monsieur de Lafayette as the origin, and the author of all the miseries that had befallen France. He ridiculed all interference on this occasion, and arraigned, in his usual unqualified terms, the whole conduct of the unhappy sufferers.

“Mr Grey strongly contended in favor of the motion, which was farther supported by Mr. Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Whitbread, junior, and opposed by Mr. Ryder, the Solicitor General, Mr. Cocks and Mr. Addington. The motion was lost. Ayes 46, noes 153. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it:—a solemn and vehement discussion, on Lafayette’s imprisonment, had been held in the face of all Europe; and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings, in the most solemn and authentic way.

When therefore, General Clarke was sent from Paris to join Bonaparte in Italy, and negotiate a peace with the Austrians, it was understood, that he received orders from the Directory to stipulate for the deliverance of the prisoners in Olmutz, since it was impossible for France to consent to such an outrage on the rights of citizenship, as would be implied by their further detention. On opening the negotiation, an attempt was made on the part of Austria, to compel Lafayette to receive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him; but this he distinctly refused; and, declared with a firmness, which we can hardly believe would have survived such sufferings, that he would never accept his liberation in any way, that should compromise his rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or as an *American citizen*.

Bonaparte often said, that, of all the difficulties in this protracted negotiation with the Coalition, the greatest was the delivery of Lafayette.

The document reads as follows:—

“ The commission, with the execution of which Lieutenant General the Marquis de Chasteler has been charged, seems to me to resolve itself into the consideration of three points:—1st. His Imperial Majesty requires an authenticated statement of our exact situation. I am not disposed at present to complain of any grievances. Several representations, however, on this subject, may be found in the letters of my wife, transmitted or sent back by the Austrian government; and if his Majesty, is not satisfied by the perusal of the instructions sent, in his name, from Vienna, I will cheerfully communicate to M. de Chasteler all the information he can possibly desire.

“ 2d. His Majesty, the Emperor and King is desirous of obtaining an assurance, that upon my liberation, I shall immediately leave Europe for America. This has been often my desire and my intention; but as my consent at this moment, to his Majesty's request, would constitute an acknowledgment of his right to impose such a condition, I do not feel disposed to comply with this demand.

“ 3d. His Majesty, the Emperor and King, has graciously done me the honor to signify, that inasmuch, as the principles I

profess, are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he cannot consent to allow me to enter his territories again, without his special permission. To this, I have only to reply, that there already exist antecedent obligations, of which I cannot possibly divest myself, partly towards America, but mostly towards France; and I cannot engage to do any thing which might interfere with the rights of my country, to my personal services. With these exceptions, I can assure the Marquis de Chasteler, that my invariable resolution is, not to set my foot upon any territory under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The other prisoners Maubourg and de Puzy made similar objections to binding themselves not to enter the Emperor's dominion, in case their country required their services there. It was therefore arranged, that all the prisoners should be set free after signing the following declaration:—

"The undersigned engage towards his Majesty the Emperor and King, not to enter at any time, whatever, his hereditary provinces, without first obtaining his special commission; it being always understood, that the rights of the undersigned's country over his person, are explicitly reserved and retained."

On these terms he was, together with his fellow prisoners and family, at last released

on the 25th of August, 1797 : Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters having been confined twenty-two months, and Lafayette himself five years, in a disgraceful spirit of vulgar cruelty and revenge, of which modern history can afford, we trust, very few examples.

Madame de Lafayette never entirely recovered from it. Her constitution had been crushed by her sufferings ; and though she lived ten years afterwards, she never had the health with which she entered the dungeon of Olmutz. She died, at last, at La Grange, in December 1807.

During Lafayette's imprisonment, our own government employed such means as were in its power for his release. The American ministers at the European Courts were instructed to use their exertions to this end ; and when Washington found that no success was to be hoped from this quarter, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Emperor of Austria, interceding in behalf of this early friend of American liberty. The letter is introduced in this place, as reflecting honor on the feelings and character of Washington, and as expressing sentiments not more deeply cherished by him, than by a whole nation.

“ It will readily occur to your majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sen-

sibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

“ In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de Lafayette ; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes ; and endeavor to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

“ I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty’s consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity ? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ, and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

“ As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to

me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory."

France was still too little settled to promise peace or safety to Lafayette and his family. They proceeded first to Hamburg, and then, after causing their rights both as French and American citizens to be formally recognised, went to the neighboring neutral territories of Holstein, where they lived in retirement and tranquillity about a year. There they were joined by their eldest son, who came to them from the family of General Washington; there, too, their eldest daughter was married to Latour Maubourg, brother of the person who had shared Lafayette's captivity; and there he first devoted himself with great earnestness to those agricultural pursuits, which have since constituted the occupation and the happiness of his life. From Holstein he went at the formal invitation of the Batavian republic, and established himself for several months at Utrecht in Holland, where he was treated with great consideration and kindness, and where he had the advantage of being nearer to the borders of his own country. While he was thus living tranquil and happy, but anxiously watching the progress of events in France, the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, November 10th, 1799, happened, and promised for a time to settle the government of his country on a safer foundation.

He immediately returned to France, and established himself at La Grange ; a fine old castle, surrounded by a moderate estate about forty miles from Paris, where he has lived ever since.

The happy retirement of Lafayette and his interesting family, cannot be better described than is done by Lady Morgan, which is as follows :

“ The Chateau of La Grange Blessneau lies in the fertile district of La Brie ; so remote from any high road, so lonely, so wood-embosomed, that a spot more sequestered, more apparently distant from the bustling world, and all its scenes of conflict and activity, can scarcely be imagined. Having left the public road about thirty miles from Paris, and struck into an almost impassible *chemin-detravers*, we trusted to the hints and guidance of shepherds, woodcutters and *gardes champetres* for a clue to the labyrinth we were pursuing. They all knew the chateau la Grange ; and by their directions, we proceeded from one “ deep-entangled glen ” to another ; jolting over stony brooks, floundering through rapid mill-streams ; sometimes buried in forests of fruit trees, and sometimes driving through farm yards, to the dismay of the poultry, and the amusement of their owners ; while our coachman and a French servant, who accompanied us, had always some question

to ask, or some courtesy to offer and receive.

In crossing a *chemin-pave*, as it was called, we were pointed out the remains of a Roman road; and the spot was marked where a battle was fought, in March, 1814, between Bonaparte and the Austrians, called the battle of Mormans, in which the French arms were victorious. This skirmish prefaced the great engagement of Montreau.

In the midst of this fertile and luxuriant wilderness, rising above prolific orchards and antiquated woods, appeared the five towers of La Grange Blessneau, tinged with the golden rays of the setting sun. Through the boles of the trees, appeared the pretty village of Aubepierre, once, perhaps the dependency of the castle, and clustering near the protection of its walls. A remoter view of the village of D'Hires, with its gleaming river and romantic valley, was caught and lost, alternately, in the serpentine mazes of the rugged road; which, accommodated to the groupings of the trees, wound amidst branches laden with ripening fruit, till its rudeness suddenly subsided in the velvet lawn that immediately surrounded the castle. The deep moat, the draw bridge, the ivied tower, and arched portals, opening into the square court, had a feudal and picturesque character; and, combined with the reserved tints and fine repose of evening, associated with that exaltation of feeling which be-

longed to the moment preceding a first interview with those, on whom the mind has long dwelt with admiration or interest.

We found General Lafayette surrounded by his patriarchal family ; his excellent son and daughter in law, his two daughters (the sharers of his dungeon in Olmutz) and their husbands ; eleven grand-children, and a venerable grand-uncle, the ex-grand prior of Malta, with hair as white as snow, and his cross and his order worn, as proudly as when he had issued forth at the head of his pious troops, against the "*paynim foe,*" or Christian enemy. Such was the groupe that received us in the saloon of La Grange ; such was the close-knit circle that made our breakfast and our dinner party ; accompanied us in our delightful rambles through the grounds of La Grange, and constantly presented the most perfect unity of family interests, habits, taste, and affections.

We naturally expect to find strong traces of time in the form of those, with whose name and deeds we have long been acquainted ; of those who had obtained the suffrages of the world, almost before we had entered it. But, on the person of Lafayette, time has left no impression ; nor a wrinkle furrows the ample brow, and his unbent, and noble figure, is still as upright, bold, and vigorous, as the mind that informs it. Grace, strength, and dignity, still distinguished the fine person of this extraordinary

man ; who, though more than forty years before the world, engaged in scenes of strange and eventful conflict, does not yet appear to have reached his climacteric. Bustling and active in his farm, graceful and elegant in his saloon, it is difficult to trace, in one of the most successful agriculturists, and one of the most perfect fine gentlemen that France has produced, a warrior and a legislator. The patriot, however, is always discernable.

In the full possession of every faculty and talent he ever possessed, the memory of M. Lafayette has all the tenacity of unworn youthful recollection ; and, besides these, high views of all that is most elevated in the mind's conception. His conversation is brilliantly enriched with anecdotes of all that is celebrated, in character and event, for the last fifty years. He still talks with unwearyed delight of his short visit to England, to his friend Mr. Fox, and dwelt on the *witchery* of the late Duchess of Devonshire, with almost boyish enthusiasm. He speaks and writes English with the same elegance he does his native tongue. He has made himself master of all that is best worth knowing, in English literature and philosophy. I observed that his library contained many of our most eminent authors upon all subjects. His elegant, and well chosen, collection of books, occupies the highest apartments in one of the towers of the chateau ;

and, like the study of Montaigne, hangs over the farm yard of the philosophical agriculturist. "It frequently happens," said M. Lafayette, as we were looking out of the window at some flocks, which were moving beneath, "it frequently happens that my Merinos, and my hay-carts, dispute my attention with your Home, or our own Voltaire."

He spoke with great pleasure on the visit paid him at La Grange some years ago, by Mr. Fox and General Fitzpatrick. He took me out, the morning after my arrival, to show me a tower, richly covered with ivy: "It was Fox," said he, "who planted that ivy! I have taught my grand-children to venerate it"

The chateau La Grange does not, however, want other points of interest. Founded by Louis Le Gros, and occupied by the princes of Lorraine, the mark of a cannon ball is still visible in one of its towers, which penetrated the masonry, when attacked by Mareschal Turenne. Here, in the plain, but spacious, *salon-a-manger*, the peasantry of the neighborhood, and the domestics of the castle, assemble every Sunday evening in winter, to dance to the violin of the *concierge* and were regaled with cakes and *eau sucee*. The General is usually, and his family are *always* present, at these rustic balls. The young people occasionally dance among the tenantry, and set the ex-

amples of new steps, freshly imported by their Paris dancing master.

In the summer, this patriarchal re-union takes place in the park, where a space is cleared for the purpose shaded by the lofty trees which encircle it. A thousand times in contemplating Lafayette, in the midst of this charming family, the last years of the life of the Chancellor de l'Hopital recurred to me,—he, whom the *naïve* Brantome likens to Cato; and who, loving liberty as he hated faction, retired from a court unworthy of his virtues, to his little domain of Vignay, which he cultivated himself.

In accompanying this “*last of the Romans*” through his extensive farms, visiting, his sheep folds, his cow-stalls, his dairies, (of all of which he was justly proud, and occasionally asking me, whether it was not something in the English style,) I was struck with his gracious manner to the peasantry, and to the workmen engaged in the various rustic offices of his domains. He almost always addressed them with “*mon ami*,” “*mon bon ami*,” “*mon cher garçon* ;” while “*ma bonne mere*,” and “*ma chere fille*” were invited to display the delicacies of the cream-pans and cheese presses, or to parade their turkeys and ducklings for our observation and amusement. And this condescending kindness seems repaired by boundless affection, and respect amounting to veneration, What was once the *verger* of the

chateau, where anciently the feudal seigneur regaled himself in the evening, with the officers of his household, and played chess with his chaplain, is now extended, behind the castle, into a noble park, cut out of the luxurient woods ; the trees being so cleared away, and disposed of, as to sprinkle its green and velvet lawn, with innumerable clumps of lofty oaks and fantastic elms. "This is rather English, too," said General Lafayette ; "but it owes the greater part of its beauty to the taste of our celebrated landscape painter, Robert, who assisted me in laying out the grounds, and disposing of my wood scenery."

It was while walking by a bright moonlight, in these lovely grounds, that I have listened to their illustrious master, conversing upon almost every subject worthy to engage the mind of a great and good man ; sometimes in French, sometimes in English ; and always with eloquence, fluency, and spirit.

Our mid-day ramble was of a less serious character ; for, as the young people were let loose from their studies to accompany us, we issued forth a party of twenty strong. Upon these occasions, the Grand Prior took a very distinguished part. He was evidently a popular leader upon such expeditions, and having given orders to a party to go in search of some peculiarly beautiful cornflowers, which were destined to assist the

dinner toilette, the veteran knight marshalled his divisions, and commanded the expedition, with an earnestness and a gravity which evidently showed him as much interested in this predatory warfare upon blooms and odours, as his well disciplined little troops. Some error, however, in their evolutions, just as the word of command was given, struck the General Lafayette himself, who commanded a halt, and suggested the experience of his counsel to the science of the Maltese tactics. It was curious to observe the representative of the Grand Masters of the knights of St. John, of Jerusalem, and the General commandant of the national army of France, manœuvring this little rifle corps, and turning powers that had once their influence over the fate of Europe, against corn flowers and May-sweets.

I was desirous to know how Bonaparte seemed affected at the moment that General Lafayette, at the head of the deputation who came to thank him in the name of the chamber, for his voluntary abdication, appeared before him. "We found him," said General Lafayette, "upon this occasion, as upon many others, acting out of the ordinary rules of calculation; neither affecting the pathetic dignity of fallen greatness, nor evincing the uncontrollable dejection of disappointed ambition, of hopes crushed, never to revive, and of splendour quenched, never to rekindle. We found him calm and serene: he

received us with a faint but gracious smile ; he spoke with firmness and precision. I think the parallel for this moment was that when he presented his breast to the troops drawn out against him, on his return from Elba, exclaiming, "I am your Emperor, strike if you will." There have been splendid traits in the life of this man, not to be reconciled to his other modes of conduct :—his character is out of all ordinary keeping, and to him the doctrine of probabilities could never, in any instance, be applied."

A few days before this memorable interview, Lafayette had said in the Assembly, in answer to Lucien Bonaparte's reproaches, who accused the nation of levity in its conduct towards the Emperor, "Go, tell your brother that we will trust him no longer ; we will ourselves undertake the salvation of our country." And Napoleon had learnt that, if his abdication was not sent to the chamber within one hour, M. Lafayette had resolved to move for his expulsion. Yet Bonaparte received this firm opposer of all his views with graciousness and serenity ; and it was this resolute and determined foe to his power, who, after this interview, demanded that the liberty and life of Napoleon should be put under the protection of the French people. But Napoleon, always greater in adversity than in prosperity, chose to trust to the generosity of the English na-

tion, and to seek safety and protection amidst what he deemed a great and free people. This voluntary trust, so confidently placed, so sacredly reposed, was a splendid event in the history of England's greatness. www.libtool.com.cn was a bright reflection on the records of her virtues. It illuminated a page in her chronicles, on which the eye of posterity might have dwelt with transport! It placed her pre-eminent among cotemporary nations. Her powerful enemy, against whom she had successfully armed and coalesced the civilized world, chose his place of refuge, in the hour of adversity, in her bosom, because he knew her brave, and believed her magnanimous.

Alone, in his desolate dwelling ; deprived of every solace of humanity ; torn from those ties, which alone, throw a ray of brightness over the darkest shades of misfortune ; wanting all the comforts, and many of the necessaries of life ; the victim of the caprice of petty delegated power ; harrassed by every day oppression ; mortified by mean, reiterated, hourly privation ; chained to a solitary and inaccessible rock, with no object on which to fix his attention, but the sky, to whose inclemency he is exposed, or that little spot of earth, within whose narrow bounds he is destined to wear away the dreary hours of unvaried captivity, in hopeless, cheerless, life consuming misery. Where now is his faith in the magnanimity of England? his

trust in her generosity? his hopes in her beneficence?

The regret we felt in leaving La Grange, was proportioned to the expectations, with which we arrived before its gates, to the pleasure we enjoyed under its roof. It is a memorable event in the life of ordinary beings, to be permitted a proximate view of a great and good man! It is a refreshment to the feelings, which the world may have withered!—it is expansion to the mind which the world may have narrowed!—It chases from the memory the traces of all the littleness, the low, mean, and sordid passions, by which the multitudes of society are actuated; the successes of plodding mediocrity; the triumphs of time serving obsequiousness; and the selfish views of power and ambition, for the destruction of the many, and the debasement of all! To have lived under the roof of Lafayette; to have conversed with him, and listened to him, was opening a splendid page in the history of man. It was perused with edification and delight, and its impressions can only fade with the memory and life.”

When, however, Bonaparte, to whom the revolution of the 18th Brumaire had given supreme control, began to frame his constitution and organize his government, Lafayette perceived, at once, that the principles of freedom would not be permanently respected. He had several interviews and

political discussions with the Consul, and was much pressed to accept the place of Senator, with its accompanying revenues, in the new order of things; but he refused, determined not to involve himself in changes, which he already foresaw he should not approve. In 1802, Bonaparte asked to be made First Consul for life; Lafayette voted against it, entered his protest, and sent him the following letter:—

“GENERAL,

When a man who is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes you, and who is too ardent a lover of glory to be wholly indifferent to yours, connects his suffrage with conditional restrictions, those restrictions not only secure him from suspicion, but prove amply, that no one will more gladly than himself, behold in you, the Chief Magistrate for life, of a free and independent Republic.

“The 18th Brumaire saved France from destruction; and I felt myself reassured and recalled by the liberal declarations to which you have connected the sanction of your honour. In your Consular authority, there was afterwards discerned that salutary dictatorial prerogative, which, under the auspices of a genius like yours, accomplished such glorious purposes; yet less glorious, let me add, than the restoration of liberty would prove.

“It is not possible, General, that you, the

first amidst that order of mankind, which surveys every age and every country, before the stations of its members in the scale can be determined, that you can desire that a revolution, marked by an unexampled series of stupendous victories, and unheard of sufferings, shall give nothing to the world, but a renovated system of arbitrary government. The people of this country have been acquainted with their rights too long to forget them forever ; but perhaps they may recover and enjoy them better now, than during the period of revolutionary effervescence. And you, by the strength of your character, and the influence of public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your power and your fortune, in re-establishing the liberties of France, can allay all agitations, calm all anxieties, and subdue all dangers.

“ When I wish, then, to see the career of your glory crowned by the honors of perpetual magistracy, I but act in correspondence with my own private sentiments, and am influenced exclusively by patriotic considerations. But all my political and moral obligations, the principles that have governed every action of my life, call on me to pause, before I bestow on you my suffrage, until I feel assured, that your authority shall be erected on a basis worthy the nation and yourself.

“I confidently trust, General, that you will recognize here, as you have done on all other occasions, a steady continuance of my political opinions, combined with the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and the deepest sense of all my obligations towards you.”

From this moment all intercourse between them ceased. Bonaparte even went so far as to refuse to promote Lafayette's eldest son, and his son-in-law Lasteyrie, though they distinguished themselves repeatedly in the army; and once, when a report of the services of the former in a bulletin was offered him, he erased it with impatience, saying, “These Lafayettes cross my path everywhere.” Discouraged, therefore, in every way in which they could be of service to their country, the whole family was at last collected at La Grange, and lived there in the happiest retirement, so long as the despotism of Bonaparte lasted.

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 made no change in Lafayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was very kindly received; but the government they established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, that he did not again present himself at the palace. The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, at the end of a year brought back Bonaparte, who landed the first of March, 1815, and reach-

ed the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and his policy seemed to be to play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon the soil of France, he endeavored to win the old friends of French freedom; and the same day that he made his irruption into the ancient palace of the Thuilleries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment with the title of Count. In a similar way, he endeavored to obtain the countenance and cooperation of Lafayette. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Lafayette had been personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult and conciliate him; but Lafayette would hold no communion with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressingly solicited, to have an interview with the Emperor; and ended, when still further urged, by positively declaring, that he could never meet him, unless it should be as a representative freely chosen by the people.

On the 22d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation his *Acte Additionel*, or an addition, as he chose to consider it, to the constitutions of 1799, 1802, and 1804: confirming thereby the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and

an elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted, by the votes of the French people ; but Lafayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the Consulship for life. The very college of Electors, however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him first to be their President, and afterwards to be their Representative ; and the Emperor, determined to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. Lafayette was as true to his principles, as he had often been before, under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, and declined the peerage.

As a representative of the people he saw Bonaparte, for the first time, at the opening of the chambers, on the 7th of June. "It is above twelve years since we have met, General," said Napoleon, with great kindness of manner, when he saw Lafayette ; but Lafayette received the Emperor with marked distrust ; and all his efforts were directed, as he then happily said they should be, "to make the chamber, of which he was a member, a representation of the French people, and not a Napoleon club." Of three candidates for the presidency of the chamber, on the first ballot, Lafayette and Lanjuinais had the highest number of votes ; but finding

that the Emperor had declared he would not accept Lanjuinais, if he should be chosen, Lafayette used great exertions and obtained a majority for him ; to which circumstances compelled Napoleon to submit. From this moment, until after the battle of Waterloo, which happened in twelve days, Lafayette did not make himself prominent in the chamber. He voted for all judicious supplies, on the ground that France was invaded, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen to defend their country ; but he in no way implicated himself in Bonaparte's projects or fortunes, with which it was impossible that he could have any thing in common.

At last, on the 21st of June, Bonaparte arrived from Waterloo, a defeated and desperate man. He was already determined to dissolve the representative body, and, assuming the whole dictatorship of the country, play, at least, one deep and bloody game for power and success. Some of his council, and, among the rest, Regnault de St. Jean d' Angely, who were opposed to this violent measure, informed Lafayette, that it would be taken instantly, and that in two hours the chamber of representatives would cease to exist. There was, of course, not a moment left for consultation or advice ; the Emperor, or the chamber, must fall that morning. As soon, therefore, as the session was opened, Lafayette, with the same clear courage and in the same spirit of self-devotion, with

which he had stood at the bar of the National Assembly in 1792, immediately ascended the Tribune for the first time for twenty years, and said these few words, which assuredly would have been his death warrant, if he had not been supported in them by the assembly he addressed ; “ When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice which the friends of free institutions will still recognise, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country, which you alone have now the power to save. Sinister intimations have been heard ; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tricolored standard ; the standard of '89 ; the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit then gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel, as I do.” These resolutions declared the chamber to be in permanent session, and all attempts to dissolve it, high treason ; and they also called for the four principal ministers to come to the chamber and explain the state of affairs. Bonaparte is said to have been much agitated, when word was brought him simply that Lafayette was in the tribune ; and his fears were certainly not ill founded, for these resolutions, which were at once adopted, both

by the representatives and the peers, substantially divested him of his power, and left him merely a factious and dangerous individual in the midst of a distracted state.

He hesitated during the whole day, as to the course he should pursue; but, at last, hoping that the eloquence of Lucien, which had saved him on the 18th Brumaire, might be found no less effectual now, he sent him with the three other ministers to the chamber, just at the beginning of the evening; having first obtained a vote, that all should pass in secret session. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Fauxbourgs had been excited, and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the chamber, as he had formerly marched against the council of Five Hundred, and disperse them at the point of the bayonet. At all events, it was a contest for existence, and no man could feel his life safe. At this moment, Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light, which two vast torches shed through the hall and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained. A deep and painful silence followed. At length Mr. Jay, well known above twenty years ago in Boston, under the assumed name of Renaud, as a teacher of the French Lan-

guage, and an able writer in one of the public newspapers of that city, ascended the Tribune, and, in a long and vehement speech of great eloquence, exposed the dangers of the country, and ended by proposing to send a deputation to the Emperor, demanding his abdication. Lucien immediately followed. He never showed more power, or a more impassioned eloquence. His purpose was to prove, that France was still devoted to the Emperor, and that its resources were still equal to a contest with the allies. "It is not Napoleon," he cried, "that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made to this people, to abandon their Emperor; to expose the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgment on its levity and inconstancy. No, sir, the honor of this nation shall never be so compromised!" On hearing these words, Lafayette rose. He did not go to the tribune; but spoke, contrary to rule and custom, from his place. His manner was perfectly calm, but marked with the very spirit of rebuke; and he addressed himself, not to the President, but directly to Lucien. "The assertion, which has just been uttered, is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy to the Emperor Napoleon? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of Russia; over fifty fields of battle;

in disaster as faithfully as in victory ; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of three millions of Frenchmen " These few words made an impression on the Assembly, which could not be mistaken or resisted ; and as Lafayette ended, Lucien himself bowed respectfully to him, and, without resuming his speech, sat down.

It was determined to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber to meet the grand council of the ministers, and deliberate in committee, on the measures to be taken. This body sat during the night, under the presidency of Cambaceres, Arch Chancellor of the empire. The first thing that was done in this committee was to devise and arrange every possible means of resisting the invasion of the allies and the Bourbons ; and Lafayette was foremost in giving the Government, for this purpose, every thing that could be asked. But it was apparent, from the representations of the ministers themselves, that they could carry on the war no longer. Lafayette then moved that a deputation should be sent to Napoleon, demanding his abdication. The arch Chancellor refused to put the motion ; but it was as much decided as if it had been formally carried. The next morning, June 22d, the Emperor sent in his abdication, and Lafayette was on the committee that went to the

Thuilleries to thank him for it, on behalf of the nation.

It had been the intention of a majority of both chambers, from the moment of their convocation, to form a free constitution for the country, and to call the whole people to arms to resist the invasion. In both of these great purposes, they had been constantly opposed by Bonaparte, and in the few hurried and anxious days that preceded the battle of Waterloo there had been time to do very little. There was now nothing but confusion. A project was arranged to place Lafayette at the head of affairs; because it was known that he could carry with him the confidence of the nation, and especially that of the National Guards, whom he would immediately have called out *en masse*. But a scene of most unworthy intrigues was immediately begun. A crude, provisional government was established, with the infamous Fouché, as its President, which lasted only a few days, and whose principal measure was the sending of a deputation to the allied powers, of which Lafayette was the head, to endeavour to stop the invasion of France. This of course failed, as had been foreseen, Paris surrendered on the 3d of July, and what remained of the representative government, which Bonaparte had created for his own purposes, but which Lafayette had turned against him, was soon afterwards dissolved. Its doors were found guarded on the morn-

ing of the 8th, but by what authority has never been known ; and the members met at Lafayette's house, entered their formal protest, and went quietly to their own homes. Lafayette returned immediately to La Grange, from which, in fact, he had been only a month absent, and resumed at once his agricultural employments. There, in the midst of a family of twenty children and grand children, who all look up to him as their patriarchal chief, he lives in a simple and sincere happiness rarely granted to those, who have borne such a leading part in the troubles and sufferings of a great period of political revolution. Since 1817 he has been twice elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in all his votes has shown himself constant to his ancient principles. When the ministry proposed to establish a censorship of the press, he resisted them in an able speech ; but Lafayette was never a factious man, and therefore he has never made any further opposition to the present order of things in France, than his conscience and his official place required. That he does not approve the present constitution of the monarchy, or the political principles and management of the existing government, his votes as a deputy, and his whole life, plainly show ; and that his steady and temperate opposition is matter of serious anxiety to the family now on the throne is apparent, from their conduct towards him during the last nine

years, and their management of the public press since he has been in this country. If he chose to make himself a Tribune of the people, he might at any moment become formidable ; but he trusts rather to the progress of general intelligence and political wisdom throughout the nation, which he feels sure will, at last, bring his country to the practically free government, he has always been ready to sacrifice his life to purchase for it. To this great result he looks forward, as Madame de Staël has well said of him, with the entire confidence a pious man enjoys in a future life ; but, when he feels anxious and impatient to hasten onward to it, he finds a wisdom tempered by long experience stirring within him, which warns him, in the beautiful language of Milton, that " they also serve who only stand and wait."

This was the distinguished personage, who, after an absence of eight and thirty years, came to visit the nation, for whose independence and freedom he hazarded whatever is most valued in human estimation, almost half a century ago. He came, too, at the express invitation of the entire people ; he was literally the " Guest of the Nation ;" but the guest, it should be remembered, of another generation, than the one he originally came to serve. We rejoiced at it. We rejoiced, in common with the thousands who thronged his steps wherever he passed, that we were permitted to offer this tribute of a grati-

tude and veneration, which cannot be misinterpreted, to one, who suffered with our fathers for our sake ; but we rejoiced yet more for the moral effect it cannot fail to produce on us, both as individuals and as a people. For it was no common spectacle, which was placed before *each of us* for our instruction. We were permitted to see one, who, by the mere force of principle, by plain and resolved integrity, had passed with perfect consistency, through more remarkable extremes of fortune, than any man now alive, or, perhaps, any man on record. We were permitted to see one who had borne a leading and controlling part in two hemispheres, and in the two most important revolutions the world had yet seen, and had come forth from both of them without the touch of dishonor. We were permitted to see that man, who first put in jeopardy his rank and fortune at home, in order to serve as a volunteer in the cause of Free Institutions in America, and afterwards hazarded his life at the bar of the National Assembly, to arrest the same cause, when it was tending to excess and violence. We were permitted to see the man, who, after three years of unbroken political triumph, stood in the midst of a million of his countrymen, comprehending whatever was great, wise, and powerful in the nation, with the *aristocratie* of the monarchy at his feet, and the confidence of all France following his words, as he swore on their behalf to a

free constitution ; and yet remained undazzled and unseduced by his vast, his irresistible popularity. We were permitted to see the man, who, for the sake of the same principles to which he had thus sworn, and in less than three years afterwards, was condemned to such obscure sufferings, that his very existence became doubtful to the world, and the place of his confinement was effectually hidden from the inquiries of his friends, who sent emissaries over half Europe to discover it ; and yet remained unshaken and undismayed, constantly refusing all appearance of compromise with his persecutors and oppressors. We were, in short, permitted to see a man, who has professed, amidst glory and suffering, in triumph and in disgrace, the same principles of political freedom on both sides of the Atlantic ; who has maintained the same tone, the same air, the same open confidence, amidst the ruins of the Bastille, in the Champ de Mars, under the despotism of Bonaparte, and in the dungeons of Olmutz.

We rejoice, too, no less in the effect which this visit of General Lafayette has produced upon us *as a nation*. It is doing much to unite us. It brought those together, who had been separated by long lives of political animosity. It helped to break down the great boundaries and landmarks of party. It made a holiday of kind and generous feelings in the hearts, of the multi-

tudes that thronged his way, as he moved in triumphal procession from city to city. It turned this whole people from the bustle and divisions of our wearisome elections, the contests of the senate house, and the troubles and bitterness of our manifold political dissensions; and instead of all this, carried us back to that great period in our history, about which opinions have long been tranquil and settled. It offered to us, as it were, with the very costume and air appropriate to the times, one of the great actors, from this most solemn passage in our national destinies; and thus enabled us to transmit yet one generation further onward, a sensible impression of the times of our fathers; since we were not only permitted to witness ourselves one of their foremost leaders and champions, but could show him to our children, and thus leave in their young hearts an impression, which will grow old there with their deepest and purest feelings. It brought, in fact, our revolution nearer to us, with all the highminded patriotism and selfdenying virtues of our forefathers; and therefore naturally turned our thoughts more towards our posterity, and made us more anxious to do for them what we are so sensibly reminded was done with such perilous sacrifices for us.

We may be allowed, too, to add, that we rejoiced in General Lafayette's visit *on his own account*. He enjoyed a singular distinc-

tion ; for it is a strange thing in the providence of God, one that never happened before, and will, probably, never happen again, that an individual from a remote quarter of the world, having assisted to lay the foundation of a great nation should be permitted thus to visit the posterity of those he served, and witness on a scale so vast, the work of his own sacrifices ; the result of grand principles in government for which he contended before their practical effect had been tried ; the growth and maturity of institutions, which he assisted to establish, when their operation could be calculated only by the widest and most clear-sighted circumspection. We rejoice in it, for it is, we doubt not, the most gratifying and appropriate reward, that could be offered to a spirit like his. In the beautiful phrase which Tacitus has applied to Germanicus, *fruitur fama* ; for he must be aware, that the ocean which rolls between us and Europe, operates like the grave on all feelings of passion and party, and that the voice of gratitude and admiration, which rose to greet him, from every city, every village, and every heart of this wide land, was as pure and sincere as the voice of posterity.

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LAFAYETTE'S ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1824.

Lafayette arrived in this country, accompanied by his son and M. L. Vasseur, in the packet ship *Cadmus*, Capt. Allen, on the 15th of August, 1824, and landed in the harbour of New York.

Previous to Lafayette's leaving France, in January, of the same year, Congress passed a resolution, authorising the President of the United States "To offer him a public ship, for his accommodation; and to assure him, in the name of the people of this great republic, that they cherished for him a grateful and affectionate attachment."

The Legislature of Massachusetts, in June, 1824, passed a resolution, requesting the Governor, to make such arrangements as would secure to this distinguished friend of our country, an honorable reception, on the part of that state; and authorising him to draw from the treasury a sum sufficient to meet the expenses. The society of Cincinnati, of which Lafayette is a member, voted as follows, on the same subject:

"It being reported, that General Lafayette, an original member of the society of Cincinnati, intends visiting the United States

in the course of the present year, voted, that a committee be appointed, to consider what measures it will be proper for this Society to adopt, on the arrival of our distinguished brother; whose meritorious and disinterested services to our country, in the war of the revolution, cannot be too highly appreciated; and whose whole life has been devoted to the vindication of the rights of man."

Letters were also written by the Mayors of New York and Boston, in behalf of the corporation of each city, expressive of the sensation which a knowledge of his intended visit had excited, and requesting the honor of receiving him at their respective cities.

Lafayette, however, declined accepting the invitation of Government, to take his passage in a public ship; and wrote the Mayor of Boston, on the subject, as follows:—
 "But while I profoundly feel the honor intended by the offer of a national ship, I hope I shall incur no blame, by the determination I have taken, to embark, as soon as it is in my power, on board a private vessel."

It being uncertain in what part of the United States, the vessel which conveyed him would first arrive, several of the commercial cities made preparations to receive him in a manner which so great and joyful an occasion required.

As the time approached, on which it was supposed Lafayette would arrive, the whole

nation was in a state of anxious and inquiring expectation. In those cities, particularly, where he might be expected to land, and each of which anxiously desired the honor of first entertaining him, the suspense produced strong emotions. At length the joyful intelligence spread with inconceivable rapidity throughout the country, "Lafayette has arrived."

The day on which the ship entered the harbor, being Sunday, the three gentlemen were received on board a steam boat, and conducted to the house of the Vice-President Tompkins, on Staten Island. The next day, General Lafayette was received at the city of New York, with a degree of splendor and enthusiasm unknown in the country on any former occasion. At an early hour, the whole city was in motion; almost every man, woman, and child was preparing to witness the landing of their much respected guest. The shops and stores were closed, and all business was suspended for the day. The ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the display of the national flag, at all public places and on board the shipping, proclaimed that it was a day of joy, in which all were anxious to partake. Before 12 o'clock, the battery, the adjoining wharves, and every place commanding a view of the passage from Staten Island, were crowded to excess. It was supposed there were nearly 50,000 persons upon the battery, including the

troops. This elegant promenade, since its enlargement, is said to be capable of holding upwards of a 100,000 people, but a large portion of the front was occupied by the brigade of artillery and other troops. The castle garden, almost contiguous to the battery, and its gallery, were also crowded by the citizens.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock, a large steam ship, manned with about 200 United States seamen, and decorated with the flags of every nation, sailed for Staten Island. She was followed by six large steam boats, all crowded with passengers, decorated with flags, and enlivened by bands of music. In one of these, which exhibited only flags of the United States and of the state of New-York, proceeded the committee of arrangements of the city, the officers of the United States army and navy, the general officers of the militia, the committee of the Society of Cincinnati, &c. On board this steam boat, General Lafayette embarked at Staten Island, for the city, at about one o'clock. This was announced by a salute from the largest steam ship, manned by the national troops, and from fort Lafayette. The procession then moved for the city, and presented to its inhabitants a most beautiful and magnificent scene. About two o'clock the General landed at the battery, where he was received by a salute from the troops, and the hearty and reiterated cheers of the immense

throng which had assembled to welcome him to our shores.

It is impossible fully to describe the enthusiasm of joy which pervaded and was expressed by the whole multitude. Here the General had a fair specimen of the affection and respect, which is felt for him by every individual of this extended country. He seemed much moved by these expressions of attachment, and bowed continually to the people who pressed about him. After resting a few moments at the castle garden, he proceeded in an elegant barouche drawn by four horses, escorted by the dragoons and troops, through Broadway to the City Hall. The windows, balconies, and even the roofs of the houses were filled with ladies, all welcoming the General as he passed, by their smiles and waving of handkerchiefs.

At about four o'clock, the procession arrived at the City Hall, where General Lafayette was received by the Mayor and Common Council, and formally welcomed and congratulated on his safe arrival in the country. After receiving the marching salute of the troops in front of the City Hall, he was conducted to the City Hotel, where he dined with the members of the corporation. In the evening, the front of the City Hotel, and many other adjoining buildings, were handsomely illuminated. The theatres and public gardens displayed transparencies,

fire-works and rockets in honor of the occasion." The committee of the Cincinnati waited on General Lafayette, at Staten Island, and were received by him with peculiar marks of affection and friendship. The committee consisted of several field officers of the revolutionary army, some of whom were upwards of eighty years of age.

The following is the address of the Mayor of New York, to General Lafayette, when he arrived at the city Hall.

"In the name of the municipal authority of the city, I bid you a sincere welcome to the shores of a country of whose freedom and happiness you will ever be considered one of the most honored and beloved founders. Your contemporaries in arms, of whom indeed but few remain, have not forgot, and their posterity will never forget the young and gallant *Frenchman*, who consecrated his youth, his talents, his fortune and his exertions to their cause; who exposed his life, who shed his blood, that they might be free and happy. They will recollect with profound emotions, so long so they remain worthy of the liberties they enjoy, and of the exertions you made to obtain them, that you came to them in the darkest period of their struggle; that you linked your fortune with theirs, when it seemed almost hopeless; that you shared in the dangers, privations and sufferings, of that bitter struggle; nor quitted them for a moment till it

was consummated on the glorious field of Yorktown. Half a century has elapsed since that great event, and in that time your name has become as dear to the friends, as it is inseparably connected with the cause of freedom, both in the old and new world.

The people of the United States look up to you as to one of their most honored parents, the country cherishes you as one of the most beloved of her sons. I hope and trust, Sir, that not only the present, but the future conduct of my countrymen, to the latest period of time, will, among other slanders, refute the unjust imputation, that republics are always ungrateful to their benefactors.

In behalf of my fellow citizens of New York and speaking the warm and universal sentiments of the whole people of the United States, I repeat your welcome to our common country."

To this address, General Lafayette made the following reply.

"SIR,

"While I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions, no more to be found on this land; the pleasure to recognize those who survive; the immense course of a free republican population who

so kindly welcome me ; the admirable appearance of the troops ; the presence of a corps of the national navy ; have excited sentiments, to which no language is adequate. You have been pleased, Sir, to allude to the happiest times, the unalloyed enjoyment of my public life. It is the pride of my heart to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add, that upwards of forty years ago I was honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Sir ; I beg you gentlemen to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my profound and everlasting gratitude, devotion and respect."

On the two following days, a great number of the citizens of New York and its vicinity, were introduced to the general. He received also, addresses from the Society of the Cincinnati : from the Historical Society—visited the navy yard, and went on board the Washington, 74. On Thursday, addresses from the Frenchmen residing in the city of New York, and from the gentlemen of the Bar were presented to him.

Having remained four days in New York, during which time an immense number of citizens, ladies as well as gentlemen, of all ages and classes, were introduced to him, and had the pleasure of touching his hand. His reception of the veterans of the revolution, with whom he had been associated, during their struggle for freedom, was pe-

cularly touching. He embraced them all with emotion, and in some instances in silence. General Lafayette left New York for Boston on the 21st. While there, he had received invitations from Philadelphia, Albany, New Haven and Hartford, to visit those cities, but he had made his arrangements previously, to be in Boston at the commencement of the Cambridge University, and therefore could not with propriety delay his visit there. His route lay through New Haven, New London, and Providence. The General's suite consisted of George Washington Lafayette, his son; M. Le Vasseur, his friend, who came with him from France; and four Aldermen of the city of New York. The corporation of the city provided him with an elegant carriage, to convey him to Boston. The inhabitants of New Haven expected that Lafayette, would arrive at that city on Friday afternoon; but such was the immense number of persons of all ranks, who came to congratulate him at whatever place it was expected he would stop, that his arrival was delayed until Saturday morning. At New Rochelle, where he stopped to take refreshments, a salute of nineteen guns was fired, and a great crowd of citizens had collected to receive him. At White Plains, a mast was erected on each side of the road, bearing a striped pendant suspended between them, on which was written *Lafayette*. Near the place where Gene-

ral Putnam dashed down the rocks, an elegant arch was thrown over the road, bearing this inscription :

THIS ARCH,
 On the hill rendered memorable
 by the BRAVE PUTMAN,
 is erected in honor of the illustrious
 MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE ;
 The early and distinguished Champion of
 American Liberty, and the tried
 FRIEND OF WASHINGTON.

When the General arrived at the line of Connecticut, a troop of horse was ready to receive and escort him, and the citizens had assembled to welcome him to their state.

At every village, salutes, triumphal arches, or addresses were prepared for him.

Having arrived at Bridgport, between 11 and 12 o'clock on Friday evening, the General stopped for the night. At an early hour on Saturday morning, he departed for New-Haven amid the discharge of artillery, the ringing of bells, and the acclamation of the people.

On Saturday morning the General was met five miles from New-Haven, by a company of horse guards, and escorted to the city where he arrived at ten o'clock. On arriving at the intersection of George and Church streets, he was received with three hearty cheers by the citizens, which were re-echoed and repeated by the people along the lines to Morse's Hotel, where the Gen-

eral and his suite was received by the Mayor and other public authorities.

After receiving the congratulations of a great number of citizens, some of whom came forty miles to see him, visiting the College, breakfasting with the Mayor, Alderman and Common Council, reviewing the troops on the green, and calling on a number of distinguished citizens, the General took his departure by the way of East Haven, Saybrook and Lyme, to New-London. At every town on the road he was received with some new mark of kindness or distinction. Every place where he was expected vied with that he had last left in the bestowment of some varied honors. Having reached New-London, it being the Sabbath, he attended divine service at two different places of public worship, and having called on the mother and family of the late lamented Commodore Perry, he left that city for Providence, where he arrived on Monday the 23d at 12 o'clock. The Governor of Rhode Island had sent his aids to meet him at the boundary of the state, and escort him to the capital. When he arrived within the limits of Providence, he found the whole city had come forward to meet and congratulate him. Having moved forward amid the cheers of the multitude, with which the streets were crowded, he alighted at the court house. The Avenue leading to the building was lined with female youth, dressed in white,

holding in their hands branches of flowers, which they strewed in his path, at the same time waving their white handkerchiefs. Lafayette appeared much gratified and affected by this simple but touching arrangement. In the senate chamber he was received by the Governor, and many gentlemen of distinction were introduced to him. Among others were several officers who had served in the army of the Revolution, and some of them were known to him. These he embraced with great emotion. One of them, Captain Olney, he knew instantly, though he was among the crowd. This gentleman had commanded a company under the General, at the siege of Yorktown, and was the first to force the redoubts thrown up by the British troops, and which were taken by assault.

“ At this interview so affecting and interesting, a thrill ran through the whole assembly, and not a dry eye was to be found among the throng of spectators; while the shouts of the multitude, at first suppressed, and then uttered in a manner tempered by the scene, evinced the deep feeling and proud associations it had excited.” Another aged veteran was introduced to the General, who had passed his 85th year, and who had served under him. The decrepit old gentleman was overjoyed once more to behold his beloved General before he sunk *into his grave.*

Lafayette, to fulfil the expectations of the citizens of Boston, was compelled to leave Providence on the afternoon of the same day on which he arrived.

At Pautucket, six miles from Providence, and the frontier of Massachusetts, he was met by the aids of Governor Eustis of that state. At Dedham, where he arrived at 11 o'clock at night, he found the village handsomely illuminated, and the people anxious for his approach. Here he staid a short time, and was introduced to many of the inhabitants. At Roxbury, his approach was announced by the discharge of artillery, and the ascent of rockets.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 23d, he alighted at the residence of Governor Eustis in Boston.

The annunciation of his arrival at the seat of the Governor, put every thing in activity, for the prompt execution of the arrangements of the city council for his hearty welcome. The various bodies designated to compose the procession, and perform the honours of the day, assembled at an early hour and at the time appointed.

The General was met at the Roxbury line, by a cavalcade consisting of the city authorities in carriages, preceded by the assistant city Marshal, where he was addressed by the Honorable Mr. Quincy, Mayor of Boston, as follows :

“SIR—The citizens of Boston welcome you on your return to the United States; mindful of your early zeal in the cause of American Independence, grateful for your distinguished share in the perils and glories of its achievements. When urged by a generous sympathy, you first landed on these shores, you found a people engaged in an arduous and eventful struggle for liberty, with apparently inadequate means, and amidst dubious omens. After a lapse of nearly half a century, you find the same people, prosperous beyond all hope and all precedent; their liberty secure; sitting in its strength; without fear and without reproach.

In your youth you joined the standard of three millions of people, raised in an unequal and uncertain conflict. In your advanced age you return and are met by ten millions of people, their descendants, whose hearts throng hither to greet your approach and rejoice in it.

This is not the movement of a turbulent populace, excited by the fresh laurels of some recent conqueror. It is a grave, moral, intellectual impulse.

A whole people in the enjoyment of freedom as perfect as the condition of our nature permits, recur with gratitude, increasing with the daily increasing sense of their blessings, to the memory of those, who, by

their labours, and in their blood, laid the foundation of our liberties.

Your name, Sir,—the name of LAFAYETTE, is associated with the most perilous, and most glorious periods of our Revolution :— with the imperishable names of Washington, and of that numerous host of heroes which adorn the proudest archives of American history, and are engraven in indelible traces on the hearts of the whole American people.

Accept, then, Sir, in the sincere spirit in which it is offered, this simple tribute to your virtues.

Again, Sir, the citizens of Boston bid you welcome to the cradle of American Independence, and to scenes consecrated with the blood shed by the earliest martyrs in its cause.”

General Lafayette then rose in his carriage, and made the following reply :—

“ The emotions of love and gratitude, which I have been accustomed to feel on my entering this city, have ever mingled with a sense of religious reverence for the cradle of *American*, and let me hope it will hereafter be said, of *Universal Liberty*.

“ What must be, Sir, my feelings, at the blessed moment, when, after so long an absence, I find myself again surrounded by the good citizens of Boston, where I am so affectionately, so honorably welcomed, not only by old friends, but by several successive generations ; where I can witness the

prosperity, the immense improvements, that have been the just reward of a noble struggle, virtuous morals, and truly republican institutions.

“ I beg of you, Mr. Mayor, gentlemen of the city council, and all of you, beloved citizens of Boston, to accept the respectful and warm thanks of a heart, which has, for nearly half a century, been particularly devoted to your illustrious city.”

The different bodies which were to compose the procession having arrived, they were formed in the following order.

Three Marshals.

A corps of Light Dragoons, commanded by
Capt. Isaac Davis.

A Regiment of Light Infantry composed of
The Boston Fusilleers, Boston Light Infantry,
Winslow Blues, Washington Infantry,
New England Guards, Rangers, and
City Guards, commanded by Capt.
John S. Tyler, acting as Colonel ;

A full band of music consisting of thirty-two performers.
Chief Marshal Harris.

Marshal Brooks, Marshal Sargent.

Members of the city council in carriages.

Committee of Arrangement in carriages.

The President of the Common Council in a barouche.

Marshal Roulstone.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE,

In a barouche drawn by four white horses,

Accompanied by the Mayor.

Geo. W. Lafayette,

M Le Vasseur and

Col. Colden.

Society of Cincinnati in ten carriages.

Strangers of distinction in carriages.

Two Marshals.

Field and Staff Officers of the Militia.

Two Marshals.

The mounted cavalcade, composed of the Carters,
Woodwharfingers and Citizens.

Two Marshals.

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In this order the procession entered the city, and passed through the principal streets.

The General, and city authorities, then passed through the common, on which were placed the pupils of the public schools, extending its whole length. The misses were dressed in white, and the boys in blue coats, and white pantaloons. All of them wore heads of Lafayette stamped on ribbons as badges. The number was about 2,500. Meantime the bells rang and salutes were firing in every direction.

Having visited the children, the General moved with the procession to the State House, where he was welcomed by his Excellency Governor Eustice, who pronounced a pathetic speech, to which the General returned a dignified and appropriate reply.

Arches were thrown across some of the principal streets through which the procession passed. There were two across Washington Street. On one of these was written " 1776. WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE. Welcome Lafayette. A Republic not ungrateful " On the other was written the following lines.—

“WELCOME LAFAYETTE.”

“The Fathers in glory shall sleep,
 Who gather'd with thee in the fight;
 But the sons will eternally keep,
 The tablet of gratitude bright.
 We bow not the neck,
 And we bend not the knee,
 But our hearts Lafayette,
 We surrender to thee.”

He was introduced to a great number of the citizens, among whom were many who knew him. Among these was the venerable John Brooks, President of the Society of Cincinnati, and late Governor of Massachusetts. These ancient friends, had a most interesting and affectionate meeting. Many incidents during the scene were calculated to touch the feelings of all who beheld them, and some of them moistened the eye of every witness. One decrepit veteran, on crutches, was recognized by the General as a companion in arms, at the memorable assault at *Yorktown*. Others were recalled to remembrance by events at *Monmouth*, at *Brandywine*, at *West Point*, &c. The hands of all these he seized with the most affectionate cordiality, frequently repeating, “O, my brave *Light Infantry*,” “My gallant soldiers,” &c. One inquired, “Is my old Colonel *Gimat* alive?” “*Alas no*,” replied the General. Another introduced himself as one of the only two, who survived of the 2d Regiment of light dragoons of the army.

On Friday the society of Cincinnati wait-

ed on General Lafayette, and the President delivered him a very feeling and appropriate address, and received from the General a reply suited to so interesting an occasion.

The General had expressed a particular desire to visit Cambridge, and attend its commencement; and at the appointed time he was escorted there by a company of cavalry, and attended by the Governor and his executive council. On arriving at the college he was addressed in a very appropriate speech by the Reverend and learned President Kirkland. To this he made a short, but complete and comprehensive reply. He was then seated on a distinguished place, and attended the ceremonies of the day. In their literary performances, several of the young gentlemen of the college alluded to the General, and particularly to his early devotion to the cause of liberty, and the part he had taken in achieving the independence of America. He also made a visit to Charlestown, and the navy yard, where he was received with the usual honors and exclamations.

On Monday, agreeable to arrangements, a grand military parade took place in honor of Lafayette. "Monday was indeed a proud day for the soldier-citizens of Boston and its vicinity. The orders of the commander in chief, for a review of a portion of our militia in honor of the visit of the surviving Major General of the revolutionary army,

our distinguished guest, were executed with promptness and uncommon effect. The day was fine. At an early hour, a superb brigade, composed of five full regiments of infantry, a regiment (six companies) of artillery and the Salem independent cadets, commanded by Brigadier General Appleton, paraded on the common. Tents and marquees had been pitched for their accommodation, which, with the commissary's tent and those of the Suffolk brigade, and the marquees attached to the head quarters, where the independent cadets, commanded by Lieut. Col. Amory did guard duty, exhibited an extensive encampment. At the time, the Boston brigade, commanded by Brigadier Gen. Lyman, and composed of three full regiments of infantry, four companies of artillery, including the Sea Fencibles, and a troop of dragoons also paraded and formed the order of battle at 8 o'clock.

The line nearly filled the borders of our spacious training field, and exhibited a martial spectacle, unequalled in extent, brilliancy and efficiency by any one within our recollection. The corps of cavalry, artillery, and flank companies, were in complete and superb uniform; and in the whole line of infantry, the troops, with scarcely an exception, were in blue coats, white underclothes, with knapsacks, &c. complete. It is estimated that the military force exceeded 6,500,

Gen. Lafayette on foot, was escorted by the Cadets from his residence, to the State House, where he was received by his Excellency the commander in chief, and suite, and escorted to the common.

Lafayette was received with loud shouts from the troops along the whole line. He was then saluted by the brigades under Generals Appleton and Lyman, in succession. He then took a position in front of head quarters, and received the marching salute of the whole division.

Experienced judges, foreign as well as native, did justice to the discipline and steadiness of the whole movements. The line being reformed, the troops were dismissed for refreshment, which had been amply provided by the commissary general.

A spacious and well ornamented marquee had been ordered to be erected by the governor on the rising ground of the common, for a collation to be given the officers and invited guests.

It exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen here. It was 176 feet long by 66 wide, containing six tables 170 feet long, two plates for 1,600 guests. In this marquee General Lafayette, attended by the Governor, together with the field officers, the executive council, the officers of the Cincinnati, civil and judicial officers, foreign consuls, officers of the army and navy, and Governor MILLER; the clergy, the city authorities and strangers

of distinction, partook of a sumptuous entertainment.

The General was escorted to Charlestown on Friday. Great preparations had been made by the citizens for this visit. The streets through which he was to pass were decorated with arches, evergreen and variegated colors, and he was attended by the Governor and suite, Governor Brooks, Boston committee of arrangements, &c. On the bridge, and at the line dividing the towns, he was met by the city authorities of Charlestown, and escorted by a military brigade to Bunker Hill, where the chairman of the town committee, in a very feeling and impressive manner, delivered an address, to which the General replied in his usual affectionate manner.

Having received invitations by committees appointed for this purpose, from Portland, Newport, Haverhill, Newburyport, Plymouth, and from Bowdoin College, to honor each of these places with a visit, the General left Boston, on Tuesday morning for Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His route lay through Chelsea, Lynn, Marblehead, Salem, Newburyport, &c. He was escorted to the northern limit of the city, by the aids of the Governor, and committee of the city council, distinguished citizens, &c. The Governor's aids attended him to the borders of New Hampshire.

Having received the congratulations and

addresses of the inhabitants of Chelsea, and Lynn, he arrived at Marblehead to breakfast. Here he was introduced to a great proportion of the inhabitants and among them several veterans, who had distinguished themselves by their naval exploits during the revolution.

At Salem, his reception was such as might have been expected from so populous, wealthy and patriotic a town. When he arrived within its limits, he was met by the authorities, committee of arrangements, &c., and as he approached, an escort was formed, among which was two hundred sailors dressed in blue jackets and white trousers, with badges in their hats. Arches had been prepared, salutes were fired, the bells rung, and the whole population assembled to do him honor.

An appropriate address was delivered him, to which he replied in his usual brief, affectionate and satisfactory manner.

To carry Lafayette through every place where he was received by escorts, salutes and addresses, would be to the reader, but a repetition of similar scenes. Wherever he went, he was received with the same glowing enthusiasm. The small towns vied with each other in showing their gratitude, by erecting triumphal arches, firing salutes, and assembling together. While the large ones, made immense and costly preparations to honor the "Nation's Guest." With these

attempts the General appeared to be equally pleased. A little village which could do no more than give him a gun, and a hearty cheer, or strew his path with flowers, or erect him an arch of evergreens, had honored him equally with the great city, which had expended thousands to make his entry imposing and magnificent, and from the General received the same grateful acknowledgments.

From Salem Lafayette continued his journey to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Here a cavalcade two miles in length, met and conducted him to Franklin Hall, amid the shouts of thousands who had assembled to congratulate him. Several addresses were delivered to him, and a splendid ball was given in the evening in honour of the occasion. He left Portsmouth at eleven o'clock, on Wednesday night, to return to Boston. From Boston he passed through Lexington, Concord, and Bolton, to Worcester. At all these places he was received in the most patriotic and flattering manner, the whole country ringing with salutes and applauses. At Leicester he was addressed by the Reverend clergyman of the village, from a platform erected for the purpose.

Having remained at Worcester several hours and received the most distinguished marks of gratitude and honour from the inhabitants of that populous and wealthy town,

Lafayette continued his rapid journey towards Hartford, Connecticut.

The inhabitants of that city had sent a deputation to Boston, to be informed when his arrival might be expected, and had prepared to receive him on Friday evening. But his entry did not take place until Saturday morning. He was received at the line of the state by a committee, and ten miles from the town, by an escort of the Governor's horse guards. At his entrance into the city a large body of infantry and artillery were ready to salute him, and in the yard of the State House, 800 children, wearing badges with the motto, "*Nous vous aimons* LAFAYETTE," had an opportunity of seeing the General. He was addressed by the Governor, and Mayor, and introduced to nearly one hundred revolutionary veterans.

Late in the afternoon he took the steam boat for New York. He landed at Middletown, where he was received with every mark of distinction, which gratitude, patriotism, and enterprise could bestow. As the boat passed down the river, every village near its banks were ready, either to fire a salute, to throw up rockets, give him cheers, or illuminate their houses, and some of them to do all. At Lyme, which the boat passed at midnight, a great number of the inhabitants, ladies as well as gentlemen, were waiting in anxious expectation of his arrival.

The General reached New-York on Sun-

day the 5th of September. On the two or three following days he visited the schools in the city, dined with the Cincinnati Society, and with the French gentlemen; in the evening went to the theatre, &c. Meantime there was preparing for him at castle garden, the most magnificent *fete*, that probably was ever seen in America. The extent of ground occupied for this purpose, was 175 feet in diameter, and of a circular form. A floor was laid, and a gallery encircled the whole. An awning of canvass, supported by pillars 75 feet high, composed the roof of this vast edifice, and it was lighted by an immense and splendid cut glass chandelier, with thirteen smaller ones appended. Six thousand persons attended this ball, and eighty sets of cotillions were frequently on the floor at the same time.

At 10 o'clock the General made his appearance, and at half past one, he took his departure in the steam boat for Albany.

At Newburgh where he landed for a short time, 20,000 people had assembled to greet him. At Catskill and Hudson, he was received with every mark of distinction and joy.

Great preparations had been made for his reception at Albany. The military met and escorted him to town. The city was illuminated. He was welcomed and cheered by 40,000 people. A splendid ball was given in his honor, which he attended. On

the following day a great number of the inhabitants had the satisfaction of being introduced to him.

Having visited Troy and the grand canal, he returned to New York, which place he left again on the 23d of September, for Philadelphia.

He passed through New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, &c. and it is hardly necessary to repeat that at all these places, the people did not fail to show him the same enthusiastic marks of gratitude and distinction which he had so often witnessed at the north.

The Governor of Pennsylvania and suite, met him 30 miles from the capital, with an escort and a splendid barouche draw by six cream coloured horses for his accommodation. On his approach to Philadelphia, he was saluted with 100 rounds of artillery. Nearly 6000 troops were drawn up to pay him military honors. An immense procession was formed, which consumed six hours in passing from Frankfort to the State House. Only a small number of the different bodies which composed this procession can be enumerated. Three cars of dimensions sufficient to contain 120 revolutionary veterans. Then 400 young men. A car containing a printing press, where the workmen struck off and distributed an ode, on the occasion. Then 300 weavers ; 150 ropemakers ; 100 shipbuilders ; 700 mechanics, professions

not enumerated ; 150 coopers ; 150 butchers mounted ; 260 carmen mounted ; 300 farmers &c. &c.

The General alighted at the old state house, and entered the hall where the declaration of Independence was signed. This hall contains the statue of Washington, the portraits of Penn, Franklin, Morris, Hopkinson, Greene, Wayne, Montgomery, Hamilton, Gates, Hancock, Adams, Rochambeau, Carrol, M'Kean, Jefferson, Charles Thompson, Madison, and Monroe.

General Lafayette was addressed by the mayor of the city, by the Frenchmen residing there, &c. Having spent several days in Philidelphia, the General proceeded south towards Baltimore, where he arrived on the 7th of October. No city through which he had passed gave him a more splendid and cordial reception than this. As usual, the military were called out. Processions were formed, the city illuminated, a splendid ball given, a gold medal presented, by the young gentlemen, &c.

It is hardly necessary to follow the " Nation's Guest" further. With the same marks of affection, and joyous enthusiasm he was received at Washington, Georgetown, Yorktown, &c.

But the feelings of the nation demanded that something more should be done for General Lafayette, than could be expressed by acclamations alone. This love of liberty

had been the means of depriving him of a great proportion of his fortune. When, during our revolution, the country was so exhausted as to be unable to clothe or feed her little army, Lafayette not only gave all his pay to government, but advanced money which never was refunded: so that, in addition to the debt of gratitude, the nation owed him for advancement made during her necessities. It was the exercise of the same leading principle, (the love of liberty) which occasioned the confiscation of his estates in France, when the jacobin faction controlled the kingdom.

Under every consideration, the nation was bound to show Lafayette, and the world, that in the prosperity of his adopted country, his former services were remembered with too much gratitude to be passed over, without some permanent mark of national beneficence.

The President of the United States, therefore, in his message to Congress, at the opening of the last session, recommended in appropriate terms, the consideration of General Lafayette's eminent services to the country, and requested that the legislative body of the nation would devise some means of making him at least a partial remuneration. Agreeable to this recommendation, Congress appointed a committee to deliberate on the subject; and on the 20th of December, "Mr. Hayne, from the committee

appointed on so much of the President's message as relates to making provision for the services of General Lafayette, reported the following bill :—

“ *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled,* That the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby granted to Major General Lafayette, in compensation for his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution ; and that for this purpose a stock to that amount be issued in his favor, dated the 4th of July, 1824, bearing an annual interest of six per-cent , payable quarterly, and redeemable on the 31st of December, 1831.

“ *SECT. 2. And be it further enacted,* That one complete Township of land be, and the same is hereby granted to the said Major General Lafayette ; and that the President of the United States be authorised to cause the said township to be located on any of the public lands which remain unsold ; and that patents be issued to General Lafayette for the same ”

On the 21st this bill was made the order of the day in the Senate, and the following debate on it, extracted from the journals of Congress, will tend to show with how much reason the bill was passed :

Senate.—Tuesday, Dec. 21.

“ The Senate proceeded, as in committee

of the whole, to the consideration of the bill making provision for the services and expenditures of General Lafayette.

Mr. Hayne, (of S. C.) in reply to Messrs. Macon and Brown, who objected to the bill, remarked, that the observations made by the honorable gentlemen, rendered it his duty, though it was done with regret, as he had hoped the bill would pass without opposition, as chairman of the committee, to submit the principles on which the committee had proceeded in presenting the present bill. He trusted that he should be able to satisfy the scruples of the honorable gentlemen, and that there would be no necessity of recommitting the bill.

With regard to the objections made by his friend on his right, (Mr. Macon,) they affected the making any compensation, under any circumstances whatever, to individuals, either for services rendered or sacrifices made. He understood he had said, it was immaterial whether an individual should have spent his substance in the service of his country—should have put his hand in his purse and paid the expenses of the war, still that for such services no compensation could be made.

He could show that this was the fact—that it was precisely the case with regard to General Lafayette. He had expended his fortune in our service, and he should contend it was right, it was necessary; they

were called on by duty to themselves, at least to refund the expenses to which he had been subjected. Mr. Hayne proceeded to say, that he held documents in his hand which it became his duty to submit to the Senate, documents derived from the highest authority. The paper he held in his hand contained accounts from the proper officers, showing the expenses of Lafayette, and pointing out the manner in which his estate had been dissipated in the service of liberty. In the year 1777, he had an annual income of 146,000 francs, equal to 28,700 dollars. This had been almost entirely expended in the services which he had rendered to liberty, in this and the other hemisphere. During a period of six years, from the year 1777 to 1783, he had expended, in the American service 700,000 francs, equal to 140,000 dollars. This document, said Mr. Hayne, is derived from the most authentic sources in France, and has come into my hands from a respectable member of this House, without the knowledge or consent of the General and his friends.

The fact to which he called their attention was, that during the six years the General had been engaged in the service, he had expended 140,000 dollars, of his fortune; he was in a state of prosperity, and in the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune in his own country, when he resolved to come to this. He purchased a ship, raised, equipped,

armed and clothed a regiment at his own expense, and when he landed on these coasts, he came freighted with the munitions of war, which he distributed gratuitously to our army. It is on record that he clothed and put shoes on the feet of the naked, suffering soldiers of America, and that during six years he sacrificed 140,000 dollars. He asked for no compensation—he made out no account—he received no pay; he spent his fortune for this country, and not only gave his services, but hazarded his life in its defence, shed his blood in its service, and returned home broken in his fortune. What did government do? After the war, in 1794, they gave him the full pay of a Major General, to which he was entitled twelve or fourteen years before. If any American citizen had done as much, and had brought in an account stating he had expended 140,000 dollars, and made application for compensation, would it not have been granted? Indeed, if we were to make out an account current of the expenses and sacrifices of the General, it would far exceed the sum now proposed. But he never rendered a claim; he would have starved ere he would have done it.

I have other documents, said Mr. Hayne, to which I shall briefly refer. There is one fact which shows how alive he was to every honorable sentiment. He has made sacrifices that can never be repaid. Congress,

in their gratitude, made him a donation of 11,000 acres of land, which at the value of lands at that time, was not worth more than 11,000 dollars ; and by an act in 1804, they authorized him to locate this land on any spot in the United States, that might be vacant ; and his agent accordingly located it in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. In 1807, Congress passed an act, confirming the title to the city council of New Orleans of all lands within six hundred yards of its limits.

Part of the land belonging to General Lafayette was included in this grant, and on the fact being communicated to him in France by his agent, accompanied by legal advice of the validity of his title, he replied, that it was not for him to inquire into the circumstances, but that he receiving bounty from the government of the United States, could only receive it as they chose to give it ; and directed his agent to enter a relinquishment of the land in question. This land, according to the estimate of gentlemen from Louisiana is now worth 500,000 dollars. But there is another circumstance to be stated ; having located the land, he made a contract with an Irish Baronet for the sale of a portion of it, and he afterwards made it his business to find him out ; he relinquished his own right, and, at his own expense, induced him to relinquish every legal claim that he could have upon the United States.

This relinquishment was on file in the land office, and Mr. Hayne submitted the documents to the examination of the Senate.

These claims appear certainly in a very strong, and he might say, irresistible shape before the Senate. His honorable friend, on the right, had said that we treat this gentleman better than we do our native sons, but it appeared that they barely did him justice. Did the gentlemen doubt that this government were in the habit of making remuneration for sacrifices and services, he would refer to an act passed in 1790, granting compensation to Frederick William Baron Steuben, for sacrifices and services.

Mr. Hayne proceeded to refer to many instances where the government had not only granted pecuniary assistance, but had granted a whole township of land for sacrifices and services. He was not one of those who were afraid of making precedents—a good precedent can never do evil; and when nations as well as individuals, gave way to the noblest feelings of our nature, they best promoted the glory of the country and the welfare of the people; but the case of Lafayette could form no precedent—it stood alone. Could this country be born again—could it assume a second childhood, and be placed in circumstances similar to those in which it had formerly been? If this were possible, if it could be reduced again to equal distress, be struggling for existence, about to perish,

without funds, arms, clothing, or ammunition, and looking around for help ; if, under such circumstances, a foreign nobleman should step forth and devote his life and fortune to her service, sacrificing every thing, and shedding his blood in her behalf, and while the scale was depressed, throwing himself into the balance, and deciding its fate ; surely, such a man would be entitled to the warmest gratitude of the country.

He thought this a case of its own kind, and could never happen again ; but, if it could, they would follow the brilliant example which would this day be set. With regard to the objection to the thing itself, the honorable gentleman from Ohio wished it to be recommitted for some emendations, but he had not proposed any instructions to the committee, and they were ignorant of what he desired. He knew there was a very large majority in both houses of Congress, and an overwhelming majority among the people, who desired that some such expression should be given of the public feeling. The only difference was, as to the mode of doing it, and the amount. And where so many concur, it was necessary that individuals should sacrifice their private opinions on the subject.

It was impossible to devise a scheme which should satisfy every one ; for there would always be found some one to raise objections, whether the intended donation

should be in money, stock, or in lands. He could assure them that the committee had taken the greatest pains, and had not been able to devise any plan which could approach nearer to the general sentiment, than the one they had adopted. Their object was to make such an appropriation as should comfort his declining years, and smooth his path to the grave. It would be besides, a perpetual monument of their gratitude. The stock would remain on the books to the last ; and when they had redeemed all other debts, then they would redeem the debt of gratitude which they owed to this distinguished soldier. A tract of land would have a tendency to keep him amongst us, and would be a portion for his children. It would also add to the grace of the gift, and the impression it would produce. It was his opinion that the public acts ought to be done gracefully. It would make a favorable impression abroad.

Mr. Hayne said he would solicit his friends to relinquish their private opinions on this occasion. Such an act as this, to be well done, should be delicately and promptly managed ; and he hoped, as this was the general sense, they would yield. Something must be done for national feeling. To send him back to France, without making any provision for him, would leave him to linger out his last days in poverty, and make him a public spectacle for all Europe—you

leave him without means of obtaining those acts of kindness and attention so useful and necessary in the decline of life.

Mr. Macon said he did not like the President's Message. He did not know the opinion of others on the subject he only spoke to satisfy himself. Whatever they might choose to think, he conceived it a public duty to speak as he did. He had had no conversation with others on the subject. A man who risks all losses all. He had no doubt about every word of the manuscripts his friend had in his hand, and there was no occasion to tell him they did not come from Lafayette himself.

At the suggestion of some friends, Mr. Brown said he would withdraw his motion, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-day : and on the question—shall the bill pass? Mr. Noble called for the ayes and noes, not being able to give his sanction to it.

The ayes and noes were demanded by one fifth of the whole number present ; and those who voted in the affirmative, were,

Messrs, Barbour, Boligny, Chandler, Dickerson, Eaton, Edwards, Elliot, Findlay, Gaillard, Hayne, Holmes of Maine, Holmes of Mississippi, Johnson of Kentucky, Johnson of Louisiana, Kelly, King of Alabama, King of New-York, Knight, Lanman, Lloyd of Md. Lloyd of Mass. Lowrie, Jackson, McLean, Mills, Palmer, Parrott, Seymour,

Smith, Talbot, Taylor, Thomas, Van Buren,
Van Dyke, Williams.—37.

Noes—Messrs. Barton, Bell, Brown,
Cobb, Macon, Noble, Ruggles —7.

The bill thus passed the senate.

The bill having passed both houses, a committee was appointed from each to wait on the General and present him with a copy of the act. The following extract from the journal of the house contains the address and reply on that occasion :

Senate.—Monday, January 3.

Mr. Smith, from the joint committee of both houses, appointed to wait on General Lafayette, with a copy of the act concerning him, reported that the committee waited on him at 12 o'clock, and presented him with a copy of the act, and with a copy of the resolutions of both houses, and that the General returned an answer.

The address of the committee was read, and, with the answer of the General, ordered to be noticed on the journal.

GENERAL: We are a committee of the senate and house of representatives, charged with the office of informing you of the passage of an act, a copy of which we now present. You will perceive, from this act Sir, that the two houses of Congress, aware of the large pecuniary, as well as other sacrifices, which your long and arduous devotion to the cause of freedom has cost you, have deemed it their privilege to reimburse

a portion of them as having been incurred in part on account of the United States. The principles which have marked your character will not permit you to oppose any objection to the discharge of so much of the national obligation to you as admits of it. We are directed to express to you the confidence as well as request of the two houses of Congress, that you will, by an acquiescence in their wishes in this respect, add another to the many signal proofs you have offered of your esteem for a people whose esteem for you can never cease until they have ceased to prize the liberty they enjoy, and to venerate the virtues by which it was acquired. We have only to subjoin an expression of our gratification in being the organs of this communication, and of the distinguished personal respect with which we are, your obedient servants,

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| S. SMITH, | } | <i>Committee of the Senate.</i> |
| ROBERT Y. HAYNE, | | |
| D. BOULIGNY, | } | <i>Committee of the H. of R.</i> |
| W. S. ARCHER, | | |
| S. VAN RENSSELAER, | | |
| PHILIP S. MARKLEY, | | |

Washington Jan. 1, 1825.

To this address of the committee, the General returned the following answer:

Gentlemen of the committee of both houses of Congress.

The immense and unexpected gift, which, in addition to former and considerable boun-

ties, it has pleased Congress to confer upon me, calls for the warmest acknowledgements of an old American soldier, an adopted son of the United States, two titles dearer to my heart than all the treasures in the world.

However proud I am of every sort of obligation received from the people of the United States, and their representatives in Congress, the large extent of this benefaction might have created in my mind feelings of hesitation, not inconsistent, I hope, with those of the most grateful reverence. But the so very kind resolutions of both houses, delivered by you gentlemen, in terms of equal kindness, precludes all other sentiments except those of the lively and profound gratitude, of which, in respectfully accepting the munificent favour, I have the honor to beg you will be the organs.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to join a tender of my affectionate personal thanks to the expression of the highest respect, with which I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE.

It will be recollected that the President was authorised by the Congress of the United States, to offer him one of our national vessels for his conveyance to this country. And now, when he was about to return to France, the same offer was repeated by President Monroe, and accepted by the General. Accordingly, a new frigate, to which,

partly in honor of Lafayette, was given the name of Brandywine, was offered him. In this fine vessel he embarked from our shores, and after a most prosperous passage, landed at Havre. www.libtool.com.cn

Although upon his departure from Havre for America, the authorities of that city, by order of government, had directly forbidden any expression of respect towards him, on the part of the populace, upon his return they were unable to prevent a full expression of the enthusiastic admiration which the printed accounts of his generous reception in the United States, had received. Almost all the young men of that city, and of its neighborhood, united in hailing with acclamations of joy and congratulations, the return of the noble, liberal and disinterested General of two revolutions!

He was escorted from Havre, by a numerous cavalcade on horseback, and his whole progress to La Grange, seemed but a repetition of the triumph which marked his course through our country.

The same noble benevolence was exhibited by him on this journey, and when once more received into the bosom of his loving and beloved family, he seemed with his former modesty and contentment to settle again into the philanthropic and industrious farmer of La Grange.

But, during the whole period when it was evident that the ultra Royalist party was

endeavoring to revive the ancient despotism at the expense of the liberty of the people, it was often remarked by close observers of the signs of the times, that "there was still one man in France, who, with a word, might hurl the present monarch from the throne, and seat himself firmly in his place, as the liberal king of the French people. And that man was Lafayette!"

Yet still, he seemed solely occupied amidst his own family, and on his own estate, until, being elected a deputy to the convention of July last, he came to Paris; where the events which we are about to relate, proved that he is yet, "First in the ranks of the warriors for Freedom," and "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The following anecdote of the General serves to show his modesty, candour, and attachment to republican economy:—

A member of Congress, conversing with the General on the proceedings of Congress and delicately apologising for the opposition which the appropriation in his favor had experienced in that body, the General, with great *naivette*, and never-failing presence of mind, interrupted him with this happy remark: "I, Sir, *am one of the opposition*. The gift is so munificent, so far exceeding the services of the individual, that had I been a member of Congress, I must have voted against it."

PART III. www.tbtool.com.cn

FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830.

ALTHOUGH men have long been convinced that the time was not far distant, when the impolitic oppression of the French government would excite a terrible and destructive reaction on the part of the people, still the late and perfect revolution, of which we would present an outline, comes upon us suddenly and unexpectedly ; and in the midst of our astonishment and admiration, we are compelled to hold up our hands in wonder, and ask " if it be possible that these things are so ! "

Those who have been accustomed to observe the signs of the times, must have observed, for several years past, in the people of France, a strong tendency to liberty ; and a secret determination to enjoy it, under one form of government or another, at all hazards. The experience of former years under the republic and consulship, if it taught the people that they had grasped the boon so violently as to crush it, also convinced them that it was capable, when rightly used, of conferring the most exalted happiness which a nation can enjoy. This impression has followed them through the

reigns of Louis XVIII, and Charles X, and will follow them forever. But the difficulty of securing liberty without alloy, and the melancholy issue of the former attempt, made them willing to live under a limited monarchy, so long as it was conducted according to the principles of the charter which Louis XVIII, agreed to give the people, and which should secure them against a recurrence of such arbitrary power on the part of the sovereign, as had been the immediate cause of the revolution of 1789; and the principal articles of which guaranteed individual liberty and equality under the laws, the liberty of the press, the free election of the deputies, and other essential ingredients to the formation of a constitutional monarchy.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER OF FRANCE.

LOUIS by the grace of God, King of France and Navario,
To all who shall see these presents, greeting:
Whereas, &c. [Here is a recital of the causes which induced the King to grant the Charter.]

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF THE FRENCH.

ARTICLE 1. Frenchmen are equal before the law, whatever otherwise be their rank or title.

2. They contribute, without distinction, in proportion to their fortune, to the public charges.

3. They are all alike admissible to civil and military employments.

4. Individual liberty is equally guaran-

ted ; no one can be either pursued or arrested, except in cases aforesaid by the law, and in the forms which it prescribes.

5. Every one is at liberty to profess his own religion ; and the same protection is assured to each form of worship.

6. Nevertheless, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the religion of the State.

7. Ministers of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, and that of other Christian denominations, alone receive salaries from the Royal Treasury.

8. Frenchmen have the right to publish and print their opinions, in conforming to the laws for regulating the abuse of this liberty.

9. All property is inviolable, without any exception of that called National, the law not acknowledging any distinction between them.

10. The State may exact the sacrifice of any particular piece of property, if the public interest, duly established, shall require it, but only on a previous indemnification.

11. All scrutiny as to votes or opinions, uttered previous to the restoration, is forbidden. A like oblivion is prescribed both to tribunals and citizens.

12. The conscription is abolished ; the mode of recruiting the sea and land forces is determined by law.

FORM OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT.

13. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King alone belongs the Executive power. www.libtool.com.cn

14. The King is the supreme head of the State, commands the Army and the Navy, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance and commerce ; appoints to office, and makes the rules and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the State.

15. The legislative power is vested collectively in the King, the House of Peers, and the House of Deputies.

16. The King proposes all laws.

17. The proposal of a law is made at the pleasure of the King, to the House of Peers, or that of Deputies, except laws for laying and collecting taxes, which must be first addressed to the House of Deputies.

18. Every law is to be freely discussed, and voted by a majority of each Chamber.

19. The Chambers have the faculty of supplicating the King to propose laws upon any given subject, and to point out what it appears to them fitting, that such laws should contain.

20. Such a request may be made by either of the Chambers, after having been discussed in secret committee ; it can only be sent to the other Chamber by that proposing it, after an interval of ten days.

21. If the proposition is adopted by the other Chamber, it shall be submitted to the King, if it is rejected, it cannot be produced in the same session.

22. The King alone ~~sanctions and promulgates~~ promulgates the laws.

23. The civil list is fixed for the whole reign by the first legislature assembled after the accession of the King.

OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

24. The House of Peers is an essential part of the Legislative Power.

25. It is convened by the King at the same time with the House of Deputies. The session of each begins and finishes at the same time.

26. Any meeting of the House of Peers, held at any time when the Deputies are not in session, or which should not be ordered by the King, is unlawful and void.

27. The nomination of Peers of France belongs to the King. Their number is unlimited. He may vary their dignities, name them for life, or make them hereditary according to his pleasure.

28. Peers are entitled to their seats at twenty five, but cannot vote before thirty.

29. The House of Peers has for its presiding officer the Chancellor of France, and in his absence some Peer named by the King.

30. The members of the royal family and princes of the blood, are Peers in right of their birth. They take rank immediately af-

ter the President, but have no vote till twenty-five.

31. The Princes can only take their seats by an order of the King, expressed at each session by a message, under pain of nullity to every thing transacted during their presence.

32. The deliberations of Peers are all secret.

33. The House of Peers takes cognizance of the crime of high treason, and attempts against the safety of the State, as they shall be defined by law.

34. No Peer can be arrested except by the authority of the House, and its judges, its members in all criminal matters.

OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS.

35. This Chamber shall be composed of Deputies elected by the electoral Colleges. The organization of them shall be determined by law.

36. Each Department shall have the same number of Deputies it has had till now.

37. The Deputies shall be elected for five years, and in such manner that the Chamber shall be renewed by one-fifth annually.

38. No one can be admitted as a Deputy who is not forty years old, and does not pay a direct tax of 1000 francs.

39. In case, however, their should not be in a Department, fifty persons of the requisite age, and paying a prescribed tax, that

number shall be made up out of those paying the nearest to one thousand francs, and the person thus selected shall be alike eligible with the others.

40. Electors of Deputies must pay a direct tax of three hundred francs, and have attained thirty years of age. www.libtool.com.cn

41. Presidents of Electoral Colleges are named by the King, and become of right members of the College.

42. One half, at least, of the Deputies must be chosen from among those whose political domicile is in the Department.

43. The president of the Chamber of Deputies is designated by the King, from a list of five members presented by the Chamber.

44. The sessions of the Chamber are public, but upon the demand of five members the doors may be closed.

45. The Chamber will divide itself into committees [bureaux] to discuss the projects of laws presented by the king.

46. No amendment can be made to a law unless proposed or consented to by the King, nor until it has been referred and discussed in Committee.

47. The Chamber of Deputies receives all propositions respecting taxes; and it is only when such propositions have been adopted by the Chamber, that they can be sent to the Peers.

48. No tax can be imposed nor collected,

unless consented to by the Chambers and sanctioned by the King.

49. The land tax is only voted for one year ; and indirect taxes may be voted for several years.

50. The King convenes the two Chambers every year ; he prorogues them, and may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies ; but, in this case, he must convene a new one in the space of three months

51. No member can be imprisoned during the session ; nor during the six weeks preceding and following it.

52. No member can, during the session be prosecuted, nor arrested on any criminal charge, except when taken *flagrante delicto*, without the permission of the Chamber.

53. Petitions to either house can only be made and presented in writing ; the law forbids any one from bringing a petition in person to the bar.

OUR MINISTERS.

54. Ministers may be members of either house : they have, moreover, the right of entry to each house, and are to be heard when they require.

55. The chamber of deputies has the right of accusing ministers and of arraigning them before the house of peers, who alone have the right of judging them.

56. They can only be accused of treason or peculation. Special laws will particularize the nature of these offences, and will determine how they are to be prosecuted.

OF THE JUDICIARY.

57. All justice is derived from the king, and is administered in his name by the judges whom he appoints.

58. The judges appointed by the king are not removable.

59. The courts and ordinary tribunals now existing are maintained. Nothing shall be changed with respect to them but by virtue of a law.

60. The existing institution of judges of commerce is preserved.

61. That justices of the peace, is in like manner preserved. Justices of the peace, though appointed by the king, are not irremovable.

62. No one can be withdrawn from his natural judges.

63. Consequently no commissions nor extraordinary tribunals can be created. Pre-vetal courts, if their reestablishment is deemed necessary, are not included in this prohibition.

64. The discussions in criminal proceedings shall be public, except when such publicity may be dangerous to order and good morals; in which case the court shall so pronounce.

65. The institution of the jury is preserved. Such changes as experience may suggest can only be made in virtue of a law.

66. The punishment of confiscating property is abolished, and cannot be reestablished.

67. The King has the right to pardon and to commute punishments.

68. The civil code and laws now in use, which are not contrary to the present charter, shall remain in force until legally altered and repealed.

PRIVATE RIGHTS GUARANTIED BY THE STATE.

69. The military in actual service, officers and soldiers on half pay, widows, officers and soldiers pensioned, shall preserve their grades, honors and pensions.

70. The public debt is guarantied. Every engagement of the state with its creditors is inviolable.

71. The old Noblesse resumes its titles, the new preserves it. The King creates nobles at pleasure; but he only grants them rank and honor, without any exemption from the burthens or duties as members of society.

72. The Legion of Honor is preserved. The King will determine its regulations and its decorations.

73. The colonies shall be governed by special laws and regulation.

74. The King and his successors shall swear in the solemnity of their consecration, faithfully to observe the present constitutional charter.

Given at Paris, in the year of grace, 1814, and of our reign the 19th.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Chancellor of France,

DAMBRAY.

Sec'y of State, l'ABBE DE MONTESQUIEU.

These restrictions on arbitrary power, were in no slight degree galling to the partizans of the *ancien regime*, and various attempts were made from time to time by different ministers to elude the provisions of the Charter ; in some instances they were successful, particularly in carrying into effect an alteration in the law of elections, which tended greatly to increase the influence of the ministry in the formation of the chamber of deputies. Still every thing was done with a show of attention to the forms prescribed by the Charter, and no open attempt was made to violate the constitution during the reign of Louis XVIII.

And now let us pause for one moment, and ask how it could be, that, warned as he must have been by the example of the revolution of 1789, any king of the French people could dare, in a more enlightened age, pursue the same course of oppression which brought his brother to the scaffold—dispersed the last descendents of a family, which, for the long period of eleven centuries, had swayed the sceptre of a mighty kingdom, and made them the dependants of other princes !

Yet such was the case with the successor of Louis XVIII.

Charles X, a haughty, weak and bigoted prince, ascended the throne, filled with extravagant notions of the “right divine ;” and entirely governed by the priests, could

ill brook the thought of being compelled to govern with moderation; and accordingly, the court journals took every opportunity of insinuating that the Charter, far from being a compact between the prince and the people, was a mere revolutionary grant on the part of Louis, and therefore not legally binding on his successor. Affairs continued in this situation until the 8th of August, 1829; when the king, finding that the administration of M. Martignac, though warmly attached to the interests of the crown, was not prepared entirely to annihilate the liberties of the people, suddenly dismissed them, and appointed in their stead, an administration headed by Prince Polignac, and composed entirely of men of ultraroyalist principles, most of whom were also obnoxious to the nation.

Of the principal indeed, of him whom we may style the master-spirit of this ministry, we would give a slight sketch.

JULES DE POLIGNAC.

POLIGNAC is not without his private virtues, but his political education has been of that character which deadens the feelings toward the mass of mankind, and leaves the desire of control unchastened by the feelings of humanity. After having been so many years unhappy wanderers in foreign lands, exiles from the country that gave them birth, the followers of the Bourbons,

as well as that family itself, would, if they had not been deficient in ordinary prudence, have conciliated by a kind and liberal policy, those who acquiesced in their return.

The very reverse of this spirit has appeared to actuate them. They have conducted as though "a piece of board covered with velvet" was a *constitutional* throne, and the possession of the crown jewels (twice have the Bourbons attempted to carry them off,) was a guaranty of the popular favor.

The tempest has at last broken out, and the storm has come upon their devoted heads; and after their utter proscription of free principles in their own country, they seem forced to seek safety themselves in the only land of all others where those principles are the basis and support of government.

We believe the fallen minister is a descendant of the famous Cardinal de Polignac, distinguished for his literary acquirements, although by most people suspected of being a natural son of Charles X. He was born in 1780. His mother was the celebrated Dutches de Polignac, governess to the children of Louis XVI, and the friend and adviser of his unfortunate Queen. He was an exile in his youth to Russia and England. In the latter country he was aid to Charles Xth, when, as the Count d'Artois, he claimed and received the charities of the British nation. He next engaged in the famous conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru,

against the first Consul, and with his brother was tried and found guilty. Jules was condemned to imprisonment, his brother was doomed to death. The court was astonished to hear the younger Polignac entreating to be substituted in his more unfortunate brother's place, and to receive the stroke of the axe in his stead. He pleaded that his brother Armand, had a wife and family dependent on him for happiness and protection, while he was an isolated being whose life was of little consequence to any. With the feelings of Damon and Pythias, each sought to avert the punishment from the other. The generous devotion displayed by Jules had its effect on the heart of Napoleon, who changed the sentence of death to that of confinement. Both were kept in duress, and for many years were the tenants of different French prisons.

The Polignacs were, it is asserted, constantly engaged in the schemes which the friends of the Bourbons from time to time agitated, and Napoleon himself assert, that his former clemency met with a poor return.

In 1813 they met the Chateau of Usse in Touraine, the residence of M. de Duras, and a general rising of the royalists in the West and South of France, upon the landing of the Duke de Beri was contemplated. It is alleged that they were concerned in the singular plot of Malat; at all events, they were suspected and put under surveillance, from which, in 1814 they escaped. During

the same year, Jules joined the Count d'Artois, and was sent on a special mission to Rome. He attended Louis 18th to Ghent, and was thence despatched to the frontiers of Savoy. He once again fell into the hands of the Bonapartists, and again made his escape. At the restoration of the Bourbons, he returned to Paris and was made a Peer.

He was also created Inspector General of the National Guards, a Marshal, a member of several orders, and then a Prince. In 1816, he connected himself with a Scotch lady of the name of Campbell, who died soon after, and his second wife, also an English woman, was during the Prince's recent residence in England as a French Ambassador, a distinguished leader of the ton. The Court Journal has been very loud in its praise of the lady, and her departure for France was announced as an affair which would break the hearts of a numerous train of friends and admirers. We believe she was also alluded to in the novel called the *Exclusives*.

It seems that Polignac has been one of the King's most intemperate advisers; indeed, most blindly so. He assured the foreign ministers that no explosion would follow the obnoxious decrees, and he seems to have been as much astonished at the result as any one else.

The Prince went to England in 1823, as Ambassador, and in 1829 returned to France,

when he was made President of the Council. His sentiments have on all occasions been the highest grade of ultraroyalism.

Prince de Polignac was the president of the council of Ministers. The other members were

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| Minister of Justice, | CHANTELAUZE. |
| Minister of the Marine, | BARON D'HAUSSEZ. |
| Minister of the Interior, | COUNT DE PEYRONNET. |
| Minister of Finances, | MONBEL. |
| Minister of Ecclesiastical affairs, and of public Instruction. } | COUNT DE GUEMOR |
| | RANVILLE. |
| Minister of Public Works, | CAPELLE, |

This ministry was appointed during the recess of the chambers, and from August until March, the contest was carried on between the liberal press and the government; the latter, supplying by prosecutions, their deficiency in argument. In March, the chambers assembled, and the house of deputies immediately voted an address, entreating the king to dismiss his ministers; the king returned an angry reply, and dissolved the chambers. New elections were ordered, and the chambers summoned for the third of August. In the meantime the expedition against Algiers was undertaken, in hopes of diverting the minds of the people from their causes of complaint at home; but the manœuvre was too evident to escape the observation of the liberal press, and accordingly produced no effect. The liberal journals were far more numerous than those which favoured the ministry, and the elec-

tion of deputies, terminated in the choice of a large majority favorable to what was now considered, the cause of the people against the power of the king. Thus was the seal of approbation put upon the sentiments which had, in the month of March, given such mortal offence to the king. He could not but see, if he had any eyes, that his only safety now, was in yielding to the power of the people, and committing himself to its guidance, instead of attempting to resist the power which would soon overwhelm him. But not so. In his kingly pride and folly, he must need show the people that he was the supreme lord of their destinies—that his will was not to be contravened with impunity; and, therefore, encouraged no doubt, by the success of his arms against Algiers, he received the following report from his ministry; and, complying with their advice, dissolved the *new* chamber of deputies, which had never yet met, and abolished the liberties of the press, to which he conceived, and justly, that the extraordinary result of the elections was, in a great measure, to be attributed.

REPORT TO THE KING.

PARIS, July 26th, 1830.

SIRE,—Your ministers would be unworthy the confidence with which your Majesty has honored them, if they longer delayed placing before you a concise statement of our

internal situation and to indicate to your Highness the dangers arising from the periodical press.

At no period during the last fifteen years, has this situation presented itself under a more serious and afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding, a prosperity unexampled in the annals of our history, signs of disorganization, and symptoms of anarchy, are manifested upon almost every point of the kingdom.

The successive causes which have conducted to weaken the springs of the monarchical government, operate to-day to alter and change its nature. Deprived of its moral force, the civil authority within the capital, and in the provinces, maintained but an unequal contest against factions. Pernicious and subversive doctrines openly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of our population—disquietudes, too generally accredited, agitate the public mind and torment society. From all quarters a guarantee is demanded for future security.

A maliciousness, active, ardent, indefatigable, is at work to overturn the foundations of order, and to deprive France of the happiness which she enjoyed under the sceptre of her kings. Active in working discontent and stirring up hatred, it foment among the people a spirit of defiance and hostility against government, and seeks every where to sow the seeds of discord and of civil war.

And, Sire, recent events have already

proved that political feelings confined heretofore to the higher ranks of society are beginning to be more generally felt, and to excite the popular mass. They have proved also, that this mass is not always agitated without danger to those even who strive to secure its repose.

A multitude of facts collected during the course of the late electoral operations, confirm these statements, and afford a too certain presage of new commotions, did not your Majesty possess a power of remedying the evil.

To an attentive observer, there every where exists a necessity for order, force and permanency, and the disturbances which appear the most opposed to such necessity, are in reality but the expression and testimony of it.

These agitations which cannot be increased without great peril, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty allowed to the press. A law of elections not less prolific in disorders, has, without doubt, concurred and assisted to maintain them, but we must deny the evidences of our senses, not to see in the periodicals, the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which becomes daily more sensible, as the origin of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

Experience, Sire, speaks louder than theory. Enlightened men, without doubt, whose patriotism cannot be suspected, carried away

by the example of a neighboring people, have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance the disadvantages, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so; the proof is decisive, and the question is now determined.

At all epochs, the periodical press has only been, and from its nature must ever be, an instrument of disorder and sedition.

How numerous and irrefutable are the proofs that may be brought to support this truth. It is by the violent and uninterrupted action of the press, that we are to attribute those too sudden and too frequent changes in our internal policy. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor that continued and strenuous effort should be made to introduce into the various branches of public administration, those meliorations of which they are susceptible. Every ministry since 1814, though formed under different circumstances, and actuated by different impulses, have been exposed to the same attacks, and to the same unbridled expressions of passion. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party, nothing has been able to protect them from this common destiny. This fact alone, so fertile in reflections, suffices to assign to the press its true and unvariable character. It labors by continuous and persevering efforts, daily re-

peated, to loosen all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken the springs of public authority, to sink and debase it in the opinion of the people, and to create for it, every where, embarrassments and resistance.

Its art consists not in substituting for a credulous submission of the mind, the healthy liberty of examination, but to reduce the most positive truths to problems ; not to invite a frank and useful controversy upon political questions, but to present them in a false light, and to resolve them by sophisms.

The press has thus disordered the most upright minds, shaken the firmest convictions, and produced in the bosom of society, a confusion of principles which favors the most disastrous attempts. Anarchy in doctrines; is a prelude to anarchy in the state.

It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has never fulfilled its most essential condition, namely, publicity. It may appear strange but it is no less true, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and rigorous acceptation. In the actual state of things, facts when they are not entirely suppositions, are only presented to many millions of readers ; are curtailed, disfigured, and mutilated in a most odious manner. A thick cloud raised by the journals, disguises the truth, and in a measure, prevents a perfect understanding between the government and the people. The kings, your predecessors, Sire, have been

desirous freely to communicate with their subjects, but this is a satisfaction which the press is not willing that your Majesty should enjoy.

A licentiousness which has outstripped all bounds, even upon the most solemn occasions, and neither respected the express wishes of the king, nor the addresses made to them from the throne. The one has been mistaken or perverted, and the others have been the subject of perfidious commentary or bitter derision. It is thus, that the last act of royal authority, the proclamation, fell into general discredit, even before it was known to the electors.

This is not all ; the press has a tendency to subjugate the sovereignty, and usurp the powers of the state. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates in the two chambers, and it incontestibly exercises an influence upon those debates, no less baneful than decisive. This dominion in the chamber of deputies, especially for the last two or three years, has assumed a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval, the journals pursuing with insult and outrage members, whose vote appeared to them either uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of the deliberations in this chamber, has fallen a sacrifice to the renewed attacks of the press.

We cannot qualify, in more moderate

terms, the conduct of the opposition journals in regard to recent events. After having themselves provoked an address, attacking the prerogatives of the throne, they have not scrupled to consider the re-election of the 221 deputies, who voted this address, as a matter of principle, notwithstanding your Majesty objected to this address as offensive ; it attached public reproach to the refusal of concurrence which was there expressed, it announced its unshaken resolution not to defend the rights of your crown so openly compromised. The periodical prints have paid no attention to this ; on the contrary, they have considered it a duty to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide if this rash attack should a longer time remain unpunished.

But of all the excesses of the press, perhaps the most serious remains to be mentioned. From the very commencement of the Expedition, the termination of which has thrown a glory so pure, and an eclat so durable upon the noble crown of France, the press has criticised, with a violence unheard of, the causes, the means, the preparations and chances of success of this expedition. Insensible to national honor, no thanks to it that our ensign does not remain tarnished with the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it does not depend upon it that Europe is no longer

subject to a cruel slavery and shameful tribute.

This was not enough. By a treason that should be amenable to our laws, the press has engaged itself in publishing all the secrets of the armament, in making known to the stranger the state of our forces, the number of our troops, that of our vessels, the indications of the points of station, the means to be employed to overcome the inconstance of the winds, and to land upon the coast. Every thing, even to the place of disembarkation, has been divulged, as if to afford a surer means of defence to the enemy, an unexampled circumstance among civilized nations; by false alarms concerning the dangers to be encountered, it has not feared to throw discouragement into the army, and to mark for its hatred, even the chief of the enterprise; it has, so to speak, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colors. This is what the organs of a party, pretending itself national, have dared to do.

What it dares every day to perform in the interior of the kingdom, tends to nothing less than to disperse the elements of public tranquillity, to dissolve the bonds of society, and unless they have deceived themselves, make the earth to tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to reveal the whole extent of our troubles, that we may the better appreciate the extent of our resources. Sys-

tematized defamation, organized upon a grand scale, and directed with unexampled perseverance, extends even to the most humble of the public functionaries. No one of your subjects, Sire, if he receives the least mark of confidence or satisfaction, is secure from outrage. A large net extending over France, envelopes all the public functionaries, impeached before the public, they appear in a manner shut out from society; none are spared but those whose fidelity wavers; none are praised but those whose fidelity falls a sacrifice; the rest are marked out sooner or later to be immolated to popular vengeance.

The press has not manifested less zeal in attacking, with its envenomed darts, our religion and our clergy. Its object is to root out the last germs of religion- sentiments. Doubt not, Sire, but by attacking the basis of our faith, corrupting the sources of public morals, and by heaping derision and contempt upon the ministers and altars of our holy religion, that it will accomplish its purpose.

No force, we must avow, is capable of resisting so energetic a dissolvent as the press. At all periods when its shackles have been stricken off, it has burst forth and invaded the state. Notwithstanding the diversity of circumstances and the numerous changes of individuals who have occupied the political arena, we cannot but be forcibly impressed with the similarity of its effects during the

last fifteen years ; in a word, it is destined to recommence the revolution, the principles of which it has so openly proclaimed. Placed and replaced, at different intervals, under the discipline of the censure, as often as it has regained its liberty, it has recommenced its interrupted work. To insure greater success, it has been sufficiently aided by the departmental press, which, by exciting jealousies and local hatreds, by sowing consternation in the bosoms of the timid, and by tormenting the authorities with interminable stratagems, has exercised an almost decisive influence upon the elections.

These last effects, Sire. are momentous ; the more durable results may be remarked in the morals and character of the nation. A violent, lying, and passionate polemic school of scandal and licentiousness, produces serious and profound alterations ; it gives a false direction to the minds of men, fills them with pretensions and prejudices, diverts them from serious investigations, injures also, the progress of arts and the sciences, excites among us a continually increasing fermentation, and maintains, even in the bosom of families, fatal dissensions, and may gradually conduct us back to a state of barbarism.

Against such a variety of evils, engendered by the press, law and justice are equally compelled to acknowledge their impotence. It would be superfluous to investigate the causes which have arrested and insensibly

rendered useless, a weapon in the hand of power. It is sufficient to interrogate experience and to remark the present conditions of things.

The proceedings of the judiciary furnish with difficulty an efficacious repression. This truth, verified by observation, has for a long time been apparent to good minds ; it has lately acquired a more marked character of evidence. To satisfy the necessity which gave rise to it, repression should be prompt and powerful ; on the contrary, it has remained sluggish, feeble, and almost void ; when it happens, the injury is committed and the punishment, far from repairing the injury, adds to it the scandal of debate.

Judicial proceedings tire ; but the seditious press never tires. The one is embarrassed, because there is too much to punish, the other multiplies its forces by multiplying its delinquencies.

Under different circumstances, prosecutions have had their different periods of activity or relaxation. But what imparts to the press zeal or lukewarmness on the part of the public minister, it seeks in an increase of its excesses a guarantee to their impunity.

The insufficiency, or rather the inutility of the precautions established by the laws in force, is demonstrated by the above named facts, and it is equally established that the public security is compromised by the press.

It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

Listen, Sire, to this prolonged cry of indignation and consternation, which arises from all parts of your kingdom. Moderate men, good citizens, and the friends of order, raise towards your Majesty their supplicating hands. They beseech you to preserve them from the return of those calamities under which our fathers so long groaned. These alarms are too real not to be heard, these wishes are too legitimate not to be listened to.

There is but one means of satisfying them, it is to return to the Constitution; if the terms of the eighth article are ambiguous, its measure is manifest. It is certain that the Constitution has not conceded the liberty of the press to journals and periodical writings. The liberty of publishing our personal opinions does not certainly imply the right of publishing by way of speculation, the opinions of others. The one is a use of a faculty that the law is at liberty to grant or to submit to restrictions; the other is a speculation of industry, which, like all others, and more than all others, supposes the supervision of public authority.

The meaning of the constitution in this particular, is exactly explained by the law of the twenty first of October, 1814; we can place the more reliance upon this, as the law was presented to the chamber the fifth of July, that is to say one month only after

the adoption of the constitution. In 1819, an epoch when a contrary system prevailed in the chambers, it was openly proclaimed that the periodical press was not governed by the eighth article. — This fact is confirmed by the laws even which have imposed the necessity of a censorship upon the journals.

Now, Sire, it only remains to be decided how this return to the constitution and the law of the 21st of October shall be accomplished. The present serious aspect of affairs has resolved the question.

We must not deceive ourselves, we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a representative government. The principles upon which it was established have not remained untouched amidst political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy which has penetrated even into our laws, is substituted for legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of elections through the means of these journals, and of societies constituted with similar views, it paralyses as much as in its power, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the crown, that of dissolving the elective chamber. By that, even the constitution of the state is shaken—your Majesty alone retains the power to preserve and establish it upon its basis.

The right as well as the duty to assure its maintenance is the indispensable attri-

bute of sovereignty. No government upon earth would be stable if it had not the right to provide for its own security. This law is pre existent to all other laws, because it is found in the nature of things. These are, Sire, maxims which acknowledge the sanction of time, and the avowal of all the civilians of Europe.

But these maxims have a more decided sanction, that of the constitution itself; the 14th article has invested in your Majesty, a sufficient power not certainly to change our institutions, but to consolidate and render them immutable.

Imperious necessity permits you no longer to defer the exercise of this supreme power. The moment has arrived for a recurrence to measures which have been uselessly suspended.

These measures, Sire, which ought to insure success, your ministers do not hesitate to propose, feeling confident that justice will be assisted by power.

Your Majesty's very humble and very faithful subjects,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE C. OF MINISTERS
 MINISTER OF JUSTICE,
 MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,
 MINISTER OF MARINE,
 MINISTER OF FINANCE,
 MINISTER OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS,
 MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.

To this mad and impolitic advice, the king

listened, and in accordance with it, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. To all those to whom these presents may come, greeting: Upon the report of our Counsel of Ministers, we have ordained and ordain as follows:

ARTICLE I. The liberty of the press is suspended.

2. The regulations of the first, second, and ninth articles of the 1st section of the law of 21st October, 1814, are in force; consequently no journal, periodical or semi-periodical publication, established or to be established, without regard to the matters treated of, can appear either in Paris, or in the departments, but in virtue of authorization obtained separately by the author and publisher. The authorization must be renewed every three months. It may be revoked.

3. This authorization may be provisionally granted, withheld or withdrawn from the journals, periodical and semi-periodical works, now published or which may hereafter be published in the Departments, by the Prefects.

4. Journals and other writings, published in contravention of the 2d Article, will be immediately seized. The presses and types, which served for their impression, will be placed under seal in a public depot, or placed hors de service.

5. No writing, under twenty sheets of

impression can appear in Paris, without authorisation obtained from our Minister of the Interior, and of the Prefects in the departments. Writings, published without authorisation, will be immediately seized. The presses and types, which have served for the impression will be placed under seal in a public depot, or placed hors de service.

6. The reports of trials and the memorials of literary and scientific societies, if they treat entirely or in part of political matters, are subjected to the abovementioned authorisation, a case in which the articles prescribed by Article 5th, will be applicable.

7 All regulations opposed to the present are declared null.

8. The present ordinance will be enforced in conformity to the 4th Article of the ordinance of the 27th November, 1815, and of that prescribed by the ordinance of the 18th of January, 1817.

9. Our Ministers are charged with the execution of these presents

Given at our Palace of St. Cloud, this 25th of July, in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty, and of our sovereignty the sixth. CHARLES.

By the King: PRINCE DE POLIGNAC,
President of the Council of Ministers.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF
DEPUTIES.

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of France and Navarre. To all those to whom

these presents may come, greeting : In virtue of the Fiftieth article of the Constitution, having been informed of the manœuvres practiced in many parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the last operations of the electoral colleges, our Council being heard, we have ordained and do ordain :

ART. 1. The Chamber of Deputies is dissolved.

2. Our minister of the interior is charged with the execution of this present ordinance.

Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1830, and the sixth of our reign.

CHARLES.

By the King : CH. DE PEYRONNET,
Minister of the Interior.

RULES FOR FUTURE ELECTIONS.

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of France and Navarre. To all those to whom these presents may come, greeting : Having resolved to prevent the recurrence of measures, which have exercised a pernicious influence upon the late operations of the electoral colleges ; wishing, in consequence to reform, according to the principles of the Constitution, those rules of election of which experience has taught the inconvenience, we have recognized the necessity of employing the power in us invested, to provide by acts emanating from us, for the security of the State and the suppression of every enterprize directed against the dignity of the Crown. For these reasons, our Council being heard, we have ordained and we ordain,

ARTICLE 1. Agreeably to the 15th, 26th and 30th articles of the constitution, the chamber of deputies will be composed only of deputies of departments.

2. The income necessary to constitute an elector and the income necessary to contribute eligibility shall be exclusively confined to sums for which the elector and the eligible shall be personally enregistered in the rolls for imposition of direct and personal taxes in quality of proprietor or tenant.

3. The deputies will be elected and the chamber will be re-opened in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th article of the constitution.

4. The electoral colleges will be divided into colleges of arrondisements and colleges of departments. Always excepted the electoral colleges of departments to which only one deputy is assigned.

5. The electoral colleges of arrondisements will be composed of all the electors who have their political domicile established in the arrondissement. The electoral colleges of departments will be composed of one fourth of the electors paying the highest tax in the department.

6. The present limits of the electoral colleges of arrondissement are maintained.

7. Each electoral college of arrondissement will elect a number of candidates equal to the number of deputies of department.

8. The college of arrondisements will be divided into as many sections as it was a right to elect candidates. This division will be made proportionably to the number of sections and to the total number of electors.

of the college, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of localities and neighborhoods.

9. The sections of the electoral colleges of arrondissement may be assembled at different places. www.libtool.com.cn

10. Each section of the electoral college of arrondissement will elect a candidate and proceed separately.

11. The presidents of the section of the electoral college of arrondissement will be named by the prefects from among the electors of the arrondissement.

12. The college of department will elect the deputies. Half of the deputies of department must be chosen from the general list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissement; nevertheless, if the number of deputies of department is odd, the division shall be made without reduction of the right reserved to the college of department.

13. In case either in consequence of omissions of double nominations, or of nominations made void, the list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissement shall be incomplete; if this list is thus reduced below the half of the requisite number, the college of department may elect one more deputy without reference to the list, if the list is reduced below one fourth, the college of department may elect the whole number of the deputies of department without reference to the list.

14. The prefects, sub-prefects and general officers commanding the military divisions and the departments, are not eligible in the departments where they exercise their functions.

15. The list of electors will be determined by the prefect in council of prefecture ; it shall be published five days before the meetings of the colleges.

16. Claims to the right of suffrage, not acknowledged by the prefects, shall be determined by the chamber of deputies at the same time that they shall determine upon the validity of the operations of the colleges.

17. In the electoral colleges of department the two eldest electors and the two electors paying the highest taxes, shall perform the functions of scrutators ; the same rule will be observed in the sections of the college of arrondissement composed of more than fifty electors. In the other sections of the college, the functions of scrutator will be exercised by the oldest and highest taxed of the electors. The secretary will be named in the college of sections of colleges, by the president and scrutators.

18. No one will be admitted in the college or section of college if he is not enrolled on the list of electors for said section. This list will be given to the president, and will remain posted in the chamber of sessions and said college during its operations.

19. All discussion or deliberation whatever in the electoral colleges is forbidden.

20. The police of the college is invested in the president. No armed force can, without his demand, be placed in the vicinity of the place of sessions. Military commanders will be held subject to his request.

21. The elections in the colleges and sections of colleges will be decided by an absolute majority of the whole number of votes given. Nevertheless, if the elections are not terminated after twice balloting, the bureau will determine the list of those persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second balloting. It shall contain double the number of names that there remain elections to be made. At the third balloting the suffrages can only be given to the persons inscribed upon this list, and the nomination will be made by the relative majority.

22. The electors will vote by tickets [bulletins de liste] each ticket will contain as many names as there are elections to be made.

23. The electors will write their vote at the bureau, or they will cause it to be there written by the spectators.

24. The name, the qualifications, and the residence of each elector that deposits his ticket or vote, shall be inscribed by the secretary upon a list destined to verify the number of voters.

25. Each balloting shall be continued during six hours, and the votes shall be counted during the sessions.

26. A statement of the result of each session shall be drafted. This statement shall be signed by all the members of the bureau.

27. Conformably to the 46 article of the constitution, no amendment can be made to a law in the chamber if it has not been proposed or consented to by us, and if it has not been returned to or discussed in committee.

28. All regulations opposed to the present ordinance are annulled.

29. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present ordinance. Given at St Cloud, 25th of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty, and the sixth of our reign. CHARLES,

By the King.

The President of the Council of Ministers,

PRINCE DE POLIGNAC.

Minister of Justice,

CHANTELAUZE.

Minister of the Marine,

BARON D'HAUSSEZ.

Minister of the Interior,

COUNT DE PEYRONNET,

Minister of Finances,

MONBEL.

Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of public Instruction,

COUNT DE GUERNON RANVILLE.

Minister of Public Works,

CAPELLE.

CHARLES, By the Grace of God, King of France, and Navarre. To those to whom these presents may come greeting. In accordance with the royal ordinance, bearing date of this day, relative to the organization of the Electoral Colleges, upon the report of our Minister of the interior. We have ordained and ordain as follows:

ART. 1. The electoral colleges shall assemble, namely, the electoral colleges of ar-

rondisement the sixth of September, next ; and the electoral colleges of department, the 18th of the same month.

2. The Chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies of department are convoked for the 28th of the month of September, next.

3. Our minister of the interior is changed with the execution of the president ordinance.

Given at our Palace of St. Cloud, the 25th of July, in the year of our Lord 1830, and the sixth of our reign. CHARLES.

By the King.

The Minister of the Interior, CÔUNT DE PEYRONNET.

This was enough. The die was cast. It remained now to be proved, whether thirty millions of enraged and abused people, would tamely submit to the despotism of a weak tyrant, and his few mad advisers.

The following letter shows the immediate consequence of the above decree. We prefer to publish them in the form of a journal, as they were received in this country.

MEETING OF THE FRENCH EDITORS.

PARIS, July 26.

To day all the editors of the Journals assembled, to deliberate upon the course they ought to pursue under such extraordinary circumstances. Some advise not to submit to these illegal measures, and unconstitutional decrees ; others propose to fix, by common consent, what number of journals shall appear

before the tribunals, to demand the execution of the laws. M. Marien, prefect of police, has communicated to the printers the important information, that every unauthorised publication will be followed by the seizure and detention of their presses. Many of the printers informed the editors of the journals that, so far from complying with this order, they were ready to sacrifice their interests and to resist as long as resistance should be in their power.

This morning, all the reading rooms (cabinets de lecture) were crowded; the concourse was greatest in the vicinity of the Exchange. At one o'clock the anticipated fall in the funds, at the opening of operations became a subject of speculation; general expectation, however, was deceived; because the rates at first only fell two francs. This kind of circumspection is attributed to the stock dealers. It is supposed that a more decided fall would have required a more serious compromise. For the purpose of maintaining the rents they postponed as much as in their power, the orders for sales. They were apprehensive that the panic might lead to a more fearful and calamitous depreciation. Their manœuvres, nevertheless, could not prevent their falling to 50 francs 50 centimes, which makes nearly 5 francs diminution, the 5 per cents to 10—50; the ducat to 84—10. The quotation of rents but feebly represents the in-

dignation and anger that this manifest violation of laws and constitutional order has created.

The Constitutionnel, the Nationale, the Courier, Francois, the Temps, the Globe, the Journal of Commerce, the Messenger, the Fiaro, &c. have decided to appear without authorisation. It is said that the Journal of Debats is the only journal that has refused to unite in the measure.

The deputies, at present in Paris, will meet this evening, at the house of M. Alexander Delaborde, and a great part of the editors in the office of the Nationale.

The constitution, most solemnly sworn to by our Kings, is by the royal will, suspended. It no longer exists, except in the hearts of good citizens. The sensations this *coup d'etat* has produced upon us, indicates sufficiently what will be produced throughout all France, when this unforeseen calamity shall have spread consternation in the departments, the cities, and the villages, even, where yesterday, they still confided in that, which is kept the most sacred among men; in the promises solemnly made to the nation and before heaven—"The country, the only thing eternal upon earth."

Our duties are written down—our engagements have been signed. They must be executed with firmness, with dignity, and in a manner to make those blush, who come to signify to us the orders, which they are obli-

ged to execute. Excesses will be committed, and it is better to be the victims than the abettors. Our part is to yield; the King has said that he will not. Let us respect his supreme will and content ourselves with submission to force, since it is that alone which, at present, constitutes the right of salvation. Our last words shall be *vive le Roi! vive le Charte!* The last wishes, which we shall perhaps be permitted to express, are for France and for those who shall save it.

In a short time the hand of despotism will be extended over us. In an hour, perhaps, the liberty, legally to speak, will be taken from us. Those murmurs which they hope to silence by force, will, in a short time, escape, to arouse those who mistake or despise the laws that guarantee our common security. The first to submit to the *hors la loi* which has been proclaimed, we shall be perhaps, soon, the first to enjoy, as we formerly did, the rights which shall be rendered back to us. A remonstrance against the collection of illegal contributions, has been for some time covered with signatures. To-day, the moment to fulfil his second engagement has arrived. When power no longer respects laws, there ought still to exist laws for those who have room to respect the social compact.

The ordinances of the King above alluded to, produced the effect which might have been anticipated. They kindled the public mind:

to its highest pitch ; and drove the people to a determined resolution. The very next day, the public papers of Paris, almost without exception, expressed themselves in terms which showed that they were prepared for a desperate conflict. The following are extracts :

VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER.—ABOLITION OF THE LAWS.

Violence has triumphed in the councils of the King. The constitution of the state is attacked in its foundations—the body politic is dissolved. France is replaced, by the crime of the ministers, in the provisional situation from which the charter had saved it on the 4th of June, 1814.

The legal title, which would legitimate the raising of the taxes in 1831, has just been destroyed.

The crime for which ministers are going to answer before the nation, has been characterised by the royal court of Paris in the sentence passed upon us with respect to the Breton subscription. In condemning us for having published that document, the magistrates have declared that the imputation was odious which ascribed to Ministers the intention of overthrowing the bases of the constitutional guarantees established by the charter, and the design attributed to them criminal, either to enact and to levy taxes not assented to by the two chambers, or to change illegally the mode of the elections,

This odious imputation has become an official truth, this criminal intention is realized. The charter and the laws offer us a last resource. The ordinances are null, the chambers are not dissolved. The dissolution is null, because the chamber of deputies has neither been assembled nor verified. As far as it exists, it exists still. It is regularly convoked for the 3d, and at all events, according to the charter, it ought to meet by right on the 17th of August; we depend on its not failing to do so as the charter directs.

After all, we confide without fear the defence of legal liberty by legal means, to the bravest nation in the universe: the days of a new glory are come for France.

The *Constitutionnel* and the *Debats* have not been published this morning.

The editors of the *Nationale* and the *Temps* have this morning resisted the officers who came to break up their presses. They did not resist by open force, but the officers who were accompanied with a great display of military force, were obliged to force the doors. The presses were then defaced amidst the remonstrances of the proprietors. Since this morning, the gendarmerie has been stationed on the boulevards and about the exchange.

There has been some disturbance at the palais royal, and at the hotel of Prince Polignac, the windows of which were broken.

On the evening of the 26th, the following ordinance was posted up in Paris; which served to increase the agitation already produced:

“ We, prefect of police, &c., seeing the ordinance of the king, dated the 25th inst., which put again in force articles 1, 2, and 9, of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, &c., we have ordained and ordain as follows:—

“ ART. 1. Every individual who shall distribute printed writings, on which there shall not be the true indication of the names, profession, and residence of the author and of the printer, or who shall give to the public the same writings to read, shall be brought before the commissary of Police of the quarter, and the writings shall be seized.

“ 2. Every individual keeping a reading-room, coffee-house, &c., who shall give to be read, journals or other writings, printed contrary to the ordinance of the king of the 25th inst., relative to the press, shall be prosecuted as guilty of the misdemeanours which these journals, or writings, may constitute, and his establishment shall be provisionally closed.

PARIS, July 27. This ordinance for suspending the liberty of the Press will destroy hundreds of thousands of families; the keepers of coffee houses, and of reading-rooms and libraries, editors, printers, pub-

lishers, and papermakers. The *Constitutionnel* sold between 15,000 and 20,000 copies daily; it will not sell 5,000 hereafter. The number of voters disqualified by the ordinance in the city of Paris alone, is not less than 9,500. The number that will remain does not amount to more than 1,900.

Since the first days of the revolution, Paris has not been so agitated as during the last two days. The absence of all publicity contributes to this extraordinary excitement; people run to look for news. The police has caused a great number of coffee-houses, reading-rooms, and places where the journals were usually read, to be shut up. The papers which have appeared this morning without a licence, are devoured amidst uneasy groups, and almost under the bayonets of the gens d'armes. The immense population of Paris will not obey the ordinances. It protects by all the means in its power. The workshops are every where closed, the rich magazines of the streets Richelieu, St. Honore, St. Denis, are only half open. The Palais Royal, so brilliant in the times of peace, so famous in the commencement of the revolution, is now a gloomy prison. The gates are shut, and the garden and the passages cleared. The Tuileries are also shut. Every spot where a number of persons might collect is occupied by gendarmes, the Royal Guard, and troops of the line.

Meantime the alarm increases every hour. Those who go from home out of curiosity or otherwise, run the risk of falling into the midst of assemblages which are hurrying in all directions, and which the armed force has the greatest trouble to restrain. On both sides blood has flowed. Three gens d'armes it is said, have been killed, and several workmen, and even women, sabred and trodden under foot by the horses. A word—a single word—the revocation of the ordinances, would suddenly restore tranquillity as if by enchantment. But this word does not come, it is not even now hoped for; and the consequences of this inconceivable provocation are now incalculable. We would have it so, say the infamous mercenary journals. No, we would not have it so; but woe to him who has taken upon his head this terrible responsibility.

JULY 28.—Couriers have been despatched in all directions to summons the deputies to the post of honor. They will quickly arrive. Only 32 of them were at Paris yesterday. They assembled, and will soon make known what they have decided. Only one thing preponderates in all their opinions—the immediate refusal of the taxes to an administration which has put itself out of the pale of the law, and the constitutional meeting on the third of August, (the day for which the Chambers were convoked)

Paris is in complete insurrection.

Early this morning the Royal insignia (*enseignes*) were pulled down and burnt in the Place Publique. The populace in a ferment, traversed the streets, stopped and disarmed the military.

Towards noon the national guard appeared here and there in uniform. Some patrols of that guard traversed various quarters of Paris.

At this moment, (half past one) I write amidst the firing of a regiment of the royal guard, and several pieces of cannon, which are directed against the rue de St. Dennis.

It is affirmed that the city of Paris is declared in a state of siege, and that the command of it is given to the duke of Ragusa.

The exchange is shut.

Two o'clock.—The firing has ceased. I need not add that the cannon has prevailed; but all is not finished.

MEETING OF THE DEPUTIES.

The deputies now present in Paris, to the number of about 50, have assembled and have decided :—

“ That they protested against the ordinances of the 25th of July, as illegal and criminal.

“ That they still consider themselves as the true deputies of France.

“ That a deputation should immediately go to the commandant of the place, and to the prefect of Paris, to ask them to re-organize the national guard : that if they de-

cline, the guard itself was invited to meet, permanently to watch over the safety of the city of Paris."

The deputies themselves have declared their meeting permanent. www.libtool.com.cn

PROTEST OF THE DEPUTIES.

The undersigned, regularly elected deputies by the colleges of arrondissements, by virtue of the royal ordinance of the —, and conformably to the constitutional charter, and to the laws relative to electors of the —, and who are now at Paris, consider themselves as absolutely obliged, by their duties and their honor, to protest against the measures which the advisers of the crown have lately caused to be proclaimed for the overthrow of the legal system of election, and the ruin of the liberty of the press. The same measures contained in the ordinances of the —, are, in the opinion of the undersigned, directly contrary to the constitutional rights of the chamber of Peers, to the public rights of the French, to the attributes and to the decrees of the tribunals; and calculated to throw the state into a confusion which equally endangers the peace of the present moment, and the security of the future.

In consequence, the undersigned, inviolably faithful to their oath, protest in concert, not only against the said measures, but against all the acts that may result from them.

And considering, on the one hand, that the chamber of deputies, not having been constituted, could not be legally dissolved; on the other, the attempt to form a new chamber of deputies in a novel and arbitrary manner, is directly opposed to the constitutional charter, and to the acquired rights of the electors; the undersigned declare that they still consider themselves as legally elected to the deputation by the colleges of the arrondissements and departments, whose suffrages they have obtained, and as incapable of being replaced, except by virtue of elections made according to the principles and forms prescribed by the laws. And if the undersigned do not effectively exercise the rights, nor perform all duties which they derive from their legal election, it is because they are hindered by absolute violence.

[Signed by 62 deputies. Many others were expected to arrive on the 30th or 31st.]

Having presented these introductory extracts, which are designed to show the origin and causes of the Revolution, we subjoin the following very interesting letter, copied from the London Herald of August 3d, detailing the history of the transaction in the order of events.

PARIS, July 30.

On Tuesday evening matters began to wear a very serious aspect. The gendarmes posted on the Place du Palais Royal

were incessantly attacked, by what you in London would call, a mob of dandies, with a perseverance and desperation of which all the riots, revolts, tumults, or revolutions of England afford no example. They were supported, it is true, by young bourgeois, and by the lower classes; but the majority, by five o'clock were Paris sops, with rattans in their hands and pistols in their pockets. Some of them were killed. Wishing to see something of the matter, I took a cabriolet and attempted to drive through the Place du Palais Royal, and got into the thick of the fight. The cab-driver had been a *chasseur a cheval* of the imperial guard. When we reached the tails of the horses of the line of gendarmes, posted opposite the Rue Froidmanteau, the excitement was too much for him. The people were charged by the cavalry—fired their pistols in their faces, retired and returned to the attack, with cries of *Vengeance!—Liberte!—A bas le Roi!—Vive la Charte!—Vive l'Empereur!—Vive Napoleon II!—La Mort a Polignac!—La Mort a Peyronnet!—Liberte ou la Mort!*—This was too much for my *cocher*. He lost his head, and charged the gendarmes *en arriere* with his miserable old horse. I seized the reins and checked him, knowing how much he was compromising my safety, but it was in vain, for rising on his feet, and flourishing his *casquette* over his head, he roared with all his power *Vive l'Empereur!*

Heaven knows I am in no humor for provoking a smile, but this and a few other trifling incidents will better prove the state of the city, and of the parties, than a full description.

~~Determined, as some~~ I imagined the gendarmes to be at that time, I fancied I saw thus early, symptoms of fear and indecision among them. Still they fought with certainty and desperation, but every moment their assailants were reinforced by boys, workmen, clerks, students, coachmen, and in short, all classes. The firing became every moment more sharp.

I returned home, and after dinner was making my way again to the Palais Royal, when I met a band of men in the Rue Vivienne, bearing the corpses of one of their unhappy comrades. As they passed the Rue Colbert, where there was (*was*, indeed!) a Swiss post, their cries of vengeance were frightful. They took the body to the Place de la Bourse, stripped and exhibited it, surrounded by candles, and amid unceasing cries of "*vengeance!*" and "*aux armes! aux armes!*" The report of an odd shot fell upon the ear at intervals; but, although the streets were crowded, no other sound was heard, save those above mentioned. A little later and the lanterns were smashed, their long cords left dangling in the centre of the street, bringing to mind the dreadful use made of them 41 years before. At ten o'clock the

wooden guard-house of the Place de la Bourse was attacked, the gendarmes expelled and the guard-house itself set on fire. A party of sapeurs pompiers (firemen) arrived to extinguish the flames, but they would not be allowed to act, and suffered themselves to be disarmed.

Later all the armourer's shops in Paris were attacked, and every weapon carried off. At eleven o'clock, comparative quiet reigned throughout Paris; but the nature of such a calm could not be understood. At four o'clock in the morning the people began to assemble at many points, but principally in the Rue St. Honore. The well-dressed mob of the preceding day reappeared, and reinforced, but were outnumbered by the terrible men of the Faubourgs of St. Antoine and Marceau. The Tuileries were approached, but no act of hostility occurred up to ten o'clock. In the meanwhile the brave of the *cidevant* garde nationale began to assemble on the Boulevards, in the Place de Greve, and in other places, with the certainty of death if defeated. At the same moment a new and most important incident occurred. The students of the Ecole Polytechnique, having been dismissed without their swords (lads of from fifteen to twenty-three years of age,) joined the people to a man, then separated, proceeding singly to different parts to take the command of the people, or rather to receive it from them;

and nobly did they repay the confidence so placed in them. In an hour an immense force was brought to bear on several points. The Hotel de Ville was attacked, carried, and became the *point d'appui*. The depot of artillery in the Rue du Bac, (St. Thomas d'Aquin) was equally carried, and the cannon carried off to the most important points, and worked with amazing coolness and effect for twelve hours, by those heroic youths. The Tuileries were attacked, and defended by the 3d regiment of the Garde Royale (all of whom were *Vendeans*;) they were the first soldiers who fired on the people on Wednesday. Early in the day the Sapeurs Pompiers surrendered. A large proportion of the gendarmes soon afterwards followed their example. I should have said earlier, that the whole garrison of Paris had been ordered out on the preceding night. The 5th regiment were ordered "make ready!" to fire on the people on the Boulevard. They did so. "Present!" and they turned their pieces on their Colonel, waiting with singular coolness for the word "Fire!" That officer immediately broke his sword upon his knee, tore off his epaulettes, and retired. The people threw themselves into the arms of the soldiers, who received their embrace, but maintained their position. "*Viva la ligne!*" (regiments of the line) was, in consequence, during the night, and ever since, a constant exclamation with the people.

At ten o'clock I went to the Place du Carrousel. In the Rue Richelieu, and all the neighbourhood of the Rue St. Honore, the parties were en face. The 3d Guards maintained the appearance of determination to fight. The people were accumulating frightfully. Not a word was spoken. The Garden of the Tuileries was closed. In the Place du Carrousel I found three squadrons of Lancers of the Garde Royale, a battalion of the 2d regiment of the Garde, and a battery of six pieces, also of the Garde. The Tuileries and Louvre were occupied by a regiment of Swiss Guards. Unhappy men! the example of former days was lost upon them. They have perished!

A few soldiers of the Garde were eating their breakfast; all the rest, to whom I have referred, were on a *qui vive*, ready to mount or to fall in.

I passed on to the *Qui du Louvre*. The Pont des Arts (a wooden bridge for foot passengers opposite the Louvre) and the Palace of the institute, were so crowded, that I turned, fortunately, to the Pont Royal. At that moment a dreadful *tirailade* was heard in the direction of the Place de Greve. It was answered by a rolling fire in every direction, and in five minutes 15,000 of the finest troops in the world found themselves engaged with citizens, variously armed. Here was a small party of elderly men, National Guards, who, with a *sang froid*

only equalled by that of the beardless students of the Polytechnic school, opened their fire on the Garde Royale, horse, foot, artillery, and French and Swiss; taking special care to avoid injuring the regiments of the line, who remained grave spectators of the slaughter that ensued. In another direction might be seen the ferocious Federes of the quarters St. Antoine and Marceau, with their spikes of 1815, or other less terrible looking weapons; thousands of women and unarmed people looking on and encouraging the popular party.

For ten hours the war raged incessantly. On every hand, without intermission, musketry rolled, cannons thundered, shouts and cries were heard. I proceeded to a remote quarter of the town, which I found quiet as on ordinary occasions; but the cruel certainty that death ensued among some of the combatants every instant, the still more appalling doubt respecting the event, the dread of danger which menaced every man in Paris, and the doleful tolling of the tocsin, produced sensations, the nature of which may be conceived.

I had sat for two hours, at a window overlooking the city, with a Colonel of the Imperial Old Guard. His face was immovable, but he spoke not a word. His practised ear detected what I could not have discovered, for, although a league and a half from the Hotel de Ville, the first words he uttered

for two hours burst from his lips with a tone of triumph—" *Nous avone un point d' appui la* "

The Hotel de Ville had surrendered, and the new sounds proceeded from the victors and from the retreating enemy. The "line" (the regiments of the line) fired no shot during the day. The 53d refused to act. The cannonniers of the guard gave their pieces an angle of elevation which spared assailants who spared not them, for the intention was not ascertained.

The cavalry were cut up in a hundred charges.

The tri-coloured flag soon floated on the tower of the Hotel de Ville, and on those of the Cathedral (Notre Dame.)

On Tuesday night Prince Polignac narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His house was roughly handled. On Wednesday night the celebrated Abbe de Fraysenous (Bishop of Hermopolis) was arrested, I am assured. All the priests disappeared during the day.

The Ministers all ran off, save Debelleme, who was thrown into prison for allowing some of the journals to be printed.

At ten o'clock the Tuileries and Louvre still held out, but at that moment I saw march along the Boulevard, part of a regiment of Lancers, whose appearance indicated extreme fatigue. They were quickly followed by a portion of a regiment of infantry of the Guard. "These are new troops," I ob-

served to a military gentleman of experience ; “ you know the regiments in the departments have been called up to town.” “ ’Tis a *re-trat*,” said he, “ they are in full *devoute* ; mark how the drums, music, officers, and soldiers, are mingled ; and behold, there is a wounded officer. They must be sorely pressed, for see how his leg bleeds, and is still unbound. Many of them are, moreover, without shoes !”

A regiment, or the remains of a regiment of Cuirassiers, mixed up with Gendarmes de Chasse, next followed—the horses cut up, and the men fainting. Lastly, a portion of a regiment of the line followed with a melancholy air. The remainder of the three regiments first mentioned were dead, and as my friend guessed, the survivors, with some soldiers of a regiment of the line, were on their way to join the King at St. Cloud, where they arrived in a most confused state yesterday.

The attack on the Louvre and Tuileries was renewed early yesterday, with success, but with great slaughter. The Palace was pillaged. The different barracks of the unhappy Swiss Guards were carried in the course of the day, and the Swiss (having refused to surrender) cut to pieces. A regiment of Hussars of the Guard marched in from Orleans yesterday morning, but hearing of the retreat of those above mentioned, they halted in the Place Louis XVI., and in

the course of the day retreated upon St. Cloud, receiving a heavy fire on their way. At four o'clock in the evening, there was not a man in arms against the people in Paris. The tri-colored flag waved once more over all the public monuments. The joy was universal.

The appointment of General Lafayette to the command of the National Guard was a happy circumstance; 80,000 will be organized to night. At this instant the disarming of the rabble is in progress. There is a large boat at this moment receiving its melancholy freight of dead from the Palace of the Louvre.

The Duke d'Orleans will be King. His son is marching to Paris in aid of the Bourgeois, at the head of his regiment of Hussars. General Gerard is at the head of the armed force under Lafayette. The Royal emblems and every mention of Royalty have disappeared everywhere. The King of France, whoever he shall be, must be a very limited Monarch to receive the approbation of the people. Napoleon II. is in the mouths of all the lower orders.

The troops are assembling in the Place du Carousel, to march upon St. Cloud; but there will be little fighting.

At the moment I write, there are placards posted with these words—"no more Bourbons!"

July 31.—This is surely the most extraordinary nation on the face of the earth. The day before yesterday, Paris was filled with 150,000 men engaged in mortal combat; its streets ran rivers of blood, and reverberated the thunder of artillery, the roll of musketry, the perpetual tapping of the *pas de charge*; the tolling of the tocsin, the cheers of the combatants, the shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying. Yesterday morning all was calm. The military service was performed with order and precision by 100,000 men, who never before this week figured as soldiers—under the influence, to be sure, of those heroic youths, the scholars of the Ecole Polytechnique, and the example of the National Guards. A decent gravity reigned every where during the day. At every instant were to be met men carrying on biers such of the wounded as could be transported to the hospitals with safety; 1,500 of all parties are in the Hotel Dieu alone. While each of those unfortunate poor fellows passed, every man present spontaneously and most respectfully took off his hat. The dead were also honorably disposed of. The number in the Louvre was immense. Eighty were borne to a spot opposite the eastern gate of that building yesterday, and buried with military honors. Nearly as many were put on board of a lighter, and brought down the Siene to the *Champ de Mars*, and there appropriate-

ly interred. A considerable number, among whom were four Englishmen, who fell on the preceding day, were buried in the Marche des Innocens.

The evening was, if possible, more interesting and imposing. Already had the principal portion of the Garde Nationale been reorganised, and with "the people," the persons dignified by the superior orders as canaille, been put in possession of all the military posts of the metropolis, and occupied them with the air of veterans. Along the quays and streets, the female inhabitants were to be seen seated in groups preparing bandages and lint for the wounded. The passages (arcades) afforded striking instances of this benevolent disposition. All the milliners, and their shopwomen and workwomen, were to be seen sitting outside their shops (because those, being closed, afforded no light,) busily engaged in making lint.

Paris is so fortified interiorly that a million of men would hardly suffice to carry it. I forget how many thousand streets it contains, but every street of them is capable of long and protracted defence; the means for which, however, I do not feel at liberty to describe.

The Ecole Militaire, surrendered yesterday. The artillery from Vincennes marched up St. cloud. The fortress itself remains in possession of the King's troops. The Duke de Bordeaux is said to be there.

Poor child! I am sure he would not be molested. If menaced, he would certainly be preserved by the *Garde Nationale*, at the expense of their lives—yea, even the commonest laborer would answer for his safety, if he were thrown upon him for protection. The Priests had all disappeared, or, if visible, were disguised. The provisional Government caused them to be informed that they were under the protection of the nation, and might resume their functions in security. They have, in consequence, all returned to their churches. A large force has assembled at Versailles and St. Cloud, with the intention, it is said, of remaining there. They do not intend attacking Paris, it is believed, but, if attacked they will fight. They occupy Meudon and Mount Valerien (the heights to the right and left of St. Cloud.) Several hundred soldiers of the regiment of the guard are said to have left their regiments within these two days, and are to be met with in Paris with their moustaches shaven off.

The number of men under arms this day is comparatively small. The chateau of the Tuileries remains in the hands of the brave fellows who took it. If this were a subject upon which one could be pleasant, these extraordinary men would present ample materials; for, as you may guess, their costume is various as their employments were from which they rushed into battle. They

are principally of the working classes, and on Thursday night presented a most grotesque appearance.

The loss of both parties on Thursday [July 29th] was immense. It was evident to every man who saw them that the French troops were dejected. Some of them had not tasted food for 30 hours. They fought, moreover, against their own countrymen. The poor Swiss had still more cause for dejection, for they apprehended that no quarter would be shown them. They were wrong, for the lives of all who surrendered were spared. The people fought like lions.

At one point a woman, in the costume of her sex, headed the Bourgeois, and was the boldest of the combatants, if degrees of bravery can be admitted in this most memorable conflict of modern times. A woman in man's clothes, fought at the attack on the Swiss barracks in the Rue Plument. The 3d regiment of the Guard (Vendeans) fought with extraordinary bravery and devotion. Many of the Cuirassiers surrendered their swords. The Lancers of the Guard, the finest body of men in the country, fought with heroism and constantly, but were dreadfully cut up. Many of them (private soldiers) were young men of family. The manner in which the Swiss fought, and the nature of the engagement, may be taken from the following instance: A company of them defended one portion of the Rue St.

Honore. They were reduced to 60 when I saw them, and fought in three lines of single files. The people occupied the whole breadth of the street in front of them. The foremost Swiss soldier would fire, or attempt to fire, and would fall pierced with balls before he could wheel to gain the rear. The same occurred to the next, and so on until they had every one fallen. The contest here, at the Louvre, the Tuileries, and at the Place de Greve, was maintained with the most deadly obstinacy. The Rue St. Honore, for two days, was a perpetual scene of slaughter. There may be counted in the front of a house which forms the corner of the street de Rohan and St. Honore, five thousand shot holes. The louvre, (except the Picture Gallery—what a nation!) was on all sides attacked and defended at the same moment, and for hours. In the Court of the Louvre a field piece was planted, which commanded the Pont des Arts, being exactly opposite the Institute. Here the fighting was so dreadful, and so maintained that the front of the Palace of the Institute is speckled with musket and grape shot. One cannon ball only appears to have been fired. It has smashed a portion of the wall, and, from its elevation, must have caused dreadful execution in sweeping the bridge. The attack on the Tuileries, was not of as long duration, it was over in two or three hours, A young fellow marched on with a tri-color-

ed flag at the head of the attacking Bourgeois: A thousand balls fired from the front of the chateau, whistled by him without touching him. He continued to march with *sang froid*, but with, at the same time, an air of importance, up to the triumphal arch, and remained there until the end of the battle.

The neighborhood of the Hotel de Ville, was the theatre of a still more dreadful conflict. The people occupied the Quai Pelleter and the Place de Greve. After a most sanguinary struggle, they were slowly beaten from the Quay into the Place, which, with the Hotel de Ville, they maintained against some of the finest troops in the universe throughout the day, and until those troops retreated.

The Lieutenancy of the Kingdom is offered to the Duke d'Orleans. The King is said to have gone to Lille. All the emblems of Royalty are removed, and the names of streets refering to it are expunged. The Deputies are again assembled this moment at La Fitte's.

What a deplorable act was the issuing of of the Ordanance on Monday last! What slaughter has ensued! What changes have been effected by it!

Respecting a renewal of the engagement, I repeat my hope that it will not be attempted. Several of the officers of the Garde Royale who fought on Wednesday, have resigned their commissions; amongst others,

(I think) Latour du Pin, giving as his reason, his objection to fight against his countrymen. If this example be widely imitated the affair will end without further bloodshed ; if not, the contemplation is too horrible to be entertained for a moment. The shops are still very generally closed, notwithstanding the proclamation of the municipality. As you may suppose, much distress would be felt by the people, (being all unemployed) had not arrangements been made for their subsistence. The families requiring aid, receive bread and other provisions. The men on duty in like manner receive bread, cheese, meat and wine, which the different parties parade through the streets, preceded by a drum.

The order that prevails, reflects upon the people and their Chiefs the highest honor. The National Guard will have immortalised itself by its exemplary conduct, in protecting persons and property from possible injury. To the credit of the Parisians be it known, that amid all their excitement, no foreigner has been insulted ; but I should exhaust all terms of eulogy, were I to dwell upon the valor of the French during the combat, and their excellent conduct when even flushed with victory over an obstinate and brave enemy.

Money is not to be had. The money changers have all disappeared, so that foreign coin, or securities, cannot be turned into French specie.

On the evening of Wednesday, an eagle (of one of Napoleon's old regiments) was mounted over the triumphal arch in the Place du Caroussel, together with the tri-colored flag. The flag remains but the eagle has been taken down. The tri-colored cockade or breast knot, is general, not only among the French, but Russians, English, Germans, Danes, and other foreigners.

The reader will have noticed the name of the venerable LAFAYETTE, as the commander-in-chief of the National Guard. A noble champion in a noble cause! The uniform, steadfast, zealous defender of liberty and the rights of man! The Duke of Orleans* has been appointed by the Deputies, Lieut General of the Kingdom, and has accepted the appointment.

PROCLAMATION,

ADDRESSED TO THE FRENCH, BY THE DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS, ASSEMBLED AT PARIS.

Frenchmen!—France is free. Absolute power has raised its standard; the heroic

* The present Duke of Orleans is the son of the well known P'Égalite, who suffered during the French Revolution by the guillotine, and cousin to the ex-King. He was several years himself a Colonel in the Republican cavalry, and fought various battles under the tri-colored flag. He was, afterwards, obliged to fly to Switzerland, where he was a professor of mathematics and, some time after, came over to this country and took up his residence at Chiswick. On the restoration of the Bourbons, he returned to France, and had the whole of his immense property restored to him.—*Globe*.

population of Paris has overthrown it. Paris attacked, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms which had triumphed in vain in the elections. A power which usurped our rights and disturbed our repose, threatened at once liberty and order. We return to the possession of order and liberty. There is no more fear for acquired rights, no more barrier between us and the rights which we still want. A Government which may, without delay, secure to us these advantages, is now the first want of our country. Frenchmen!—Those of your Deputies who are already at Paris have assembled; and till the Chambers can regularly intervene, they have invited a Frenchman who has never fought but for France, the Duke of Orleans, to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This is, in their opinion, the surest means promptly to accomplish by peace, the success of the most legitimate defence.

The Duke of Orleans is devoted to the national and constitutional cause. He has always defended its interests, and professed its principles. He will respect our rights, for he will derive his own from us. We shall secure to ourselves by laws all the guarantees necessary to liberty, strong and durable.

The reestablishment of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of the officers.

The interventions of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations.

The Jury for the transgressions of the Press; the legally organized responsibility of the Ministers, and the secondary agents of the administration.

The situation of the military legally secured.

The reelection of Deputies appointed to the public officers we shall give at length to our institutions, in concert with the head of the State, the developements of which they have need.

Frenchmen.—The Duke of Orleans himself has already spoken, and his language is that which is suitable to a free country.

“The Chambers,” say he, “are going to assemble; they will consider of means to insure the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

“The Charter will henceforward be a truth.”

This Proclamation was followed by another from the Duke d’Orleans in the following words:—

Inhabitants of Paris!—The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital, to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

I have not hesitated to come and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst

of your heroic population, and to exert all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and of anarchy.

On returning to the city of Paris, I wore with pride those glorious colors which you have resumed, and which I myself long wore.

The Chambers are going to assemble, they will consider of the means of securing the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

The Charter will henceforward be a truth.

LOUIS PHILLIPE D'ORLEANS.

PARIS, July 31.—It has been necessary to designate for each branch of the public Administration, Commissioners to replace, provisionally, the administration which has just fallen with the power of Charles X.

The following are appointed Provisional Commissioners:—For the Department of Justice, M. Dupont de l'Eure; Finances, Baron Louis; War, General Gerard; Marine, M. de Rigny; Foreign Affairs, M. Bignon; Public Instruction, M. Guizot; Interior and Public Works, M. Casimir Perrier.

(Signed) LOBAU, A. DE PUYRAVEAU,
MAUGUIN, DE SCHONEN.

Paris, Hotel de Ville, July 31.

The following is the Proclamation of General Lafayette.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—You have by unanimous acclamation elected me your General. I shall prove myself worthy of the choice of

the Parisian National Guard. We fight for our laws and our liberties.

Fellow citizens,—Our triumph is certain. I beseech you to obey the orders of the chiefs that will be given to you, and that cordially. The troops of the line have already given way. The guards are ready to do the same. The traitors who have excited the civil war, and who thought to massacre the people with impunity, will soon be forced to account before the tribunals for their violation of the laws, and their sanguinary plots. Signed at General Quarters.

“Le General du Bourg, LAFAYETTE.

“Paris, 29th July.”

MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS.

PARIS, July 31.—*Inhabitants of Paris!*—Charles X. has ceased to reign over France. Not being able to forget the origin of his authority, he has always considered himself the enemy of our country, and of its liberties which he could not understand.

After having clandestinely attacked our institutions by all the means which fraud and hypocrisy gave him, he resolved, when he thought himself strong enough to destroy them openly, to drown them in the blood of the French.

Some instances have sufficed to annihilate this corrupted government, which has been only a permanent conspiracy against the liberty and prosperity of France. The nation

alone is standing adorned with those national colours which it has conquered in blood. It will have a government and laws worthy of itself.

[The remainder of the proclamation is a panegyric on the inhabitants of Paris.]

Wherever the Ordinances and the events at Paris were known, the sentiments of the people had been expressed with the same indignation against the measures of the court, and the same enthusiasm for the charter and liberty of the press have been displayed.

Charles X. is at Chartes. The court intends to go to the Loire, to organize the scourge of civil war in the ancient Vendee. They are accompanied only by the Swiss. The Royal Guard, in a state of complete discouragement, disorganization and desertion, has remained at St. Cloud and Versailles, with the artillery.

The Duchess of Berri made the most energetic remonstrances to Charles X., telling him that she was a mother, and that the brilliant destiny of her son was forever endangered by his obstinate perseverance in an oppressive system. Charles X. it is said, received the Princess very ill, and forbid his presence.

PARIS, July 21st, (*evening*).—The streets are now crowded with persons laughing and as gay as if they had come from a dance. The King had yesterday 15,000 men with him at St. Cloud, all chosen for their loyalty. The

greatest part left him and the tri-coloured flag is now floating over the Palace of St. Cloud. Never was there a more glorious week for France. The bankers and the first people in the place have joined the National Guards. All Paris is now armed. The united French army would not be able to put down the spirit now existing!"

Another English gentleman, now in Paris, writes thus:—"We have emerged from a dreadful crisis. Tyranny is subdued, and liberty has triumphed. Glory and honor to the Parisians! they have achieved a mighty action. For three days Paris has been a scene of warfare. Blood has flowed in torrents; at least 3,000 men have fallen on both sides; some say 5,000; but the military are the principal sufferers. The spirit of the people was inconceivable; they successively carried every post, drove the soldiers before them, took the Tuileries, the Louvre, and all public buildings by assault. Yesterday, at 6 o'clock, all Paris was in the hands of the citizens. To their honor be it said, property, public or private, was every where respected."

Saturday evening, July 31st.—All is tranquil here. The gates of the city are open, and the streets, which had been torn up by the populace, with the intention of throwing the stones from the tops of the houses upon the military, are repairing. The King of France has fled to Nantes, accompanied by

the Duke of Bordeaux and other members of the royal family. They have carried off with them the crown and all the jewels. They will there wait for the ex-ministers, ~~when it will be decided~~ whether they will proceed to Germany or to England. Such of the Swiss Guard who had survived the carnage have forsaken the King.

From the Sun of Monday Evening.—A third express has been received from Paris. As far as the intelligence has been suffered to transpire, we are informed that the tyrant King had abdicated in favor of the Duke de Bordeaux; that the Duke of Orleans had been declared Regent, or, as others have it, King: that Charles X. and the Royal Family had set out for Rheims; and that Prince Polignac, had been compelled to surrender to General Lafayette. The troops of the line of Lyons, at Lisle, at Rouen, at Havre, and generally throughout the departments, had joined the citizens. This express left Paris, on Saturday night, at which time the Provisional Government was most successfully exerting itself to restore order, and the city was generally resuming its tranquil appearance, though the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. A deputation from Lisle had arrived at Paris, offering five thousand men, if needed. A deputation from Lyons was also stated to be on the way to Paris. At Marseilles, the inhabitants and military had universally risen against the government of Charles X. The

Marseilles hymn was chaunted in the streets, and a force was organizing to resist any attempt of the tyrant. The provisional government of Paris was about to send two thousand men towards Calais, and on the arrival of the expected quotas from the provinces, other bodies would be despatched in different directions. One general feeling is said to animate the French people, and they are not more distinguished by their heroism with which they have asserted their liberties, than by the avoidance of all anarchy and plunder during the strongest excitement.

From the Messenger des Chambers.—We hear the Duke of Orleans spoken of. He would be a national king. But some voices, few in number, it is true, pronounce the word *republic*. This word can only sow discord among us; it is hailed by some generous but imprudent individuals, but we believe it to be thrown out by our enemies.

How have the Bourbons ruined themselves? By carrying to the extreme their principle of divine right, and of an authority superior to that of the nation.

How was the revolution in 1789 thrown away? Did it not lead us to the imperial despotism by impelling the principles of the national sovereignty to the republic and to anarchy?

The Bourbons have forgotten the cruel lessons of the past. After a lapse of forty years the French people are obliged to re-

peat the 14th July and the 10th August, not to make a revolution, but to preserve what the revolution has produced.

Let us not forget, then, as they have done, the lessons of the past. If the national cause suffers itself to be led away by evil counsels, it will fall, in the sequel, like the Bourbons, and like them, by its own fault. If it be true that the elder branch of the royal family has abdicated, the interest of the country is then to take for its hereditary magistrate, and for its king, the Duke of Orleans, who fought at the battle of Jemappe for the Revolution of 1789.

Yesterday the Court had sent some troops to arrest the Duke of Orleans at Neuilly. When it was known that the Prince had set off during the night for Paris, a royal Ordinance was immediately issued, declaring the Prince an outlaw, and ordering all subjects to fall upon him.

Two great events have long since distinguished the present era, the love of liberty and the love of order. These two signs equally manifest themselves in the noble combats of the capital. The people remain faithful to them. After having given its blood to liberty, it is ready to give it to order. There is a means to render our triumph worthy of the civilization which produced it.

Let us trust to history. It shows us, in England, that the substitution of the patrio-

ic William for the hypocritical Stuarts secured both liberty and order. Everything was easy for the cause of the laws. Blood ceased to flow—resistance became impossible; Europe and foreign Powers opened their negotiations and treaties with England, after it was regenerated.

Yesterday morning, (Friday) Charles X. and the Dauphin reviewed, near St. Cloud, the troops which were still round that place. Both of them cried “The Charter for ever!” and Charles X. announced that he abdicated in favor of his son. An expressive silence met this tardy declaration.

When Marshal Marmont appeared before the Dauphin, the Prince broke out into the most violent and contemptuous expressions. It is affirmed that he said, “You have treated us as you did others.” The Marshal promised, even on the 29th, to hold out 15 days; he did not hold out 15 hours. The Marshal has not betrayed them; on the contrary, he caused the cannon to be pointed against the citizens with the bitterest hostility.

It has been observed that the foreigners at Paris,—Russians, English, and Germans, openly declared for the defenders of the charter. They received them into their houses when they were wounded—they brought them provisions and refreshments. Thus, all Europe has taken some share in the memorable day of July 29th.

The greater part of the troops of the guard are concentrated round St. Cloud. Their advanced posts occupy, on the one side, a hillock below Calvary towards Neuilly; on the other they extend towards Meudon. Means of resistance are organized at Neuilly, to hinder them from passing the bridge, which they, however, do not appear disposed to force. On the contrary, every thing seems to be preparing for a retreat. The troops refuse to return to Paris. They loudly declare that they will join the citizens if they are ordered to the capital.

The Ministers hide themselves; each of them accuses his colleagues of the misfortune that has happened.

On the first of August the Duke of Orleans issued the following proclamation.

ORDINANCES OF THE LT. GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM.

“ART. 1. The French nation resumes its colours. No other cockade shall henceforth be worn than the tri-coloured cockade.

“The Commissioners charged principally with the several departments of the Ministry, shall provide each, as far as he is concerned, for the execution of the present ordinance.

“LOUIS PHILIP D'ORLEANS.”

“Paris, Aug. 1, 1830.

“(Countersigned)

“The Commissioner charged provisionally with the war Department, Ct. GERARD.

“No. 2. The Chamber of Peers and Chamber of Deputies, shall meet on the 3d of August next, in the usual place.

“The five following Ordinances appoint the Commissioners, or the several departments of the Ministry, viz: www.libtool.com.cn

“War, General Gerard; Justice, Dupont de l’Eure; Interior, Guizot; Finance, Baron Louis; Prefect of Police, Girod de l’Ain.”

And it now appeared quite certain that the Ambassadors of foreign Powers, had given to the Duke of Orleans, in the name of their respective Sovereigns, the assurance of the most friendly disposition.

The English Ambassador is said to have been the first; for in this case, not only the English nation, but the English Cabinet had well judged the true situation of affairs in France, as well as of the criminal acts of the Ministers. Indeed, it is said that when William the IVth, heard of the act of Charles, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and so entirely did away the liberty of the Press, he exclaimed in his own peculiar style—“*They are all mad!*”

On the fourth of August, the Duke of Orleans directed the following act to be deposited in the archives of the chamber of peers.

“RAMBOUILLET, Aug. 2, 1830.

“My Cousin,—I am too profoundly grieved by the evils which afflict or might threaten my people, not to have sought a means of perverting them. I have therefore taken the resolution to abdicate the crown in favor of my grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.

The Dauphin who partakes my sentiments,

also renounces his rights in favor of his nephew.

You will have then in your quality of Lt. General of the Kingdom, to cause the Accession of Henry V. to the Crown, to be proclaimed. You will take besides, all the measures which concern you to regulate the terms of the government during the minority of the new King. Here I confine myself to making known these dispositions; it is a means to avoid many evils.

You will communicate my intentions to the Diplomatic Body, and you will acquaint me as soon as possible with the proclamation by which my grandson shall have been recognised king of France, under the name of Henry V.

I charge Lieutenant General Viscount de Foissac Latour, to deliver this letter to you. He has orders to settle with you the arrangements to be made in favor of the persons who have accompanied me, as well as the arrangements necessary for what concerns me, and the rest of my family.

We will afterwards regulate the other measures, which will be the consequence of the change of the reign.

I repeat to you, my cousin, the assurances of the sentiments with which I am your affectionate cousin,

CHARLES.

LOUIS ANTOINE."

It was also reported, that the following document was issued by Charles.

“ The king, wishing to put an end to the troubles which exist in the capital, and a part of France, depending besides, on the sincere attachment of his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, nominates him Lieutenant General of the kingdom.

The king, having thought fit to withdraw his ordinances of the 25th July, approves of the meeting of the Chambers on the third of August, and is willing to hope that they will reestablish tranquillity in France.

The King will wait here for the return of the person who is commissioned to carry this declaration to Paris.

“ If any attempt should be made against the life of the king, or of his family, or against their liberty, he will defend himself to death.

“ *Done at Rambouillet, Aug 1, 1830.*

“ CHARLES.”

But on the same day (Aug. 4,) it was understood that two American vessels, viz: the ships Charles Carrol, and Great Britain, had been chartered for the purpose of taking his Majesty and suite to sea, though their particular destination yet remained doubtful.

After Charles fled from Paris, every hour seemed to prove his prospect more unpromising. Anger shut its gates against him; Tours, Lyons, and Rheims, raised the tri-coloured flag, and he was hourly deserted by his followers at Rambouillet. But, al-

though he had sent up to Paris, a formal abdication of the throne for himself and the Dauphin in favor of the young Duke of Bordeaux ; still, upon the arrival of the commissioners appointed to give him safe conduct to his place of embarkation, he refused to adhere to the proposals which he himself had made. He refused to surrender the crown jewels, and gave signs of preparing for defence against those who might attempt to force him to fulfil his contract, and comply with the will of the people.

But no sooner was this announced at Paris, than the drum and tocsin called the national guards to their posts, and it was announced to them that the attitude taken by the king, required to reason ; compelled to fly or surrender ; and that, to effect one or the other of these, the citizens of Paris, were required by government, to march on Rambouillet. The command of the force to be thus employed, was given to the brave General Pajol assisted by General Lafayette. The scholars of the École Polytechnique were to act under him as leaders. No regular or organized troops were to be employed.

The announcement was hailed with rapture, and immediate volunteers, including all those who had retained muskets since the day of triumph, presented themselves in every direction. Six thousand departed within two hours. In order to despatch them

quickly and save them from fatigue, the omnibuses, and all other carriages of that class, with hackney coaches, and cabriolets, were put in requisition. In addition to the men thus forwarded, thousands of others set out on foot, not in bodies, but in a continued stream. They marched by the Champs Elysees to the Bois de Boulogne, where the first attempt to reduce them to order was made, thence, by St. Cloud and Versailles. Rounais marched in the afternoon from St. Germain towards Rambouillet. At the news of this movement, the King quitted Rambouillet with his family, abandoning every thing, even his last hope. The national troops which set out under the command of General Pajol, who was accompanied by General Excelmans, Colonel Jaqueminot, and M. George W. Lafayette, displayed, as in the great week which is just finished, an admirable enthusiasm. The expeditionary army encamped at Coignieres, wanted to set out this morning at three o'clock to go to Rambouillet, and even farther; and it was with great difficulty that General Pajol was able to prevent this march, which was now become useless. But the result of this movement has been immense; the flight of the King, his definitive abdication, the taking of all the diamonds of the Crown, the capitulation of the whole Royal Guard. Such are the fruits of this day, which closes the glorious revolution that a great nation has just effect-

ed. After the praises merited by the brave National Guard, which yesterday behaved in a manner worthy of itself, both by its enthusiasm and its discipline, we must do justice to the talent of General Pajol, and to the zeal and presence of mind of Colonel Jaquemint and M. George W. Lafayette. Such troops were worthy of such chiefs.

At six o'clock General Pajol and Colonel Jaquemint entered Paris with the Crown diamonds, amidst cries of the " Charter for ever! the brave National Guard for ever!

All the Princes and Princesses were with him at Rambouillet.

The resolution of quitting France, which he formed so suddenly, when every thing indicated very different measures, seems to have been brought about by the knowledge he acquired respecting the insurrection of the towns situated on the road to La Vendee, especially that of Chartres and Mans. It is thought even, that the Princess who had already left Rambouillet were obliged to return with precipitation. Finally, what destroyed the last hopes was the defection of 40,000 troops who still adhered to him, but deserted, and threw away their arms, during the night between Sunday and Monday last.

Charles demanded an annual income of four millions. One million for the present which was given him in gold. His last funds, he had already distributed to the soldiery.

The opening of the chambers was made

by the following speech of the Lieutenant General of the kingdom.

“Peers and Deputies—Paris, troubled in its repose by a deplorable violation of the charter and of the laws, defended them with heroic courage! In the midst of this sanguinary struggle, all the guarantees of social order no longer subsisted. Persons, property, rights—every thing that is most valuable and dear to man and to citizens, was exposed to the most serious dangers.

In this absense of all public power, the wishes of my fellow citizens turned towards me; they have judged me worthy to concur with them in the salvation of the country; they have invited me to exercise the functions of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.

Their cause appeared to me to be just, the dangers immense, the necessity imperative, my duty sacred. I hastened to the midst of this valient people, followed be my family, and wearing those colors which, for the second time, have marked among us the triumph of liberty.

I have come, firmly resolved to devote myself to all that circumstances should require of me, in the situation in which they have placed me; to reestablish the empire of the laws, to save liberty which was threatened, and render impossible the return of such great evils, by securing forever the power of that charter whose name, invoked during the combat, was also appealed to after the victory.

In the accomplishment of this noble task, it is for the chamber to guide me. All rights must be solemnly guaranteed; all the ~~institutions~~ necessary to their full and free exercise, must receive the developments of which they have need. Attached by inclination and conviction to the principles of a free government, I accept beforehand all the consequences of it. I think it my duty immediately to call your attention to the organization of the National Guards; to the application of the jury, to the crimes of the press: the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations, and, above all, to that 14th article of the Charter, which has been so hatefully interpreted.

It is with these sentiments, gentlemen, that I come to open this session.

The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes which I wished to prevent; but in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital, and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness, after a resistance free from all excesses, a just national pride moves my heart, and I look forward with confidence to the future destiny of the country.

Yes, gentlemen, France, which is so dear to us, will be happy and free; it will show to England, that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity, it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbors.

Respect for all rights, care for all interests, good faith in the government, are the best means to disarm parties, and to bring back to people's minds that confidence, to the institutions that stability, which are the only certain pledges of the happiness of the people, and the strength of states.

Peers and Deputies,—As soon as the chambers shall be constituted, I shall have laid before you the acts of abdication of his majesty king Charles X. By the same act his royal highness Louis Antoine de France, also renounces his rights. This act was placed in my hands yesterday, the 2d of August, at 11 o'clock at night. I have this morning ordered it to be deposited in the archives of the chamber of peers; and I cause it to be inserted in the official part of the *Moniteur*."

The cries of "Vive d'Orleans!" "Vive la Liberte!" were again heard more loudly than before. The Prince appeared to be deeply affected; he saluted the assembly several times, and withdrew with his son attended by the great deputation, which conducted him back to the door.

M. Lafite advanced towards the centre of the assembly, and said, "I think gentlemen, that we ought to separate to day, to meet again to morrow, at noon."

Numerous voices—"Yes. to morrow at noon!" to morrow! to morrow!"

Other voices—"To day! to day!" "The Bureaux might be formed."

M. Salverte—"Where is our President by seniority?"

M. Dupin the elder—M. Chillaud de la Rigandie is not here; but we have M. Labbey de Pompiere.

Several voices—"Till to-morrow for the Bureaux, till to-morrow!"

The assembly broke up and left the hall. The immense crowd which surrounded the palace filled the air with the loudest acclamations. The National Guard, in their best uniforms alone lined the way, but it seemed to have come rather to take part in a fete, than to maintain order, for no body seemed to think of disturbing it. At the slightest injunction of a citizen soldier, the groups dispersed, as if by enchantment, to make room for the deputies.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

M. Pasquier, who was appointed president of the chamber of ordinance, dated yesterday, took the chair. An ordinance was read, by which the Dukes de Chartres and Nemours, were authorised to sit during this session. The chamber appointed secretaries, a committee to draw up the administration, and balloted for the bureaux.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

Twenty-nine bureaux were balloted for by the president.

M. Charles Dupin proposed, that, on account of the state of things, it was highly important to proceed in their operations with as

much rapidity as possible, and to declare that the powers of all the members, who have presented their papers.

(The sitting was occupied both in the morning and evening in examining the validity of the elections. A great number of members were declared duly elected and the decision respecting others adjourned.)

Towards the end of the sitting, as reported by the Messenger of the 6th, M. Charles Dupin said, "With the Charter in my hand, I say, M. de Corcelles, the Charter is defunct!" After some other members had spoke, the Chamber resolved to form a list of five candidates for the office of president. The number of voters was 218, the majority 110; the five members chosen were,—M. Casimir Perrier, M. Jacques Lafitte, M. Benjamin Delessert, M. Dupin, sen., M. Royer Collard.

Sitting of the 5th.—M. Labbey de Pompières took the chair at eight o'clock, P. M.

The President read a letter from the Minister of the interior, announcing that the Lieutenant general of the Kingdom would receive the officers of the chamber this evening, at nine o'clock. He then proposed in order to prevent the business of the chamber from being suspended that M. de Lameth should take the chair, and that only two of the four Secretaries should accompany him (the President) to the Palais Royal. This proposal was adopted.

At half past nine, the president and the two secretaries returned, and M. Labbey de Pompieres informed the chamber that they had waited upon the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and presented to him the list of the five candidates for the Presidency. That he declared his acceptance of it for this time, because the law so ordained, and every good citizen ought to obey the law ; but expressed a hope that it would be the last time, and that in future, the chamber would at once name its own president.—(*Applause.*)

M. Adam de la Pommeraie moved a call of the house, in order to ascertain who were absent, declaring that the negligence of the Hon. Deputies was unpardonable, and that their names ought to appear upon the minutes.

After a short discussion, this motion was negatived.

A member then moved that the number of deputies admitted was sufficient to constitute a chamber. After some objections, this motion was put and carried.

The chamber then proceeded to the ballot for permanent secretaries, of which the following is the result :—

The number of voters was 202, the majority 102 ; the members chosen were,—M. Jaqueminot, M. Pavée de Vandœuvre, M. Cunin Gridaine, M. Jars.

Each of these members having a majority

they were declared secretaries for the session. Adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow.

Sitting of the 6th.—The president took the chair at ten o'clock. A question was discussed whether the chamber should proceed to the nomination of questors, but in consideration of the great press of important business, it was decided that the present questors should continue in their office.

The president informed the chamber that he had just received an address from the deputies of the town of St. Quentin, and enquired if it was their pleasure to hear it read.

M. Eusebe Salvete objected to the reading, on the ground that the citizens of Paris had presented an address, though it had not been yet brought before the chamber, and that chamber should fix a day for hearing addresses, when those which were first presented should be first read.

The chamber decided that this address should not then be read.

The president read a message from the Lieutenant General of the kingdom, announcing that he had chosen from the list of five candidates presented to him, M. Cassimir Perrier, to be president of the chamber.

M. Labbey de Pompiers, temporary president, then addressed the chamber as follows ;—“ Before I quit the chair, in which chance, and chance only placed me, I am desirous of expressing my gratitude for the indulgence with which my colleagues have

have received my endeavors. I am about to return to the obscure station which is suited to my humble talents and my inclinations. There, as long as my fellow citizens consider me worthy of their confidence, I will exert myself to the utmost of my feeble abilities to defend the poor and the oppressed. I hope to be more successful than I have hitherto been. I shall never consider men, but measures, and it shall be my glory to merit the title given me of *the old Tribune*. I will continue to contend against extravagance, and will do my best to reduce taxation which weighs most heavily on the middle classes, on those classes to whom we owe our freedom, on those classes to whom I am indebted for the happiness I shall enjoy during the few days I have still to live." (*Cheers*)

M. Casimir Perier being absent, M. Lafitte as first Vice President took the chair.

Messrs. Cunin Gridaine, Jaquemint Pavée de Vandœuvre, and Jars took their places as secretaries.

The Vice President informed the chamber that a proposition had been made which he read as follows:—

"I accuse of High Treason the Ex-Ministers, authors of the Report of the King, and who countersigned the Ordinances of the 26th of July.

Signed EUSEBE SALVERTE.

(Acclamations of approbation from all parts of the chamber.)

The Vice President called upon M. Eusebe Salvete, to support his proposition, but Hon. Deputies from every side, declare that it sufficiently explained itself.

M. Ensebe Salvete said, he should limit himself to moving that it be referred to the bureaux, as the chamber had even more important business for its consideration and that he would defer entering further into the question for a week.

Thanks were then voted by acclamation to the late president and interim, and to the temporary secretaries.

The Vice President recommended that Hon. Deputies should retire to their respective Bureaus, to name the Commission for preparing the address.

The sitting was suspended for a short time.

On its being resumed, the 4th Bureau made its report upon the return of M. Vaulchier, in strong terms, stating that never was the violation of the secrecy of voting, more barefaced; as he, being at the same time candidate director general and president of the college, would scarcely permit the electors to conceal their votes with their hands, or with their hats. They proposed that his election should be declared null and void; which proposal was carried unanimously, except as to the cote droit, who did not vote at all.

The vice president then read a letter from M. Casimir Perier, stating that the state of

his health would have induced him to decline filling the honorable office to which he had been nominated, had not the circumstances in which the country was placed, rendered it important that the proceedings of the chamber should not be delayed by a new ballot.

M. de Corcelles moved, that every member should sign the proclamation addressed to the Duke of Orleans, in order there should not be in the chamber any secret or avowed enemy

M. Berryer moved that this motion should be referred to the Bureaus.

M. Berard then rose to make a motion. (*Profound silence.*) He said—“ A solemn tie united the people of France to their monarch ; this has just been torn asunder ; the violator of the contract has no longer any right to claim its execution. Charles X. and his son pretend in vain to transmit a power, they themselves no longer hold. That power has been dissolved in the blood of several thousands of victims. The act of Abdication that has been communicated to us, is but a new act of perfidy ; the semblance of legality with which it is clothed, is but a deception. It is a brand of discord attempted to be cast amongst us. The real enemies of our country, those who, by their flattery, have urged the late government to its ruin, continue to act still on every side ; they clothe themselves with every colour—they proclaim every opinion. Ultra Royalists

present themselves under the cloak of republican regicides, while others affect for the forgotten son of the Conqueror of Europe, a hypocritical attachment, which would change into hatred, if it were possible it could become a question of raising him to be the chief of France. The unavoidable instability of the present government encourages the instigators of discord. Let us hasten to put an end to it. A supreme law, that of necessity, has placed arms in the hands of the citizens of Paris, in order to resist oppression, and has made us adopt for our temporary chief, and only means of salvation, a Prince, who is a sincere friend to our constitutional institutions. The same law directs us to adopt, without delay, a permanent chief. At the same time, however implicit may be the confidence with which this chief inspires us, the rights we are bound to defend, require that we should fix the conditions upon which he is to obtain power. Shamefully, and repeatedly deceived, we are warranted in stipulating the strictest conditions. Our institutions are incomplete ; they are vicious in many points ; it is our duty to extend and purify them. The Prince now at our head, has already done more than we required of him ; the fundamental principles of our right have been already propounded by the chamber, and acknowledged by him ; other principles and other laws are equally indispensable, and will be equally admitted. We

are the chosen of the people ; to us they have confided their interests and their wants. Their first want, their dearest interest, is liberty and repose. They have, themselves, won their liberty from the hand of tyranny, by force of arms ; it is for us to secure their repose, by giving them a just and stable government. Vainly will it be contended, that by acting thus, we overstep our authority. I will, however, at once destroy this objection, if it be made by referring again to that law I have already invoked—imperious, invincible necessity. In this state of things, taking into consideration the grave and urgent circumstances in which the country is placed, the indispensable need it has of being relieved from a precarious situation, and the universal hopes and wishes of all France, to arrive at the completion of our institutions. I have the honor to propose to you the following resolutions :—

“ The chamber of deputies, taking into consideration, in the public interest, the imperious necessity resulting from the events of the 26 27, 28 and 29 of July last, and the following days, and the general situation of France—

Declares, that the throne is vacant, and that it is indispensably necessary to make provision accordingly.

Declares, secondly, that in pursuance of the wishes, and in furtherance of the interests of the French people, the Preamble, and the

following articles of the constitutional charter, ought to be suppressed and modified in the follow manner :

ARTICLES OF THE CHARTER

ARTICLE 6. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the religion of the State.—To be suppressed.

Art. 8. The French shall have the right to print and publish their opinions conforming themselves according to the laws. The censorship of the press can never be re-established.

Art. 14. The King is the Supreme Chief of the State, commands the land and sea forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, appoints to all offices of public administration, and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, and the safety of the state.—Change proposed: “The King is the Supreme Chief of the State; he commands the land and sea forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, appoints to all the offices of public administration, and makes all the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, the whole under the responsibility of his ministers.”

Art. 15. The Legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of the Deputies of Departments.—Change proposed: “The Legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies.”

Art. 16. The King proposes the law.—Art. 17. The proposition of the law is carried, at the King's pleasure, to the Chamber of Peers, or to that of the Deputies, except the law on taxes which must be presented first to the Chamber of Deputies.—Change proposed: “The proposition of laws belongs to the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, all laws on taxes must first be voted by the Chamber of Deputies.”

Art. 19. The Chambers have the power of praying the king to propose a law on any subject whatever, and pointing out what appears to them proper that the law should contain.—Art. 20. This request may be made

by each of the two Chambers, but after having been discussed in secret committee. It shall not be sent to the other Chamber by that which shall have proposed it, till after a lapse of ten days.—Art. 21. If the proposition be adopted by the other Chamber, it shall be laid before the King: if it be rejected, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.—Change proposed: “Suppressed, as being the consequence of the proposition of laws, which was reserved exclusively to the King.”

Art. 26. Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which should be held at a time which is not that of the Session of the Chamber of Deputies, or which should not have been ordained by the king, is illicit and null.—Change proposed: “Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which should be held at a time which is not that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies, is illicit and null, except the single case in which it is assembled as a Court of Justice, and then it shall only be able to exercise judicial functions.”

Art. 28. The Peers are only admitted into the Chamber when they have completed the 25th year of their age, and they have a deliberate voice at 30, only.—Change proposed: “The Peers are admitted into the Chamber, and have a deliberative voice when they have completed the 25th year of their age.”

Art. 30. The Members of the Royal Family and the Princess of the Blood are Peers in right of their birth. They take their seats immediately after the President; but have not a deliberate voice till they have completed the 25th year of their age.—Change proposed: “The Princes of the blood are Peers in right of their birth; they take their seats immediately after the President.”

Art. 31. The Princes cannot sit in the Chamber except by the King’s command, expressed for each Session by a Message, upon pain of all that has been done in their presence being null and void.—Proposed to be suppressed.

Art. 32. All the deliberations of the Chamber of Peers shall be secret.—Change proposed: “The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are public. But the demand of five Members shall suffice for it to resolve itself into a Secret Committee.”

Art. 36. Each department shall have the same number of Deputies that it has hitherto had.—Proposed to be suppressed.

Art. 37. The Deputies shall be elected for five years, and in such manner the one-fifth of the Chamber shall be renewed every year.—Change proposed: “The Deputies are elected for five years.”

Art. 38. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber if he is not 40 years of age, and if he does not pay direct taxes to the amount of 1,000fr.—Change proposed: “No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber if he is not 25 years of age, and if he does not possess the other qualifications prescribed by law.”

Art. 39. If, however, there should not be in the Department 50 persons of the age specified, paying at least 1,000fr. direct taxes, their number shall be completed by the persons who pay the greatest amount of taxes under 1,000fr. and these shall be eligible with the former. Suppression proposed.

Art. 40. The electors who concur in the nomination of Deputies cannot have the right of suffrage, if they do not pay 300fr. in direct taxes, and if they are under 30 years of age.—Change proposed: “No one is an elector if he is under 25 years of age, and if he does not possess the other qualifications prescribed by law.”

Art. 41. The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges shall be nominated by the King, and are by right Members of the College. Change proposed: “The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges are nominated by the electors.”

Art. 43. The President of the Chamber of Deputies is nominated by the King, out of a list of five Members presented by the Chamber.—Change proposed: “The President of the Chamber of Deputies is elected by the Chamber. He is elected for the whole duration of the Legislature.”

Art. 46. No amendment can be made to a law, if it has not been proposed by or consented to, by the King, and if it has not been referred to and discussed in the bureaux.

Art. 47. The Chamber of Deputies receives all the propositions for taxes; it is only after these propositions have been adopted that they can be carried to the Chamber of Peers.—Suppression proposed.

Art. 56. Ministers can only be impeached for the fact of treason or peculation. Special laws shall define this

nature of misdemeanor, and shall determine the prosecution thereof.—Suppression proposed.

Art. 63. No extraordinary Commissions and Tribunals can be created. Under this denomination, prevotal jurisdictions are not comprehended, if their re-establishment be judged necessary.—Change proposed: “No extraordinary Commission and Tribunals can be created, under any denomination whatever.”

Art. 74. The King and his successors shall swear at the solemnity of their coronation, to observe faithfully the present Constitutional charter. “Change proposed: “The King and his successors shall swear at their accession, to observe faithfully the present Constitutional Charter.”

The present charter and the rights it consecrates shall be entrusted to the patriotism and courage of the national guards and all the citizens.

The Chamber of Deputies declares finally, that it is necessary to provide by successive and separate laws, and with the shortest delay possible.—First: For the extension of the trial by Jury to misdemeanors, and particularly, those of the press;—2d. For the responsibility of ministers and the secondary agents of government;—3d. For reelection of deputies appointed to public functions;—4th. For the annual voting of the army estimates;—5th. For the organization of the national guards, and for their electing their own officers;—6th. For a military code, insuring in a legal manner the situation of officers, of all ranks;—7th. For the department and municipal administration, with the intervention of the citizens in their nominations;—8th. For public instruction and the

freedom of the tuition ;—9th. For the abolition of the double vote, and for fixing the qualifications for electors and deputies.

Further, that all the creations of peers during the reign of Charles X. be declared null and void.

On condition that these terms and propositions be accepted, the chamber of deputies declares :—

That the general and pressing interests of the French nation, call to the throne his royal highness, Louis Philip Orleans, Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and his descendants for ever, from male to male, in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

Consequently, that his royal highness be invited to accept and swear to fulfil the above clauses and engagements, and the observance of the constitutional charter, and the modifications above pointed out ; and having done so, to assume the title of *King of the French*.

M. Mathieu Dumas proposed the appointment of a special committee, to examine and report upon the proposition of M. Berard.

M. Etienne seconded the motion.

Gen. Demarcay said that the proposition of M. Berard tended to preserve the existing charter, and that this alone was sufficient to induce him to vote for its rejection. He combated the views of M. Berard, and was proceeding to propose other modifications,

when he was called to order by the president, who reminded him that the only question before the chamber was the difference of the propositions to the bureaux.

The chamber decided that the propositions should be referred to the Bureaus, and then that they should be examined by a special committee, which should be united to the committee for the address.

Adjourned.

On the sixth of August, the new king took the oath in the hall of the chamber of deputies, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators, including a large number of ladies, and many peers and deputies.

The cries of "Vive le Roi!" "Vive le Duke d'Orleans!" welcomed the Lieutenant General on his arrival. He ascended the platform and three times saluted the assembly, and seated himself upon one of the benches in front of the throne. The Duke de Chartres sat on his right, and the Duke de Nemours on his left. Behind him stood the four marshals appointed to bear the insignia, viz: M. Oudinot, Mortier, (in place of Marmont,) on the right of the throne; Macdonald, Moncey, (in place of Victor,) on the left. Five steps beneath this platform were seated on benches, Marshal Jourdan, Commissary of Foreign affairs; General Gerard, of War; M. Dupont (de l'Eure,) of Justice; on the left, M. Guizot of the Interior; M.

Bignon, of public instruction, and M. Louis of Finances. All were in citizens' dress, except General Gerard.

The Lieutenant General, seated and covered, invited the peers and deputies to be seated—then addressing M. Cassimir Perier, president of the chamber of deputies, placed in front of the throne, said—“ Mr. President of the chamber of deputies, please to read the declaration of the chamber.”

M. Cassimir Perier rose, and in a firm and clear voice read the declaration. The whole assembly listened to him with a profound silence. It is impossible to give the impression produced by the reading, which the prince listened to with marked attention. When M. Cassimir Perier finished the reading of the particular articles, he continued :—

“ In consideration of the acceptance of these articles and propositions, the chamber of deputies declares that the universal and urgent interests of the French people call to the throne his royal highness, Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans.

The Lieutenant General—**LOUIS PHILIP.**”

M. Cassimir Perier resumed, “ Louis Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and his descendants forever, in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

“ In consequence, H. R. H. Louis Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the kingdom, is invited to accept and swear to the clauses and engagements above designated, and after having done as before the assembled chambers, to take the title of KING OF THE FRENCH ”

M. Cassimir Pereir, after he had finished, placed the act in the hands of his royal highness, who handed it to the commissary of the interior.

The Lieutenant General—The president of the chamber of peers, will deliver up to me the act of adhesion of the chamber of peers, to the declaration of the chamber of deputies.

M. Pasquir advanced, and placed the act in the hands of the prince, who gave it in charge to the commissary of justice.

The Lieutenant General then made the following declaration :

“ Gentlemen peers, and gentlemen deputies :—

“ I have read with great attention the declaration of the chamber of deputies, and the act of adhesion of the chamber of peers ; I have well weighed and reflected upon all its expressions.

“ I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and obligations contained in this declaration, and the title of king of the French, which it confers upon me, and I am ready to swear to its faithful observance.”

M. Dupont (de l'Eure,) acting keeper of the seals, then approached his majesty and handed him the form of the oath.

The king, kneeling, and uncovered, with his right hand elevated, pronounced in a low but firm voice the following oath, which was heard by those outside, such was the profound silence observed by the assembly, at this solemn moment :—

“ In the presence of God, I swear to faithfully observe the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration—only to govern by the laws and according to the laws, to render fair and exact justice to every one according to his rights, and to act in all things with a sole view to the interests, happiness and glory of the French people.”

The cry of “ Vive le Philip VII.” was immediately raised, and answered by that of “ Vive Philip I.” or, the cries of “ Vive le roi des Francais”—“ Vive la reine,” soon drowned all others.

During this time King signed three copies of the oath of the declaration.

His majesty then mounted the throne ; on his right were Marshal Mortimer, bearing the sword ; Marshal Oudinot, bearing the crown ; on his left, Marshal Macdonald and Marshal Molector, bearing the sceptre and the hand of justice. Behind the two latter, was M. M. Athalin and de Rumigny, aides-de-camp of the prince, who were the only officers

attached to the person of the sovereign, who accompanied him within enclosure. The king announced by a gesture, his desire to address the assembly again, when he pronounced in a clear tone the following discourse:—
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“Gentlemen, peers, and deputies, I have just consummated a great act. I am deeply sensible of the extent of the duties which it imposes upon me. My conscience tells me that I will fulfill them. It is with a full conviction that I have accepted the treaty of alliance which was proposed to me.

“I should greatly have desired never to occupy the throne to which the national wish has just called me; but France, attacked in her liberties, saw the public order in danger; the violation of the charter had shaken every thing, it was necessary to re-establish the action of the laws, and the power of doing it, was vested in the chamber of deputies; you have done it, gentlemen; the the modifications which we have just made in the charter, guarantee security for the future. France, will, I trust, be happy at home, respected abroad, and the peace of Europe more firmly established.”

Loud plaudits and cries of “Vive le Roi,” were repeated, and the king deeply affected prepared to leave the hall.

M. Dupont, (de l’Eure) commissary of Justice:—The king invites the peers and deputies to assemble to-morrow in their re-

spective chambers, when the oath of fidelity to the king and obedience to the constitutional charter and to the laws of the kingdom will be administered to each individually. I invite the presidents and secretaries to sign the process verbal of the sitting which has just terminated.

The king having again bowed to the assembly, retired, and shook hands with the peers, deputies and citizens, who crowded round him.

Among the person in the passages on the right and left, we noticed several officers of regiments of the line, and National Guards of the cities in the interior, which had sent detachments to the assistance of the capital.

After having mounted his horse, the king was again surrounded by crowds of citizens, who took him by the hands, and he was frequently compelled to drop the reins. The Havre Volunteers were arranged in battle array near the chamber; other National Guards mingled with citizens, alone formed the escort.

The queen, leading the young Duke d'Aumel by the hand followed by his family, crossed the hall of conferences. She stopped some time in the midst of the peers, deputies, and citizens, with which it was filled, and spoke to several of them. "Be well persuaded," said she, "that we have all one heart, devoted to the happiness of the French."

Stopping near the Duke de Broglie and

M. Lafitte, she signified to them how much she appreciated their conduct in such trying times, and particularly addressing the latter, cordially extended her hand to him. M. Lafitte took it and pressed it to his lips.

The Queen's dress was not distinguished from that of the other ladies, except by its simplicity: she wore a white dress, and a hat ornamented with blue ribands.

The etiquette of court was banished from the solemnity, which gives a King to thirty-two millions of people. May the new monarch always keep courtiers at a distance, as he has done on this day, in which France has received his oath, to render her happy.

On leaving the chamber of deputies, the king returned to the Palace Royal, where he had a grand dinner, at which there were present peers, deputies, and citizens of distinction. After dinner the king showed himself several times on the terrace, having the arm of M. Cassimer Perier, with whom he continued a long time in conversation.

And here we conclude the sketch of this most glorious Revolution. We close with an account of that event, which in giving to the nation "a citizen king" and a modified charter, promises them liberty, order, and good government.

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