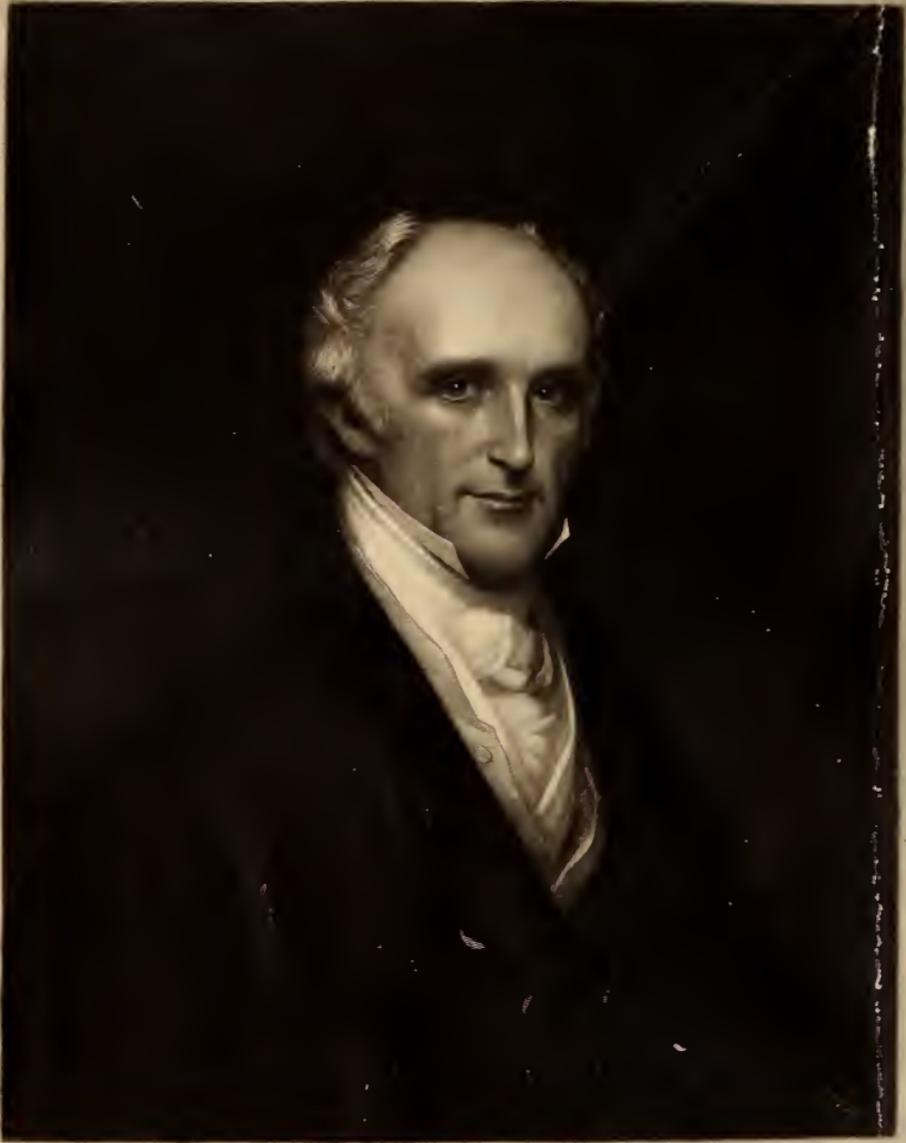






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Richard Rush.

RESIDENCE AT THE COURT OF LONDON.

BY

RICHARD RUSH,

MINISTER FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1817 TO 1825.

THIRD EDITION,

EDITED, WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES, BY HIS SON,

BENJAMIN RUSH,

SECRETARY OF THE LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT LONDON,
FROM 1837 TO 1841.

ALSO,

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE COURT OF LOUIS PHILLIPPE

AND

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848,

By the same Author,

MINISTER FROM THE UNITED STATES AT PARIS FROM 1847 TO 1849.

Now first published in Europe.

24
WITH AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

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TO

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQ.,

LATE MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE
COURT OF LONDON.

DEAR MR. ADAMS,

The Author of this Work was recalled from England in 1825, by your distinguished Father, then President of The United States, to the post of Secretary of the Treasury, in his Cabinet. If, while Minister to England, he had learned to appreciate the political wisdom and rare statesmanship of Mr. Secretary Adams, from whom, under President Monroe, he derived his comprehensive and able instructions, I well remember how that appreciation was subsequently heightened at Washington, during his four years of public service in the Administration of President Adams. It was then that the opportunities of almost daily

confidential intercourse enabled him thoroughly to estimate the private, as well as public, virtues, the purity of character, as well as elevated patriotism, of one, whose unostentatious life, and unselfish public aims, I have often heard him say, were a model for his successors, as for all public men, and an example to the youth of America.

When, at the expiration of his constitutional term, the name of President Adams was spontaneously submitted to the American People, for re-election to the great office which his talents and services adorned, that of his Secretary of the Treasury was submitted with it as the Candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and at the ensuing election each received the same number of electoral votes. Their names, thus connected together in the performance of public duties, and by manifestations of public confidence, were further and more closely united by a friendship which continued through life.

Prompted by these recollections and associations, may I now, without your knowledge,

dedicate to you the re-publication of a Work, the greater part of which purports to record some of the public and personal incidents, more than half a century ago, of the Mission which you so long and so recently occupied, *in the third generation*; discharging its duties, at an unexampled national crisis, with the highest advantage to your country, and in a manner to leave behind you durable and most favourable impressions, as so many of your countrymen know who have since visited England.

I remain,

Dear Mr. Adams,

Very truly your friend,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

BUCKLAND'S HOTEL,

BROOK STREET, LONDON,

10th May, 1872.



PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

THE Author's "Residence at the Court of London," now long out of print, has been so often called for of late, and the opinion expressed that its republication at this time might do good, that it has been at length determined to issue a new Edition in London, where (and in Philadelphia, the Author's home) it first appeared in 1833. Both there, and in Philadelphia, it immediately went through two Editions. A second series of the work appeared, in 1845, in Philadelphia and London, and was equally well received by the British and American Public.

It is now nearly forty years since the first publication, and more than a quarter of a century since the second; but it is *more than half a century* since the date of the events which the Author narrates in this volume, beginning with his first arrival in England as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States in 1817.

In that long period of time, more than one generation of men has passed away; and immense have been the changes in both

countries, political, moral, material, and of every description. Whether these changes have been *always* in the right direction, time will determine. But principles remain. These never change, any more than the rules of universal justice and good intercourse between Nations and their representatives. If, so soon after the short but fierce contest between the United States and England in 1812, happily the last (it is earnestly hoped *to be* the last), the representatives of the two countries proved themselves equal to the task of arranging satisfactorily unsettled questions, and laying the foundations of harmony, in the spirit which this volume records, may it not be hoped that a similar spirit will prevail in the Councils of each of these great Nations, in the adjustment of existing, and all future questions, after an unbroken Peace of more than fifty years! Surely the statesmen, the philanthropists, and all the people, of both countries, must respond to the hope. Most especially must they respond to it at a moment when the accumulated horrors of War have just desolated the fairest portions of Europe; and when the conviction forces itself upon the mind that these might have been avoided, by the cultivation of the same enlightened principles of public policy, and the same liberal and just sentiments on the part of rulers and people, which have so long preserved friendship, and

prevented collision, between the young, aspiring and spirited (and now mighty) Republic of the Western World, soon to celebrate the first century of its existence, and the proud old Constitutional Monarchy of England.

“ President Jackson,” says the Author, “ had always a sincere desire to be at peace “ with England ;” and the latter goes on to cite, in confirmation, a remarkable passage from his Annual Message to Congress in 1832. The “ London Quarterly Review,” eleven years afterwards, alluding to President Jackson’s “ anxious desire and laudable ambition ” to settle the N.E. Boundary dispute by accepting the award of the King of Holland, *although the Senate was against it*, said :—

As Gen. Jackson “ had in former days gallantly defeated us in the field, he was stronger “ in public opinion than any other statesman “ would have been for doing us justice in the “ Cabinet.” All this will be found in the “ Introductory Remarks ” to the 2nd Series of this Work.

In this connection a striking remark is elsewhere referred to by the Author, as made by the immediate predecessor of the late Earl of Clarendon, with whom he was in the most agreeable relations, viz., “ that three “ men, *renowned for success in War*, Washington, Jackson, and the Duke [of Wellington], “ had each inculcated upon their respective

“ nations *the maxims of Peace*; and each,
“ within his sphere, endeavoured to maintain
“ it!”

It would be unseemly in the writer to refer to the many spontaneous favourable opinions of the Work now republished, expressed to him, from time to time, by enlightened Englishmen, during a year passed recently in England, and while travelling since on the Continent. Often they have been expressed under circumstances, and in a manner, in a high degree gratifying to filial ears.

Of two things the Author's descendants have a right to feel proud. Never, that they are aware, have any of his statements been called in question; and with all his appreciation of England, her solid glory, the durable foundations of her greatness, and her historic renown, together with his high estimate of her people, amongst whom he lived so long, and mixed so largely, never, for one moment, did he fail in his superior duty to the land of his birth and allegiance. Love and pride of Country, though never improperly obtruded, were always uppermost; and it was precisely because he was known to be animated at all times by “so truly
“ an American spirit,” as was once said of him by one of the great names of England, that the high-spirited English themselves respected him the more. If, in the end, he was able to serve his Country more effectually, by aiming,

throughout the seven years and a half of his Mission, to render himself personally acceptable to the Government and People of the great Nation to which he was accredited, he showed that he at least understood, and endeavoured to practise, one of the first and highest duties of a Foreign Minister.

To the descendants and connections of those whose names are thickly scattered through these pages, many of them among the greatest and most celebrated of England, the retrospect here afforded may not be without interest now, at the end of more than half a century. To facilitate this retrospect, and assist readers generally, an alphabetical Index has been, for the first time, subjoined to this Edition.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

HOTEL COSTANZI, ROME,
MARCH 1871.

ADDENDUM TO PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

THE foregoing was prepared at its date with a view to the republication of the Author's "Residence at the Court of London," more than a year ago. It having been subsequently determined to defer the publication till the return of the writer through England to the United States, the foregoing has been laid aside till now.

Shortly after its date, a great advance was made by the Treaty of Washington towards the removal of all causes of disagreement between the two Countries, and a basis laid, by the patriotic and enlightened co-operation of the able statesmen, on both sides, who negotiated that Treaty, for a permanent good understanding, and the most friendly relations, between England and the United States. It would seem to be impossible, judging from the almost universal feeling of all classes in both countries, that any final obstacle should interfere to prevent the consummation of that Treaty. It would be a lasting disgrace to the spirit of the age—the terms are not too strong—should the auspicious initial settlement at Washington

be defeated by trivial causes, as it draws to a close at Geneva.

Great, indeed, would be the responsibility to both Countries, and to the World, of the men instrumental in such result, if such be possible ; for are not the reasonable hopes of the World involved in the establishment of the great principle of Arbitration, provided for in that Instrument, for the settlement of international differences ? It is not too much to say that such result would be a shock to the deliberate judgment, as well as enlightened and most earnest wishes, of nearly all the calm-minded and reflecting men both in America and England.

Profuse and earnest have long been, and still are, the constantly-recurring evidences of mutual good-will between these two great Nations. Let a very few be recalled.

The Heir-Apparent to the British Throne is prostrated by an illness which carries consternation throughout the British dominions, and his life hangs by a thread. The American press re-echoes the wide-spread sympathy of the American People, and Prayers are offered up for his recovery in a great many of the Churches of the United States.

The Queen of England proceeds in solemn and gorgeous procession, in the Capital of her dominions, to offer up in the most splendid Protestant Cathedral in Europe, her humble

and heartfelt thanks for his restoration to health. More than a million of her subjects, it is estimated, line the way. Conspicuous along the route, writes an eye-witness, appear “the “*American* and English Flags, side by side.”

On the 22nd of February last, the British Flag is displayed from British ships in American ports, in commemoration, and in honour, of Washington’s Birthday.

An insane attempt is made, more recently, by a half-witted English or Irish boy in London, to alarm the Queen by pointing a pistol at her, at first thought to be loaded. The news is flashed across the Atlantic, and the next morning the American papers are filled with congratulations on the safety of the Queen. “An “universal feeling of pleasure at Her Majesty’s “escape,” says one, with an immense circulation, “will re-echo throughout the civilized “world.”

It is scarcely a month since the American Minister in London pays a visit, without any form or display, to the celebrated Blue-coat School at Christ’s Hospital. Immediately the American Flag is run out from the top of the building, and a full band plays the inspiring national airs of the United States, in compliment to her Representative, in the heart of the greatest City of modern times. Cordial good wishes are expressed for the prosperity of the two countries.

A great and flourishing City of the United States is suddenly destroyed by a conflagration. The utmost sympathy is evinced throughout all parts of England, and immense sums of money pour into America as fast as steam can convey them, contributed for the immediate relief of the sufferers, by all classes of the generous English People—from the illustrious occupant of the Throne to the humblest of her subjects.

But something else is remembered, a few years further back.

The Heir to the Crown of Great Britain pays a visit to the United States. Approaching the Tomb of Washington, he stands, for some time, uncovered and silent. His example is followed by his entire suite, composed of some of the proudest and most illustrious names in English history. The incident makes a deep impression upon the hearts of the American People.

Shortly afterwards the Prince of Wales is received at the “Academy of Music,” a magnificent structure, in one of the largest and most beautiful Cities of The Union—the City of Philadelphia—scarcely inferior in size and decorations to the handsomest of the kind in Europe, where an operatic entertainment is given in his honour. He had been previously requested to select the Opera. At the moment of his entrance, the entire audience, from pit to

dome (and there were distinguished men and beautiful American women there that night), rise to their feet to do him further honour, and receive him standing, a compliment never before paid to a Royal visitor in The United States, while the National Anthem of England resounds from a large and powerful orchestra, and the Royal Standard is conspicuously displayed. The Prince seems unprepared for it, and gratified, and standing, with his distinguished suite, repeatedly bows his acknowledgments.

Little more than a year elapses, and the President of The United States falls by the hand of an assassin. The event creates a thrill of horror in every part of England, and produces testimonials of heartfelt condolence with the American People, from the Throne down, from almost every city and town and village.

In the very Treaty of Washington, England does not scruple to put on record an expression of her regret at the unfortunate occurrences, on her side, which caused a resort to the Treaty.

If these be trifles, they are certainly not light as air. To men who reason correctly, they will seem far more substantial and enduring. They help to form, and in the end create, bonds of union between the People of these two great Nations—the illustrious Parent stock, and giant offspring—stronger than links of iron. It is impossible that such bonds can be dissolved

by trivial causes; above all, by other *trifles*, as nearly all reasonable men will regard them, in the sense that *extremes meet*, dim, shadowy, insubstantial, if such inference may be drawn from that which in technical, official language, is proclaimed to be "remote" and "indirect."

To many Englishmen who have visited The United States, the words, as well as the inspiring air, of the Star Spangled Banner, one of the proudest of the national airs of The United States, are perhaps not unfamiliar. Composed in 1813 or '14, during the height of the unfortunate contest of that period between the two Countries, by an American whose name has since become indelibly associated with that patriotic air, it is scarcely, perhaps, to be wondered at that the words are not, throughout, the most complimentary to England. On hearing it, for the first time, years afterwards, an enlightened and liberal Englishman composed, and handed to the writer, the following two additional stanzas. They appeared in American newspapers long ago, were extensively copied and highly commended, and were recited a few years since at a large and distinguished public dinner in London, amid great applause, but have never before been published in any permanent form. Perhaps they may now be reproduced here, not inappropriately:—

* Francis Key, Esq., of Baltimore.

“But hush’d be that strain—they our foes are no longer,
Lo, Britain the right hand of friendship extends,
And Albion’s fair Isle we behold with affection,
The land of our Fathers—the land of our Friends !

“Long, long may ye flourish, Columbia and Britain,
In amity still may your children be found,
And the Star-Spangled Banner and Red Cross together,
Wave free and triumphant the wide world around.”

And so will say millions of the dispassionate and unprejudiced, over whom those Banners wave, in either land, all transient causes, remote, indirect, or otherwise, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The volume closes with a Narrative, published now for the first time on this side of the Atlantic of the Author’s Residence as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of The United States at the Court of Louis Philippe, with a Glance at the French Revolution of 1848, and a subsequent residence in the same capacity at the Government of the Prince President. The period embraces memorable years in French history—1847, 1848, and 1849. The Narrative forms the concluding article of a posthumous work of the Author, heretofore published by his Executors only in Philadelphia, in 1860, the year after his death, entitled, “Occasional Productions, Political, “Diplomatic, and Miscellaneous.” From the “Introduction” to that Work, there will be found at the end of this Volume, an extract

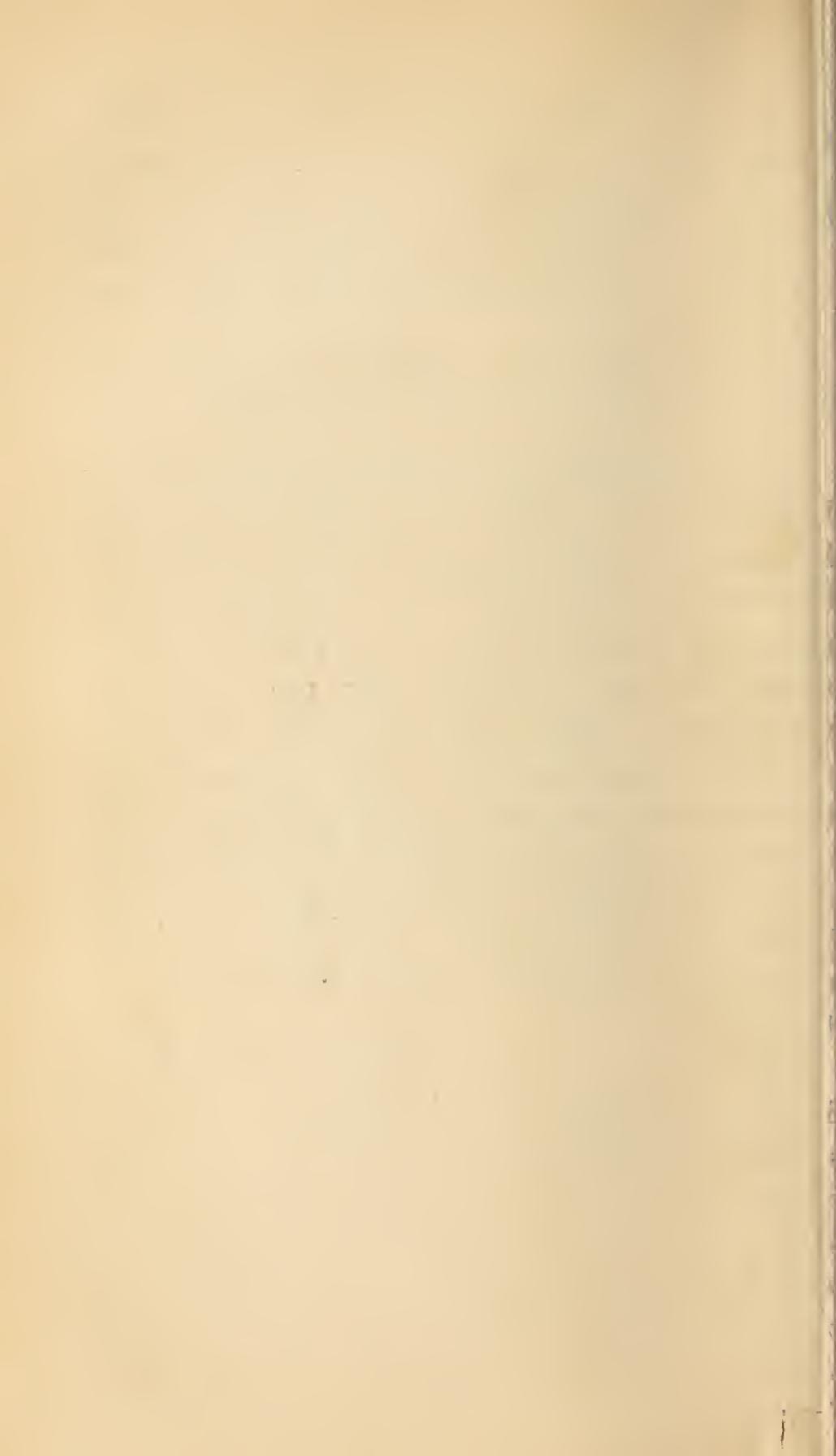
from the Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, under date of the 8th of August, 1859, embodying a short biographical memoir of the Author, by one of the Vice-Presidents.

Should the present publication be received with favour, a new edition of that Work may possibly be issued here, as well as a new edition of the *Second Series* of the Author's "Residence at the Court of London," originally published in America and England in 1845.

"In many instances," says the Author in his remarks "To the Reader," at the commencement of his "Residence at the Court of London," under date of April, 1833, "I have been happy to render acknowledgments for the kindest hospitalities received in England. Should the work be continued, this list would be much enlarged by names not hitherto reached." And this would be found to be the case in the *Second Series*.

B. R.

BUCKLAND'S HOTEL,
BROOK STREET, LONDON.
MAY, 1872.



TO THE READER.

WHEN I first took the pen to prepare the following sheets for the press, it was with the intention of going through the full term of my mission; but finding them run on to their present number in using the materials of little more than a year, I have, for the present, given over that intention. I am the more admonished to this course, as negotiations with which I was charged at later periods, were more elaborate and full than any recorded in this volume. Miss More, in noticing Pope's precept that the greatest art in writing is "*to blot,*" says that there is still a greater—*the art to stop.*

The contents of the chapters may startle at first; but I trust only at first. I am as deeply sensible of the impropriety of making an ill use of the incidents of private life, as it is possible any one can be, and flatter myself that what I have said in this connexion will be clear of all exception. I would otherwise burn the sheets. I would burn them, if I thought they

contained a line or word to create a moment's uneasiness in any one person whose name is mentioned. In giving an account of conversations other than official; I have drawn upon my notes sparingly; not that I heard things improper, had all been told; but that a thousand things pass in conversation, not adapted to print, any more than intended for it. Reports then or narratives, given under restraints from which I never could be free, may be found meagre; and in such cases I am the one to blame, desiring always to err on the side of abstinence, where indulgence would be criminal. Doubtless also there has often been a falling-off in my limited reports of what was said by others, from the better manner in which it was said by the persons themselves. Here, too, I am the one responsible. In many instances I have been happy to render acknowledgments for the kindest hospitalities received in England. Should the work be continued, this list would be much enlarged by names not hitherto reached.

There are questions involved in the negotiations I have recorded, of the deepest prospective interest to both the United States and Great Britain. If I have explained these so that they may be rightly understood, and sent them into the world under a companionship that may

add to the chances of their being at all read in both countries, I believe that I shall not have written altogether in vain. When I say in *both*, I confess that I chiefly mean Britain; for with all the power of intelligence and information in that country upon public as all subjects, I am satisfied that the American questions are less generally inquired into than many others, and less generally understood than in this country. I have written in the spirit of good feeling towards Britain, which may be cherished by every American compatibly with his superior love for his own country, and which I believe few Americans fail to cherish who stay there as long as I did. A residence of nearly eight years corrected many erroneous impressions I had previously taken up; as a residence of like time in this country by Britons almost invariably imbues them with totally different feelings and opinions respecting the United States from those adopted by their hasty, and too often uninformed and uncandid travellers who come among us. Enough has been written and said on both sides to irritate. My desire is, and such my effort, to soothe. President Jackson, in his last annual message to Congress, has spoken of the value of a good understanding between two countries "*cemented by a community of language, manners, and social*

habits, and by the high obligations we owe to our British ancestors for many of our most valuable institutions, and for that system of representative government which has enabled us to preserve and improve them."

In publishing negotiations which I conducted for my country, and other official communications, it is proper I should say, that I violate no duty. It is known to be as well the practice as the principle of the Government of the United States, to publish such documents for general information: and in fact I publish nothing that has not heretofore had publicity in this manner, though piece-meal and at detached intervals. I know of no exception, unless the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. These constitute a transaction too marked to remain unknown in its diplomatic progress, the result having long been known. My more ample account of it all, at the time it arose, was transmitted to the Department of State, and rests in its archives. Even the European rule sanctions the publication of negotiations when no longer pending, and this is the case with all I present. I have only given them in connecting links, and under forms somewhat different. Often I have omitted particulars already published by the Government, whilst sometimes I have brought to light what m

serve as new explanations. In this, as other parts of the work, I venture to claim for it, as the only title to an indulgent reception, essential fidelity in its contents; repeating, that I am chargeable with all imperfections merely verbal.

I might have thrown into separate works the parts official and parts personal. But I preferred their junction. No public man, whatever the extent or magnitude of his duties, leads a purely official life, detached from personal scenes and feelings interwoven with it. Some view of these may even serve on occasion to elucidate better the true movement of official acts, by exhibiting the latter in a broader connexion. I have also thought, that it might not be wholly unacceptable to the American community to know something of the personal reception of their Minister in England in virtue of the trust he bears; not simply that which awaits him in the common forms when he first arrives, but more generally afterwards. The same motive will open to his countrymen some views, imperfect indeed and few, but still some views, of the social tone prevailing in classes amongst which his public trust necessarily, and, if his residence be protracted, largely, throws him.

on Brief reflections which I may now and then

have hazarded on the institutions and character of England, are of little moment. They will pass only for what they are worth, with those who may be at the trouble of reading them. Far from my purpose has it been to scan all her institutions and character (a mighty task !) but rather to speak cursorily of portions falling under my own immediate observation in some among the many spheres of her society and population. Other portions have been abundantly described by her own and foreign writers ; and here, portraits unlike each other, may each be true to the original. Even an individual in whom great qualities meet, may often be described under different colours, each being just according to the point of sight whence he is beheld. Who then shall undertake to concentrate in a single picture, a great and mighty nation ? The opinions in which I feel most confidence, and which are most important, are those which refer to the wealth and power of England, and their steady augmentation. Those, of whatever nature, in which I have indulged, have reference, with scarcely any exceptions, to the dates that belong to them. I am aware that great political changes have taken place since ; but I do not, at my distance, believe that any essential changes will yet have been produced

by them, bearing upon the character or habits of the nation. These, when the growth of ages, alter slowly in any country. In England, they will come about more slowly than in most countries.

Of current politics I have said nothing. Who looks for party spirit therefore in these pages, will not find it. They are merely intended to be historical and descriptive, if, in very humble ways, they may at all lay claim to such characteristics. It will scarcely be supposed that, even as far as they go, they embody all the scenes, social or official, of my mission. Of the first, there are only occasional notices; and of the second, only such have been selected as are decidedly national, and not all these. The whole business of private claims, requiring appeals to the British Government, I have of course passed by; with a great variety of incidental duties. These are of constant recurrence in countries between which there is so large and active a commerce as the United States and Great Britain. The Consuls take charge of many of them in the first instance; but the cases are still numerous in which they find their way to the Minister.

I went to England again on a short visit in 1829. An interval of but four years had

elapsed; yet I was amazed at the increase of London. The Regent's Park, which, when I first knew the west-end of the town, disclosed nothing but lawns and fields, was now a city. You saw long rows of lofty buildings, in their outward aspect magnificent. On this whole space was set down a population of probably not less than fifty or sixty thousand souls. Another city, hardly smaller, seemed to have sprung up in the neighbourhood of St. Pancras Church and the London University. Belgrave Square, in an opposite region, broke upon me with like surprise. The road from Westminster Bridge to Greenwich exhibited for several miles compact ranges of new houses. Finchley Common, desolate in 1819, was covered with neat cottages, and indeed villages. In whatever direction I went, indications were similar. I say nothing of Carlton Terrace, for Carlton House was gone, or of the street, of two miles, from that point to Park Crescent, surpassing any other in London, or any that I saw in Europe. To make room for this new and spacious street, old ones had been pulled down, of which no vestige remained. I could scarcely, but for the evidence of the senses, have believed it all. The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire remarks, that

the description, composed in the Theodosian age, of the many stately mansions in Rome, might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city. Is the British metropolis advancing to that destiny? Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other provincial towns that I visited, appeared, on their smaller scales, to have increased as much.

In the midst of it all, nearly every newspaper that I opened rang the changes upon the distress and poverty of England. Mr. Peel's bill banishing bank-notes under five pounds from circulation, had recently passed. There was great clamour—there is always clamour at something among this people. Prices had fallen—trade was said to be irrecoverably ruined, through the *over-production of goods*. I have since seen the state of things at that epoch better described perhaps, as the result of an *under-production of money*. Workmen in many places were out of employ; there were said to be fourteen thousand of this description in Manchester. I saw portions of them walking along the streets. Most of this body had struck for wages. I asked how they subsisted when doing nothing. It was answered, that they

had laid up funds by joint contributions among themselves whilst engaged in work. In no part of Liverpool or its extensive environs did I see pauperism; the paupers for that entire district being kept within the limits of its poor-house; in which receptacle I was informed there were fifteen hundred. I passed through the vale of Cheshire; I saw in that fertile district, in Lancashire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, appearances of wide-spread prosperity, in the lands, houses, canals, roads, public works, domestic animals, people—in every thing that the eye of the merely transient traveller took in. I stopped at Kenilworth, and Warwick Castle; enchanting spots, which English literature has almost rendered classic. I had invitations to Trentham Hall, Apthorpe, Hagley, Ockham, Landgewin, Grange Park, Digswell; from going to which I was prevented by objects confining me to the metropolis. But I seize this opportunity of marking my sense of the kindnesses intended me by the proprietors of those beautiful seats. Nor can I let it pass without comprehending in my grateful acknowledgments my valued American friends, George Marx and Joshua Bates, Esquires, who with their amiable families, kept London from being a dull place to

me during the autumn and part of the winter, by their warm-hearted hospitalities. I have to say the same of my friend of longer date, Colonel Aspinwall, Consul of the United States for London, then residing with his amiable family at Highgate.

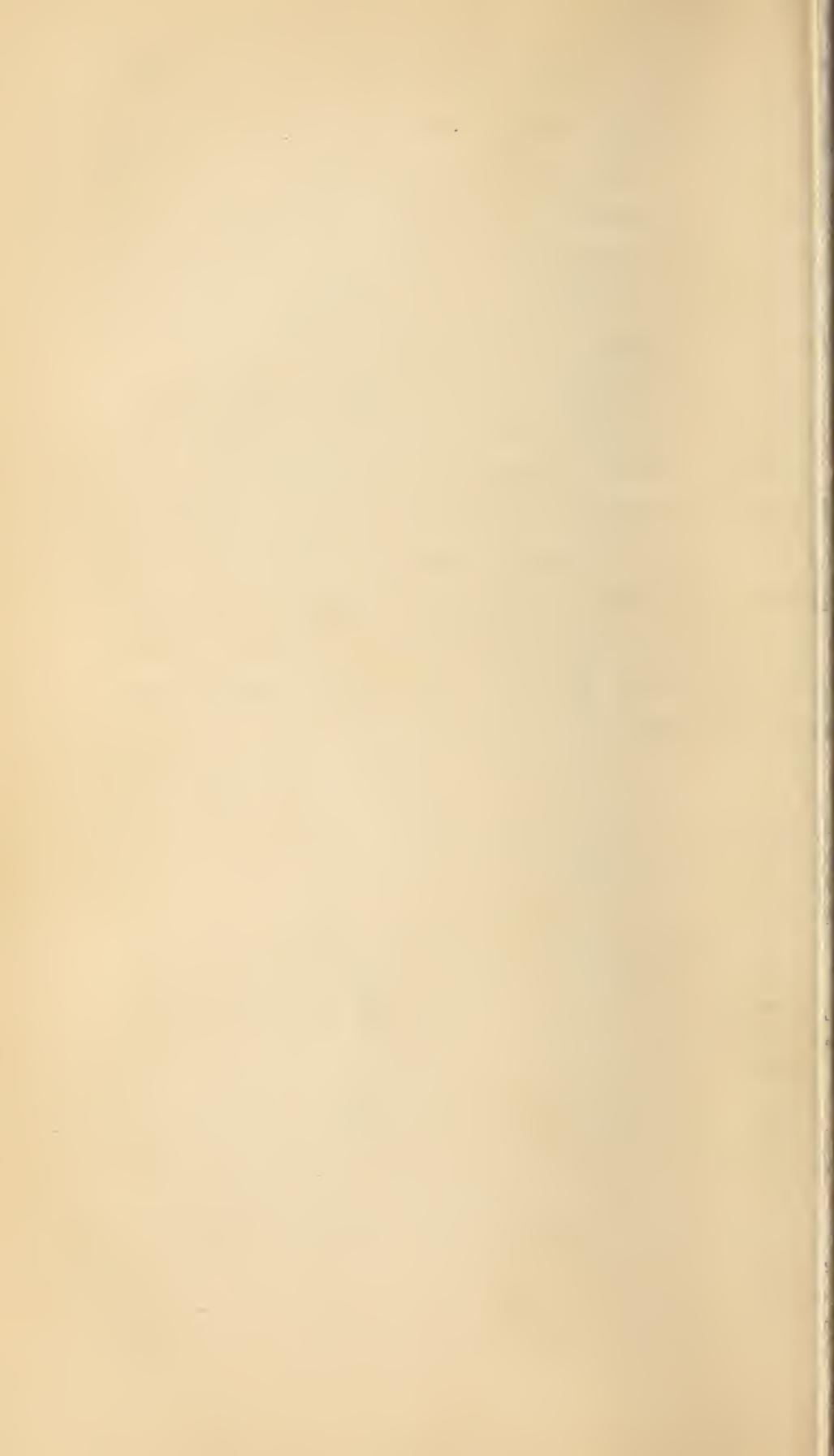
I cannot close these preliminary lines without the remark, that, since the volume was written, events have transpired in our own country calculated at first to give uneasiness to those who dearly love it. But may we not hope that all danger is past; and that the UNION, which constituted and can alone preserve us a Nation, will derive from them new strength and glory?*

R. R.

SYDENHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA.

April, 1833.

* The Author refers here to what was known in America as the "Nullification" dispute of 1832, arising out of the claim of a single State to "nullify," or set aside, an Act of Congress. The dispute was soon put an end to, and the question effectually settled, by the prompt energetic conduct, and resolute firmness, of President Jackson. The opinion prevails largely in the United States, that had President Buchanan acted with like promptitude and energy, and similar firmness in 1861, there would have been no deplorable and prolonged Civil War in the United States.



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A RESIDENCE

AT

THE COURT OF LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE, AND ARRIVAL AT THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

ON the 19th of November 1817, I embarked at Annapolis, Maryland, in the "*Franklin*," seventy-four, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of London. The ship was new, built at Philadelphia, and ordered round to Annapolis to take me and my family on board.* The anchors were weighed to the sound of music. We were three days in getting down the Chesapeake, and on the 23rd found ourselves at sea. The evening sun shone upon the lighthouse as we

* It was the same "*Franklin*," cut down to a Steam Frigate, in which the late Admiral Farragut visited various parts of Europe, a few years ago, and it is a coincidence that Farragut was one of the midshipmen on board at this time.

left the capes, which jut out towards each other, looking, from the ocean, like a fine natural gateway to the entrance of this part of our country.

I will not stop to describe the minute occurrences of the voyage, though a large man-of-war abounds with them, as they strike upon the observation of a person who has never before been to sea. The crew consisted of upwards of seven hundred men. The ship was of two thousand tons, and, although rated a seventy-four, mounted ninety guns. If silence and cleanliness be proofs of discipline, the ship's company was entitled to that praise. We had one storm, a severe one; so it seemed to a landsman. As it was coming on, the sails were taken in, and even whilst it raged, the top-gallant yards sent down, and masts struck, with a quickness that appeared wonderful. "*Call a hundred men aft,*" said the officer on the quarter-deck to a midshipman, when something urgent was to be done. In a moment, a hundred men were there. Occasionally the trumpet was used; the straining of the voice through which, amidst the roaring of the winds, had a hideous sound.

When the storm began to abate, I had some conversation with Commodore Stewart. We were holding-on to one of the guns that had

been run into the cabin. "Commodore," said I, "this is a new scene to me; what could you do if we were at war and an enemy of equal force hove in sight?"—"Chase him," he said, gravely.—"What then," I replied; "you could not engage, I suppose? for ten hours your ship has been tempest-tost; all your exertions seem to have been required to resist the storm."—"True," he said, "but we could keep the enemy in sight."—"But certainly you could not fight him," I again remarked.—"We could not," he rejoined, "now; but we should watch each other, and *go to it when the storm was over.*"—"What! all exhausted with the labour it has cost, all dismantled as your ship is!"—"Yes, as quick as possible," he answered, "there would be no time to lose; *the rigging must go up faster than it came down.*" Such is war. The elements cannot stop it. Their very raging seems akin to it. This was no vain boasting. The Commodore was a modest, unassuming man; but faithful to his duty in the battle or storm.

An incident occurred that may be worth mentioning from its possible bearing upon the theory of the currents along our coast. We left the capes of Chesapeake on a Sunday, steering for England. On the following Friday, to the surprise of all on board, we saw

land. It proved to be the Island of Bermuda. But how came we there? Our Captain had no intention of running down to that latitude. From the first few hours after leaving the capes, the winds had been light, chiefly from the north and north-west, and the weather thick. No accurate observations could be taken. We were aware that the ship had fallen to the south before entering the gulf-stream, but had counted upon its current, which sweeps from south to north, bringing us sufficiently back again. It happened that, when we entered it, the wind freshened, and carried us across very fast, dying away soon afterwards. Thus the current had but little time to act, in drifting us again to the north. This seemed to be, in part, the way of accounting for the situation of the ship. Yet the fact was strange that she should be so far south, as no very strong winds had blown from the north, or any quarter. I am sensible that, to present this fact properly, the precise state of the winds, with the ship's reckoning for each day, ought to be given, which I have not the means of doing. Humboldt, who overlooked nothing connected with the phenomena of nature, remarks in his *Personal Narrative* upon the small portion of knowledge which we possess of the absolute position and breadth of the gulf-

stream, as well as of its prolongation towards the coasts of Europe and Africa; and as the true knowledge of it would be of the highest importance in shortening voyages, he hints that it might be useful if vessels furnished with the best instruments were instructed to cruise in the gulf of Mexico, and in the Atlantic, between the 30th and 54th degrees of north latitude, expressly with a view to determine at what distances, and in what precise directions, the stream is found in different seasons and under the influence of different winds. The same navigators, he remarks, might have instructions to examine whether this great current constantly skirts the southern bank of Newfoundland; and on what parallel between 32 and 40 degrees of west longitude the waters which run from east to west, are nearest to those which flow in an opposite direction. The Commodore, who was considered by those who knew him best, to be as skilful a navigator as he was an accomplished officer, inclined to the belief, I thought, that the currents of the ocean, the theory of which we do not yet fully understand, had exerted some agency in bringing the ship into the situation described.

On the evening of the 28th, after having had Bermuda in view for a few hours, and noticing some signals made to us, the wind

springing up, we gladly bade it adieu, and laid our course for England. It was on the Sunday following that we had the storm. From that time the ship went swiftly onward under boisterous winds. On the 14th of December we were in the Channel. The nights were long and dark; the days gloomy. We could get no good observation from the sun or stars. We spoke no vessels, saw none; nor any sign of a pilot. The New England pilot boats and those of the Chesapeake, our officers said, would run out to sea twenty and thirty miles to look for vessels; but here, in the English Channel, such a high-way for vessels, no pilots were to be seen, and at a season when most wanted. It was somewhat remarkable, that neither the Commodore, who had been twenty years in the navy, nor any of his Lieutenants, though seven in number and some like himself familiar with almost all seas, had ever before been up the English Channel; nor had the sailing-master, or mate. Cowes or Portsmouth was the port we desired to make. Our midshipmen, two, in particular, whose names I remember, young Powell of Virginia and Cooper of New York, would climb up to the truck of the mainmast; but neither land, nor light-house, nor pilot-boat, nor any thing could be descried. All was a dreary waste.

Throughout the 14th and 15th the Commodore's anxiety was very great, especially by night, for the weather was rough, and he believed we were close by the coast. The ship was chiefly steered by soundings; her situation being ascertained from the appearances of the soil which the lead brought up; a resource when other guides of navigation fail, but tedious and apt to prove deceptive.

At length, early in the morning of the 16th, all uneasiness was dispelled. The first gleams of light disclosed land. It was a long blue-looking ridge rising out of the water. A gun was fired, which brought a pilot. We learned, as he stepped on board, that the land before us was the Isle of Wight, and that we were near Cowes. All eyes were upon him as he passed along the deck. The first person that comes on ship-board after a voyage seems like a new link to human existence. When he took his station at the helm, I heard the Commodore ask how the Needles bore. "Ahead north," he answered.—"Do you take the ship through them?"—"Ay."—"Does the wind set right, and have you enough?"—"Ay." This closed all dialogue, as far as I heard. He remained at his post, giving his laconic orders. In good time we approached the Needles. The spectacle was grand. Our officers gazed in

admiration. The very men, who swarmed upon the deck, made a pause to look upon the giddy height. The most exact steering seemed necessary to save the ship from the sharp rocks that compress the waters into the narrow strait below. But she passed easily through. There is something imposing in entering England by this access. I afterwards entered at Dover, in a packet, from Calais ; my eye fixed upon the sentinels as they slowly paced the heights. But those cliffs, bold as they are, and immortalized by Shakspeare, did not equal the passage through the Needles. There was a breathless curiosity also in the first approach augmenting its intrinsic grandeur.

In a little while we anchored off Cowes. If the Needles were a grand sight, the one now before us was full of beauty. Castles, cottages, villas, gardens, were scattered on all sides. When we left our own country, the leaves had fallen, and the grass lost its green ; but now, although the season was more advanced and we had got to a higher latitude, a general verdure was to be seen. This was doubtless the effect in part of exquisite cultivation, and in part of the natural moisture and mildness of the climate of this part of England. As we looked all round after so immediately emerging

from the gloom of the ocean, it seemed like enchantment. Boats came off from the shore to look at our ship; the persons in them, their dress, countenances, the minutest thing, caught our attention. Our Consul at Cowes came on board, and some officers of the port. Three pilots also came. Between these and our pilot words were soon heard. The cause was remarkable. It turned out that our pilot was in fact *no pilot*. He had been one, but his branch was taken away for habitual drunkenness. Continuing to own his boat, he sailed about this part of the Channel at his pleasure, like the old man of the sea. Hearing our gun, he came on board, and, making the most of our being a foreign ship, cunningly resorted to the exercise of his old craft. The disappointed pilots declared, and our Consul rather confirmed what they said, that at the moment of their dispute he was in a state of intoxication; so that we were then first made acquainted with the fact of having been brought through the Needles by a drunken steersman! It appeared singular that such an occurrence should have happened in the English Channel; yet so it was. It was hinted that he had so good a tact in his business, and knew that part of the coast so well, that he would generally steer right even when drunk. Such was the lucky acci-

dent in our case, and, being ignorant, we were not uneasy. His drunkenness taking the form of taciturnity, he escaped detection in the eyes of strangers, though his sulkiness had not been unnoticed. The others stoutly denied his right to any fees; but as the fact of service performed was in his favour, and no one else could claim on that ground, the Commodore did not think it rested with him to settle points of law. *Our* Palinurus certainly had the advantage in alertness over the sleepy set who would have robbed him of his reward.

———“ Cassio, I *forgive* thee;
But never more be officer of mine.”

CHAPTER II.

LANDING AT PORTSMOUTH AND JOURNEY TO LONDON.

I STAYED on ship-board two days waiting the proper order from London, for which the Consul had written, to have my baggage passed. During this interval the surrounding scene lost none of its interest: it was further enlivened by visitors coming on board the ship. We got the London newspapers wet from the press. It is a remark of Humboldt, that no language can express the emotion that a European naturalist feels when he touches for the first time American land. May not the remark be reversed by saying, that no language can express the emotion which almost every American feels when he first touches the shores of Europe? This feeling must have a special increase, if it be the case of a citizen of the United States going to England. Her fame is constantly before him. He is accustomed to hear of her statesmen, her orators, her scholars, her philosophers, her divines, her patriots. In the nursery he learns her

ballads. Her poets train his imagination. Her language is his, with its whole intellectual riches, past, and for ever newly flowing; a tie, to use Burke's figure, light as air, and unseen; but stronger than links of iron. In spite of political differences, her glory allures him. In spite of hostile collision, he clings to her lineage. After Captain Decatur's capture of a British frigate, some one asked him if his forefathers were not French. "No, I beg pardon," he answered, "they were *English*." In that spirit would his countrymen generally answer. Walking the deck with two of our lieutenants, while sounding up the Channel, "Think," said one of them, "*that we may be in the track of the Armada;*" and they talked of the heroine queen at Tilbury. These are irrepressible feelings in an American. His native patriotism takes a higher tone from dwelling on the illustrious parent stock. Places and incidents that Englishmen pass by arrest his attention. He sees the past in conjunction with the present. Three thousand miles, said Franklin, are as three thousand years. Intervention of space seems to kindle enthusiasm, like intervention of time. Is it not fit that two such nations should be friends? Let us hope so. It is the hope which every minister from the United States should carry

with him to England. It is the hope in which every British minister of State should meet him. If, nevertheless, rivalry is in the nature of things, at least let it be generous ; never paltry, never malignant.

The order for my baggage not arriving at the time expected, I landed without it. Preferring to land at Portsmouth, the boats were prepared, and on the 19th I left the ship. The Commodore and some of his officers accompanied me. A salute was fired, as on embarking ; the usual ceremony when our ministers are received on board, or landed from, the national ships. Approaching Portsmouth, we passed numerous vessels of war. Some were lying in ordinary, some ready for sea. There were docks, and arsenals, and store-houses, and batteries, and fortifications. The day was fair ; the wind fresh. This gave animation to the harbour scene, swelling the sails of vessels in motion, and streaming out the colours of those at anchor. It was a fine naval panorama. Besides formidable rows of line of battle ships and frigates, we saw transports crowded with troops. I had before seen ports alive with the bustle of trade ; but never one so frowning and glistening with features and objects of war.

When we reached the shore, *tide-waiters* advanced to take possession of my baggage.

They were informed of my public character. This did not turn them from their purpose. The national ship from which I had debarked was in view; her colours flying. Still they alleged, that having received no orders to the contrary, they must inspect my baggage. I said to Commodore Stewart that, strictly, they were right, and directed my servant to deliver it. There was but little, the principal part having been left on board to await the permit of exemption. It might have been supposed that these guardians of the revenue would have satisfied their sense of duty by a merely formal examination of what was delivered so readily. Not so; every thing was ransacked; the folds of linen opened; small portmanteaus peered into, as if contraband lurked in every corner. Nothing was overlooked. A few books brought for amusement on the voyage were taken possession of, and I had to go on without them. I should have been disposed to make complaint of this mock official fidelity and subaltern folly, but from an unwillingness to begin my public career with a complaint. I remembered also to have heard Mr. Adams say, that when the Allied Sovereigns visited England after the battle of Waterloo, their baggage was inspected at Dover, the order for exemption having, by an inadvertence, not been sent. There is no pri-

vilege, by positive law, of a foreign minister's effects from Custom-house examination; but by universal comity, it is forborne. The exercise of such a claim with the privity of a Government would become an affront. I must add, that the order for the full delivery of all mine, with every immunity, arrived at Cowes soon after I left the ship. In the sequel the unlucky books found their way back to me.*

I proceeded to the George Inn in Portsmouth, where the Commodore and his officers were to give me the favour of their company at dinner. Arrived there, we had every attention from the master, and his servants. Comfortable apartments were promptly prepared, and the ready-laid fires lighted. We found that careful anticipation of our wants, and orderly arrangement of every thing, for which English inns were said to be remarkable.

Whilst seated round the fire, fatigued by the excitements we had gone through, and waiting the summons to dinner, we heard bells. It was a fine chime to which all listened, my wife especially. Sometimes the sound grew faint,

* The author refers to this incident with a proper forbearance. Those who, even without the shield of a public character, which here it seems was no shield, have been exposed to the perpetually recurring annoyances of the "*douane*," while travelling on the Continent, can best appreciate the extent of the forbearance.

and then from a turn in the wind, came back in peals. We knew not the cause. It passed in our thoughts that the same bells might have rung their hurras for the victories of Hawke and Nelson ; “ *May be,*” said one of the party, “ *for Sir Cloudesley Shovel’s too.*” Thus musing, an unexpected piece of intelligence found its way to our circle. We were given to understand that they were ringing on the occasion of my arrival ; a compliment to my station to which I had not looked. We went in to our first dinner under a continuation of their peals. The cloth removed, we had a glass or two to our country and friends, after which we left the table. When all were re-assembled in the sitting-room, I had an intimation the “ Royal Bell-ringers were in waiting in the hall, desirous of seeing me.” They did not ask admittance, I was told, but at my pleasure. I directed them to be shown in at once, beginning now to understand the spring to the compliment. Eight men with coats reaching down to their heels, hereupon slowly entered. They ranged themselves one after another, in a solemn line along the wall. Every thing being adjusted, the spokesman at their head broke silence with the following intelligible address. He said that they had come, “ with their due and customary respects, to wish me joy on my

safe arrival in Old England as Ambassador Extraordinary from the United States, hoping to receive from me the *usual favour*, such as they had received from other ambassadors, for which they had their *book to show*." Their book was a curiosity. It looked like a venerable heirloom of office. There were in it, the names of I know not how many ambassadors, ministers, and other functionaries, arriving from foreign parts, throughout the lapse of I know not how many ages, with the donations annexed to each. *Magna Charta* itself was not a more important document to the liberties of England, than this book to the Royal Bell-ringers of Portsmouth! I cheerfully gave to the good-humoured fraternity the gratuity which their efforts in their vocation appeared to have drawn from so many others under like circumstances. So, and with other incidents, passed my first day in England.

On the following morning, Admiral Thornborough, the admiral in command at Portsmouth, Sir James Yeo, captain in the British navy, and Sir George Grey, chief commissioner of the dock-yard, called upon me. They offered their congratulations on my arrival. The Admiral said, that if Commodore Stewart required any supplies for his ship, every facility which the yard afforded would be at his com-

mand. He added, that he would be happy in the opportunity of showing him the hospitalities of the port. Sir George Grey expressed his regrets that he had not known of my intention to land at Portsmouth, saying that he would have sent the Admiralty Yacht to the Franklin to bring me, my family, and suite, on shore; the more so, as the day was blustering, and he feared we had suffered from exposure in the ship's boats, the distance being several miles from Cowes to Portsmouth. I made the acknowledgments which these courtesies demanded. If but the natural offspring of the occasion, they tended to show, that whatever had been the conduct of the subordinates of the Custom-house, those who stood higher were likely to be actuated by different feelings towards an official stranger. I estimated properly Sir George Grey's offer, but had a silent feeling that would have made me prefer under any circumstances the landing from the ship's boats, with my country's flag at the stern.*

At noon I set out for London. My family

* Every American, who has been long absent from his country, will estimate this feeling. How much more to be estimated in a representative of the United States, upon first landing on a foreign shore, while equally and properly alive to the kindness here mentioned, and so often to be met with among the English in public station.

consisted of my wife, four small children, young Mr. Tayloe,* of Washington, attached to my legation, whose name I cannot mention without an allusion to his amiable and gentlemanlike qualities, and three servants. As the post-chaises drew up, the master of the inn returned me his thanks for my custom. The servants also formed a line on each side of the hall, thanking us as we passed along. I am aware that this had all been paid for; still there is a charm in civility. Money owing, says the moralist of Tusculanum, is not paid, and when paid is not owing; but he who pays gratitude possesses it, and he who possesses, pays it. So, civility for the small things of life is a species of gratitude which we like. We were soon out of Portsmouth, and went as far as Godalming that day, a distance of thirty-eight miles, over roads like a floor.

I was surprised at the few houses along or near the road side. I had been full of the idea of the populousness of England, and although I must needs have supposed that this could not be the case in every spot, it had not occurred to me that along such a high road I should find the first and so remarkable an exception. We rarely met waggons, carriages,

* Son of Colonel Tayloe, of Mount Airy, Virginia, one of the best specimens of an American gentleman.

or vehicles of any sort, except stage-coaches. We did not see a single person on horseback. The stage-coaches illustrated what is said of the excellence of that mode of travelling in England. These, as they came swiftly down the hills or were met in full trot upon the level road, the horses fine, the harness bright, inside and outside filled with passengers, not only men but *women* crowding the top, had a bold and picturesque appearance. The few peasants whom we saw were fully and warmly clad. They wore breeches, a heavy shoe, which, lacing over the ankle, made the foot look clumsy; a linen frock over the coat, and stout leather gloves, which they kept on while working. They were generally robust men, short, and of fair complexions. We passed a waggon of great size. It had no pole, but double shafts, with a horse in each, and a line of four horses before each shaft horse, making ten in all, of enormous size. Their tails were uncut, and the long shaggy hair hung about their pasterns. The waggon was loaded with bales pile upon pile, higher than I had ever seen. Our postillions called it the Portsmouth heavy waggon. We afterwards saw others of like size and construction, drawn by like horses, loaded with the produce of agriculture. Whilst the draft-horses were thus enormous and rough, and the

stage-coach horses sleek and beautiful, our post-horses were small, gaunt, and unsightly, but with great capacity to go fast. I was looking for a favourable change in their appearance at every relay, without finding it. In good time I discovered that the principle of subdivision applied to horses, with as much strictness as to every thing else in England, there being every variety for work and luxury.

In regard to population, I had subsequent opportunities of perceiving that there were other parts of England, and of greater extent, where it was much more thin than was generally the case from Portsmouth to Godalming. London, and a circuit of twenty miles round, give more than two millions of inhabitants; Yorkshire gives one million, and Lancashire about one million. Hence these three portions of territory, so small when compared with all England, embrace nearly one third of her population. This concentration in particular districts seems to have left others relatively bare. It is difficult to believe under such facts, whatever theories we meet with, that England is at present overpeopled. Her soil, it would seem, must be open to further meliorations, which, with improved systems of policy and agriculture, and further means of internal communication, great as are already the latter,

will in time not distant carry her population as far above what it now is, as it now exceeds what it was at the period of her early kings. If we take Holland as an example of successful industry and art, where a nation has been compelled to struggle against the disadvantages of a stinted soil, there are great portions of territory in England still like a desert, which after ages may behold productive.

At Godalming we lost our mocking-bird. We had brought it as a mark of remembrance from Mr. Crawford, formerly Minister of the United States in France, to Lady Auckland, of kindnesses received from her in England. We nursed it with all care during the voyage. It drooped, however, at sea, and the night being cold at Godalming, it died. This bird is small, and has no beauty of plumage. Its notes are as melodious as the nightingale's, and of more variety; but I doubt if they can ever be drawn out in their full extent and richness, except in its native climates. Fox, as we learn in the introduction to his *James II.*, thought the notes of the nightingale sprightly rather than plaintive, and refers to the "Floure and Leafe" of Chaucer as showing him to have been of that opinion, when he speaks of its *merry* song. Fox even calls Theocritus to his aid, who makes the yellow nightingale

“*trill her minstrelsy*” in notes responsive to the *cheerful* blackbird’s. Could this British statesman, who in the midst of his graver pursuits was so alive to the beauties of poetry and nature, have heard the American mocking-bird *warbling its wood notes wild*, he would at one moment have been cheered by their sprightliness; the next, soothed by their melancholy.

On the morning of the 21st we proceeded on our journey. Every thing now began to wear a different aspect. The change was more decided after passing Guildford, the county town of Surrey. We saw the traces of a more abundant population, and advanced state of husbandry. The season did not show the country in its best dress; but we were enabled to see more of it by the very absence of the foliage. Farms, and common dwellings, with fields beautifully divided, and enclosed; country seats with lodges and stately gates of iron marking the entrance to them; lawns, fresh and verdant, though it was the winter solstice; parks and pleasure-grounds munificently enclosed; ancient trees in avenues, standing in copses, or shooting up among the hedges, with shrubbery tastefully arranged in gardens, and vines and flowers clustering about the houses, were among the objects that rose in succession

as we passed along. We put frequent questions to the postilions, but they could tell us little. The eye was constantly occupied. None of us had ever before been in Europe. As we got nearer to London, indications multiplied of what had been effected by time, to fill up its vast environs. Unlike the approaches to Rome, some of which are said to be at the present day through partial desolation, all within our view grew more and more instinct with life: until, at length, evening coming on, at first villages, then rows of buildings, and people, and twinkling lights, and all kinds of sound, gave token that the metropolis was close by. We entered it by Hyde Park Corner, passing through Piccadilly and Bond Street, beholding the moving crowds which now the town lights revealed. Another turn brought us into Conduit Street, where rooms had been engaged for our accommodation. In a little while we proceeded to the house of Ross Cuthbert, Esq., in Gloucester Place, a Canadian gentleman, married to one of my sisters, at whose hospitable table we dined: where also it was my fortune to meet another sister, wife of Major Manners of the British army.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—FIRST
APPEARANCES OF LONDON.

December 22, 1817. I addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, the English Secretary-of-state for Foreign Affairs, informing him of my arrival. I asked when I might have the honour of calling on him. He immediately replied that he would be happy to see me at the Foreign-office, in Downing Street, on the following day at four o'clock.

December 23. Went to the Foreign-office. A sentry was walking before the door. I was admitted by a porter, and shown by a messenger into an ante-room. Another messenger conducted me up-stairs to Lord Castlereagh's apartment. First salutations being over, I said that I should be happy to learn at what time I might have the honour of delivering to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent my letter of credence from the President, constituting

me Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, at his Royal Highness's court. I handed his Lordship a copy of the letter. He replied, that the Prince was at Brighton; that he himself was going there the next day, expecting to be absent a week; that he did not know precisely when the Prince would leave Brighton, but was sure he would appoint an early day for receiving me, after he came to town. I said that his Royal Highness's pleasure on the occasion would be mine. His Lordship begged I would consider myself free to call upon him, immediately after his own return to town; remarking that he would consider my reception by the Prince as having taken place, if there were any subjects I desired to broach beforehand. He added, that his wish would invariably be to give every facility to the transaction of business between us, in the hope of results satisfactory to both countries; for all which I thanked him. He also said that perhaps he might wish to converse with me on matters of business, before my formal reception. He made enquiries for Mr. Adams, my immediate predecessor in the mission,* and President Monroe,

* John Quincy Adams, afterwards President of the United States.

whom he had also known in England. He spoke of the prosperity of the United States, which he said he heard of with pleasure: remarking that the prosperity of one commercial nation contributed to that of others. His whole reception of me was very conciliatory. There was a simplicity in his manner, the best, and most attractive characteristic of a first interview. It lasted about twenty minutes.

December 24.—Go through several parts of the town: Bond Street, Albemarle Street, Berkeley Square, Piccadilly, St. James's Street and Park, Pall Mall, St. James's Square, the Strand, and a few others. Well-dressed persons, men and women, throng them. In the dresses of both, black predominates. It is nearly universal. This proceeds from the general mourning for the Princess Charlotte, late heiress apparent to the throne, who died in November. The roll of chariots, and carriages of all kinds, from two until past four, was incessant. In all directions they were in motion. It was like a show—the horses, the coachmen with triangular hats and tassels, the footmen with cockades and canes—it seemed as if nothing could exceed it all. Yet I was told that the sight in Hyde Park, any day in May or June, was more striking; and that if it happened to be on the same day with the

Epsom or Ascot races, which keep the roads alive for ten miles with London carriages, a stranger misses none from the Park.* Sometimes with this glitter of private equipages, you saw a stationary line of hacks, the worndown horses eating out of nose-bags ; and sometimes, at a slow, tugging walk, immense waggons, filled with coals, in black sacks, drawn by black horses, large, and shaggy, and fat, as those in the Portsmouth waggon. I am disappointed in the general exterior of the dwelling-houses. I had anticipated something better at the west end of the town ; more symmetry ; buildings more by themselves, denoting the residences of the richest people in the richest city in Europe. But I do not yet see these. I see haberdashers' shops, poulterers' shops, the leaden stalls of fishmongers, and the slaughtering blocks of butchers, in the near vicinity of a nobleman's mansion and a king's

* This was true it seems more than half a century ago. How true it is now, probably to a ten-fold degree, is well known to all who have been much in London during "the season," and witnessed the display in Hyde Park on any fine day in May, June, or July, when these beautiful equipages, sometimes six and eight abreast, may be counted literally by the thousand, all at a slow walk, and all under the highest discipline. There is nothing like it any where on the Continent of Europe. The display in the Bois de Boulogne, in the height of the Paris season, striking as that formerly was, could not be compared to it.

palace. This may be necessary, or convenient, for the supplies of a capital too large to admit of one or more concentrated markets ; but the imagination at a distance pictures something different. Perhaps it is to give a hint of English liberty : if so, I will be the last to find fault. Being the day before Christmas, there was more display in the shops than usual. I did not get back until candle-light. The whole scene began to be illuminated. Altogether, what a scene it was ! the shops in the Strand and elsewhere, where every conceivable article lay before you ; and all made in England, which struck me the more, coming from a country where few things are made, however foreign commerce may send them to us ; then, the open squares, and gardens ; the parks with spacious walks ; the palisades of iron, or enclosures of solid wall, wherever enclosures were requisite ; the people ; the countless number of equipages, and fine horses ; the gigantic draft horses ;—what an aspect the whole exhibited ! what industry, what luxury, what infinite particulars, what an aggregate ! The men were taller and straighter than the peasantry I had seen. The lineaments of a race descend like their language. The people I met, constantly reminded me of those of my own country—I caught the same expression—

often it glided by in complete identity—my ear took in accents to which it was native—but I knew no one. It was like coming to another planet, familiar with voices and faces, yet encircled by strangers.

December 31. The fog was so thick that the shops in Bond Street had lights at noon. I could not see people in the street from my windows. I am tempted to ask, how the English became great with so little daylight? It seems not to come fully out until nine in the morning, and immediately after four it is gone. King Charles's saying of the English climate is often brought up; that it interrupts outdoor labour fewer days in the year than any other. Did he remember the fogs of London, and how very short the day is, for labour, during a portion of the year?

CHAPTER IV.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—SLAVES CARRIED AWAY FROM THE UNITED STATES CONTRARY TO THE TREATY OF GHENT.—EQUALIZATION OF TONNAGE DUTIES.—WEST INDIA TRADE.—MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN CABINETS.

January 3, 1818. Called on Lord Castlereagh at eleven in the morning, at his private residence, St. James's Square. It was by his request, in a note received yesterday. I was shown into a room near the hall. Family portraits were on one side, books on another, and two white *bull-dogs* lying before the fire. Contradicting their looks, they proved good-natured. In a few minutes, a servant conducted me into a room adjoining, where I found Lord Castlereagh. He received me with his former courtesy, renewing his obliging inquiries for the health of my family after our winter's voyage, with the expression of a hope that the fogs of London had not alarmed us.

He informed me that he had been to Brighton, and delivered to the Prince Regent the copy of my letter of credence, and that the Prince would receive me as soon as he came to town. In the mean time he had his Royal Highness's commands to say, that I must look upon myself as already, in effect, accredited.

He proceeded to say, that if there were any subjects of business I desired to mention, he would hear me. He remarked, that it had been his habit to treat of business with the foreign ministers in frank conversations; a course that saved time, and was in other ways preferable, as a general one, to official notes. He intimated his wish to do the same with me. I replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to me than to be placed upon that footing with him.

The way being opened for business, I entered upon it. I said there were two subjects that my Government had charged me to bring to the notice of that of his Majesty without delay. The first had reference to the slaves carried off by English ships from the United States at the close of the late war,* in contravention, as we alleged, of the treaty of Ghent. This subject, already discussed be-

* The War of 1812.

tween the two Governments without prospect of an agreement, was exciting, I remarked, an interest in the United States, to be expected where the property and rights of a large class of its citizens were at stake. It had therefore been made my earliest duty to renew the proposition submitted by my Government, and believed to point to the best if not only mode of satisfactory settlement. The proposition was, that the question be referred to a third power to be chosen as umpire between the parties. This course was recommended by the example of provisions in the treaty of Ghent as to other subjects on which differences of opinion had existed between the two nations; my Government therefore had the hope that Great Britain would accede to it in this instance also.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had been much on the Continent, whilst the discussions on this subject were going forward, and inquired if we had precise information as to the number of slaves carried away. I replied, not in hand, but that it would be afforded at the proper time. He next asked, if their dispersed situation would not be an impediment to restitution. This was met by saying, that the owners would look to a pecuniary equivalent. Conversation was continued on the general

question. In conclusion, he promised to keep it in mind.

The next subject grew out of the commercial convention between the two countries, of the 3rd of July 1815. This convention had established a reciprocity of duties and charges of all kinds, upon the vessels of the two nations in each other's ports. Its operation was, by its terms, to begin from the day of its date. The rule of reciprocity ought therefore to have attached, practically, at that time; instead of which, each nation continued for a while to levy the duties existing before the convention, and Great Britain had not yet abolished them all. My Government desired, I said, to carry back the operation of the convention to the day of its date, and was ready to give this rule effect by retrospective measures, hoping to find a corresponding disposition in his Majesty's Government.

This subject being new to his Lordship, he gave no opinion upon it, but promised, as in the other case, to seek the necessary lights for forming one. I may state that, in the end, it was adjusted to the satisfaction of both nations.

The foregoing being the only topics which it fell within my purpose to bring to Lord Castlereagh's notice at this time, he, in turn,

drew my attention to a subject on which he desired information.

It related to the four articles submitted by the British Government to my predecessor for partially opening the West India trade to the vessels of the United States. Lord Castle-reagh wished to know, what probability there was of my Government agreeing to them.

As this trade enters much into future negotiations between the two countries, the first mention of the subject calls for a succinct explanation of the general question.

It stands thus, according to the statement on the side of the United States. They contend for a free intercourse in their vessels, with the British West India Islands, and British colonies on the continent of North America, whenever the trade to either is opened at all by Great Britain to their flag; else, they say, that, by navigation acts of their own, they will be obliged to prohibit the trade altogether. The steady policy of England has been, to secure as large an employment as possible of her own tonnage, in carrying on her commerce with the rest of the world. Her celebrated navigation acts, commenced in Cromwell's time, and adhered to in principle ever since, whatever occasional departures there may have been from them in practice, have all had this

end in view. They provided that the whole trade between England and the continents of Asia, Africa, and America, should be carried on in English ships, manned by English sailors. They also embraced regulations that placed the trade between England and the European nations upon nearly the same footing. It was against the previous monopoly of Dutch tonnage that these navigation acts were levelled. What more natural, than that other nations should be unwilling to witness the same monopoly in the tonnage of England, that she objected to in that of the Dutch; more especially since the foreign and colonial dominions of the former, have swelled to an extent that could scarcely have been conceived in the time of Cromwell. The West India Islands being part of the British Empire, her right to interdict *all* trade between them and any foreign country, could not be denied; and was not. As a general rule, she did interdict it. I speak of time anterior to this interview. But there were junctures when, to advance objects of her own, she would throw the trade open to the United States. When she did this, she *confined it to her own ships*, manned, as by law they must be, by *her own sailors*. What the United States claimed was, that, whenever the trade existed at all, it should be carried on in *their* vessels, manned by *their*

sailors, just as much as in British vessels, manned by British sailors. The trade once opened, the United States were parties to it; and thence urged their right to a voice in its regulation. This was their doctrine. It had been maintained since the days of President Washington. It contemplated no interference with the colonial rights, or monopoly of Britain. It left her at full liberty to prohibit the importation into her colonies of whatever articles she thought fit from the United States; and in like manner to prohibit exportations. It only asked, that the commercial intercourse, of whatever nature it might be, that was once opened for her benefit, or that of both countries, should be placed upon a footing of equality as to the *vessels* and *sailors* of both. This had lately been done in the trade between the United States and the European dominions of Britain, by the convention of July 1815. That convention itself, unless the reciprocity were extended to the West Indies, would give undue advantages to British vessels. The latter could sail under its enactments, from Liverpool to New York, for example, paying, in New York, none other than American duties. Thence, under the English colonial system, they could sail to the English West Indies, and back again to England; making

profit from this threefold operation. American vessels, on the other hand, were confined to the direct track between New York and Liverpool. The British ship, as was well expressed by a distinguished American senator, could sail on three sides of the triangle; the American, only on one.

Britain on her part alleged, that she had the right to regulate her trade between her colonies and the rest of the world in all respects as she saw fit. This she declared it was proper she should do, not only as regarded the commodities entering into the trade, but the vessels carrying them. She said, that to assent to the basis of reciprocity in her trade between these Islands and the United States, would give to the latter inherent advantages, owing to their proximity to the Islands. That she maintained the Islands at great expense for their civil governments and military establishments, and that on these grounds, as well as that of her general sovereignty over them, not only had the right, but held it necessary to her just interests, to employ, chiefly, if not exclusively, her own vessels and seamen in the trade whenever opened, no matter to what extent, or on what inducements. Such, briefly, was the British doctrine. It will come into view again.

I will subjoin a brief commentary upon the original Navigation Act of England, as passed by the Commonwealth Parliament in 1652. It is by Jenkinson, from his work on treaties. "Critics in commerce reason variously," says he, "on the benefits or disadvantages of this act. Those who argue in its disfavour, reason on the general principle of its being an error in politics to interrupt the free course of commerce by any kind of prohibitions whatsoever; which is generally true, and would be always so, could one be assured of constant universal amity. But as that is very far from being the case, the exception to the general rule in this case holds good, since nothing is more clear than that those who employ most ships will have most seamen, and consequently be best enabled to command the sea. It was but too evident by this short war, [Cromwell's with Holland,] how near a match for us the Dutch were, and continued so for some years after; and had not this act been made, would very probably before this time have been too potent for us, as they would have had the gross of the European seamen in their service; so that the act, notwithstanding some inconveniences it might produce in point of commerce, was a very happy thought in the making, and shows our judgment in its being continued."

This celebrated act may be said to have

changed the maritime condition of the world. It continues to this day to affect the legislation of the United States.

The four articles of which Lord Castlereagh spoke, reduced to their essence, may be described thus. The first extended to the United States the provisions of certain Free Port acts, as they were called, authorizing a trade in the articles which they enumerated, between certain specified ports of the British West Indies, and the colonies of European nations, in vessels having only one deck. The second made a special provision for the trade between the United States and the Island of Bermuda, in a larger list of articles, and without limiting the size of the vessel. The third allowed cotton and tobacco to be imported from the United States in their own vessels to Turks Island, and salt to be taken away from that island, also in their vessels. The fourth aimed at regulating the intercourse, though under many restrictions, between the United States and the British continental colonies in America, adjoining the dominions of the former.

To Lord Castlereagh's inquiry as to the probability of my Government agreeing to these articles, I replied, "that the President, when I left Washington, had them under consideration; but I owed it to candour to say, that

there was little likelihood of their being accepted, so far did they fall short of the reciprocity desired." He afterwards inquired of what nature would be our counter projet, in the event of their rejection. I said, one that would open this trade fully, and above all give to British vessels no privileges of any kind whatever, direct or incidental, over the vessels of the United States. The latter were ready to grant, in their ports, to British vessels coming from the islands, all the privileges which their own vessels enjoyed; and could not be content with less to their vessels, in the ports of the islands. Lord Castlereagh here spoke generally of the colonial system of Britain. He said it was interwoven with her whole commercial code, and code of navigation; and that she owed it to interests which she believed to be important in both connexions, to adhere to the system in the main, however willing to submit to occasional or partial relaxations. I rejoined, that, with whatever reluctance the United States would adopt the policy of closing the trade altogether, in the continued absence of the reciprocity for which they contended, they would at last be compelled to adopt it, in necessary justice to their own commercial and navigating interests. I referred him to some acts of Congress already passed with that intent. He

wound up by remarking, that Britain, considering the nature of her colonial system, had no right to complain of measures of that character on the part of the United States, however she might regret them; nor would she complain. She had maintained it so long, that she would find it difficult on that as well as other accounts, to change it. Such was the general outline of what fell from him.

Before I came away, he said, that the Christmas holidays had scattered the members of the cabinet; they were chiefly in the country; on the return of some of them to town he would avail himself of an early opportunity of enabling me to make their acquaintance by meeting them at dinner at his house.

I will here give the names of those who, at that time, composed the British Cabinet. They were as follow:—The Earl of Liverpool, First Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister; Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Harrowby, Lord President of the Council; the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Sidmouth, Secretary-of-state for the Home department; Viscount Castlereagh, Secretary-of-state for Foreign Affairs; Earl Bathurst, Secretary-of-state for the Colonial department; Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty;

the Earl of Mulgrave, Master-general of the Ordnance; Mr. Canning, President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India; Mr. Wellesley Pole, Master of the Mint; and Mr. C. B. Bathurst, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. These comprehended the whole list on my arrival in England. No other officers of the Government, however high in station, were then of the cabinet. The Secretary-of-war was not, nor the Attorney-general. The absence of the former I could not well explain, although the Colonial Secretary acted in the concerns of war at cabinet councils, seeing that the navy had a stated representative in those councils. Was not the army entitled to equal consideration? I could even less explain the exclusion of the Attorney-general. No acts of government, in a free country, are independent of law. Hence, I should have inferred, that this officer would have been one of the primary advisers of the Crown. I was aware of the high legal functions of the Lord Chancellor; but in the complicated and daily workings of the machine of free government throughout a vast empire, I could still see room for the Attorney-general in the cabinet.

During my residence of more than seven years at the English court, this administration remained unchanged. There were resignations

that led to new appointments, and some transpositions. The Duke of Wellington was made Master-general of the Ordnance, on the resignation of Lord Mulgrave. Lord Sidmouth retired from the Home department, and was succeeded by Mr. Peel. Mr. Wellesley Pole gave up the Mastership of the Mint for a situation nearer the person of the King, and was created Lord Maryborough. Mr. C. B. Bathurst went out of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, into which Mr. Vansittart passed; the latter being also called to the peerage, under the title of Lord Bexley. Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Goderich,* was appointed to Mr. Vansittart's place. Mr. Canning became Secretary-of-state for Foreign Affairs, on the death of Lord Castlereagh, which occurred soon after the latter succeeded to the title of Marquis of Londonderry. Mr. C. W. W. Wynn was made President of the Board of Control in place of Mr. Canning. Mr. Wallace, afterwards Lord Wallace, became Master of the Mint; and Mr. Huskisson, appointed President of the Board of Trade, was called to a seat in the cabinet, his office not having before been of that rank.

* Father of the present Marquis of Ripon, so prominent among the negotiators of the late Treaty of Washington, and so favorably remembered in the United States.

None of the new appointments were understood to have grown out of want of concord in the body. The policy, as the premiership of Lord Liverpool, was maintained. He was placed in that post by the Prince Regent, in 1812. The age and infirmities of the reigning monarch had led Parliament two years before to establish regency in the person of the Prince of Wales. The Regent found, and kept, Mr. Perceval at the head of affairs, until he perished by assassination. It was then that Lord Liverpool was called to the helm. History will view his administration as one of renown to England. In the exertions of Europe against Napoleon from 1812 to 1815, the part which she acted by her arms and resources is before the world. Both were directed by this ministry, until the achievement at Waterloo closed the momentous struggle. It was there that the Duke of Wellington, after numerous victories in India, in Portugal, in Spain, that had earned for him the reiterated thanks of Parliament and applauses of the nation, ascended to the pinnacle of military glory. One of the English ministers, on entering the House of Commons, bearing in his hand the Treaties of Peace which the triumphant battles of this great commander had done so much towards securing, was enthusiastically cheered by all the members. It was a spontaneous burst

of public joy. Party differences were forgotten in deeds so overpowering. The same minister—it was Lord Castlereagh—afterwards declared in one of his speeches, that the “*British empire had twice dictated the Peace of Europe in the capital of France.*” The fame of such deeds naturally established in the confidence of the British public, the ministry on whose banner they were inscribed.

Lord Liverpool was not a person to lose confidence so acquired. Splendour of genius was not his characteristic; but among his talents was that of assembling able men around him. His cabinet was already strong, when, as we have seen, he enriched it with the names of Wellington, and Peel, and Robinson, and Huskisson; lastly with that of Canning, whom he brought into the Foreign office, vacant by the sudden demise of a powerful incumbent. These, though differing in important points among each other, and from the Premier, remained in harmony under him as leader. Each was made efficient in his sphere, and the power of the whole augmented. If Lord Liverpool was not the ablest man of the body, he was essentially its head. With a sound judgment improved by public affairs, he was fitted for the business of a nation. What he did not take in by promptitude, he mastered by perseverance;

not that he was deficient in the former, but that he paused upon his first conclusions. Systematic and grave, educated in maxims which he conscientiously approved, however others may have dissented from them; courteous, yet inflexible; with a personal character eminently pure, and a high reputation for official probity, his influence, as it rested upon practical qualities, went on to increase; so that, during the whole term of my residence, I never heard that a change of ministry was for one moment seriously in contemplation. Such was the Premier whom I found and left in power. He enjoyed the entire confidence of his sovereign; and had the confidence of the country to an extent that made him sure of his measures in both Houses of Parliament. Such, too, was the ministry with which I was to conduct negotiations, and all other business of my mission.*

It was with a full sense of responsibility that I entered upon its duties. I was sustained by remembering who were at the head of my own Government. In President Monroe, his country recognized a patriot and sage. Time and long service had consecrated his virtues and talents.

* It cannot but be interesting to the student of English history, to look back now, at this distance of time, to so long a continuance in power of any English Ministry.

A chivalrous officer of the American Revolution, his youthful blood had been poured out on the plains of Trenton. To the careful study of history and government, he added a participation in the business of legislative halls, and that of diplomacy, at home and abroad. Perfectly acquainted with the foreign policy of the United States as with their domestic concerns; elevated in all his principles; just, magnanimous, self-controlled, few countries ever possessed a chief magistrate better qualified to administer its affairs with wisdom, or more exempt from passions to mislead. First of his cabinet, as regarded every thing foreign, stood Mr. Secretary Adams; a statesman of profound and universal knowledge. He had received the best education that Europe and his own country could bestow, and from early life been practised in public affairs. Minister at several of the Courts of Europe, favourable opportunities were before him of studying their policy, and a superior capacity enabled him to improve his opportunities. Thus gifted and trained as a statesman, he was equally the accomplished scholar, fervent patriot, and pure and upright man.

For the remainder of the Cabinet of the United States, there were Mr. Secretary Crawford of the Treasury department; Mr. Secre-

tary Calhoun of the War department ; Mr. Secretary Thompson, and afterwards Mr. Secretary Southard, of the Navy department ; with Mr. Attorney-general Wirt ; men whose well-known abilities and experience gave further assurance to those in the foreign service of the country, that her interests would not be overlooked. Such were the counsels whence my instructions were to flow. Of this cabinet I may add, that two of its members have since been called by the American People to the high posts of President and Vice President of the United States ; Mr. Secretary Adams to the former, Mr. Secretary Calhoun to the latter.

CHAPTER V.

LONDON EAST OF TEMPLE BAR.—LONDON NORTH OF OXFORD STREET.

January 7, 1818. Went through Temple Bar into the *city*, in contradistinction to the West-end of London, always called *town*. Passed along Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's, Cheapside, the Poultry, Cornhill, and other streets in the direction of the Tower. Saw the Bank, Royal Exchange, Lord Mayor's house, Guildhall, India House, the Excise buildings. If I looked with any feeling of wonder on the throngs at the West-end, more cause is there for it here. The shops stand, side by side, for entire miles. The accumulation of things is amazing. It would seem impossible that there can be purchasers for them all, until you consider what multitudes there are to buy; then, you are disposed to ask how the buyers can be supplied. In the middle of the streets, coal-waggon and others as large, carts, trucks, vehicles of every sort, loaded in every way, were passing. They were

in two close lines, reaching farther than the eye could see, going reverse ways. The horses come so near to the foot-pavement, which is crowded with people, that their hoofs, and the great wheels of the waggons, are only a few inches from them. In this manner the whole procession is in movement, with its complicated noise. It confounds the senses to be among it all. You would anticipate constant accidents ; yet they seldom happen. The fear of the law preserves order ; moreover, the universal sense of danger if order were violated, prevents its violation. I am assured that these streets present the same appearance every day in the year, except Sundays, when solitude reigns. I must notice as before the dress of the people. A large proportion were of the working classes ; yet all were whole in their clothing : you could hardly see exceptions. All looked healthy ; the more to be remarked in parts of the city where they live in perpetual crowds by day, and sleep in confined places. The Custom House, and black forest of ships below London Bridge, I saw by a glimpse : that was enough to show that the Thames was choked up with vessels and boats of every description, much after the manner that I beheld Cheapside and Fleet Street to be choked with vehicles that move on land.

I went into two shops. One a silversmith's, that of Rundell and Bridge, on Ludgate Hill. Outside it is plain; you might pass by without noticing it; but on entering, the articles of silver were piled in heaps, even on the floor. Going further into the building the masses increased. In a room up-stairs, there was part of a dinner-service in course of manufacture. The cost of an entire service varied from thirty to fifty thousand pounds sterling, according to the number of pieces, and workmanship; sometimes it was much higher. A candelabra for the middle of the table, had just been finished for a customer, at fourteen hundred pounds. A dress sword for another customer was shown; the cost was four thousand guineas. Other specimens of luxury might be mentioned, including ambassadors' snuff-boxes of gold and diamonds. The proprietors were extremely civil; for I gave trouble only from curiosity. If you purchase but a pin for a few shillings, they return thanks; if you do not incline to take it away yourself, they readily send it home, no matter how far off. The other shop was Shepherd's, for cut-glass, near Charing Cross. There too I had civility from the proprietor. In place of speaking of his wares, I will relate what he said of the Emperor Alexander. His Imperial Majesty, it seems, when on his visit

to England with the Allied Sovereigns, honoured his shop with a call. Pleased with his articles beyond any of the kind he had seen in Europe, he gave an order for a magnificent list for one of his palaces. The pieces arrived in St. Petersburg. Immediately, a ukase issued, prohibiting the future importation of cut glass into Russia. Whether the Emperor most desired to encourage the home manufacture of so beautiful a ware, or enhance the gratification of his Imperial taste by keeping it exclusive, were questions that I had no right to propound.

Of all the sights, the one in the middle of the streets, bespoke to me most of causes and effects. Being afterwards in Paris, I saw more of architectural beauty, at first; more of brilliancy. The Boulevards, the Palais Royal, the Rue de Rivoli, which looked into the Tuileries through golden-tipped palisades, and a few other places, were not to be matched by any thing I saw in London. But their compass was small, and soon exhausted. The space between Northumberland House and Bishopsgate disclosed more of transportation, more of the operations that proclaim circulation of capital, more of all that laid at the roots of commerce at home and throughout the world, more of all that went to the prolific sources of riches and

power, than I was able to discover in going about Paris, again and again, in every direction. I am aware how much larger London is than Paris; but the bustle of business seemed to abound in the English metropolis, in a proportion tenfold greater than its superior size.

January 19.—I have taken a house. It is situated in Marylebone parish, north of Oxford *Road*, as I hear the latter called by some, probably from its having been an open road within their recollection. Now, it is a street fully built up, and among the longest and widest in London. North of this street lies a part of the town different from any I have hitherto seen. The streets cross each other at right angles. All are of good width: some a hundred feet and more. Many of them, as Harley Street, Wimpole Street, Baker Street, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, and others, present long ranges of houses built with uniformity, which gives them a metropolitan aspect. Through some, you look, as through a vista, into the verdant scenery of the Regent's Park. This commences almost at the point where the buildings, which are lofty, end; so that you seem to step at once into the country. An air of gloom hangs over these streets, from the dark brick of which most of the houses are built, or which coal smoke gives them; the

case, I may add, more or less, with nearly every part of London. This part is quite secluded, if so I may speak of a town district of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants. You hear little noise beyond the rumble of equipages, beginning at two o'clock, abating in the evening, and returning at midnight. Its quietness, and the number of ready-furnished houses to be hired in it, are probably the inducements for its being much chosen by the foreign ambassadors for their residence. I found that the Russian, Austrian, and French Ambassadors, had here fixed their domiciles. Every house has its area enclosed with iron palisades. The front door-steps are all of brown stone, with iron railings topped with spikes; so that the eye traced in all directions lines of this bristling iron-work. If you add, that on the broad pavements of flag, you perhaps saw nobody before noon, unless a straggling servant in morning livery, or a butcher's boy with tray in hand, issuing here and there from an area, you have the main external characteristics of this region when first I beheld it. There is another town district, a mile or two east, made up of well-built streets about Russell Square, that had an aspect somewhat similar. It contained, I was told, another one hundred thousand inhabitants, London

dissected showing these various circles. "The entire metropolis," says Gibbon, in his memoirs, "is an astonishing and perpetual spectacle to the curious eye; each taste, each sense, may be gratified by the variety of objects which will occur in the long circuit of a morning walk."

Of the part I have been describing in its external aspect, I must notice the complexion within. A great many houses were to let, and I went through them. From the basement to the attics, everything had an air of comfort. The supply of furniture was full. The staircases were of white stone. The windows and beds in servants' rooms had curtains. No floor was without carpeting. In many instances libraries made part of the furniture to be rented with the houses—a beautiful part. The rents varied from four hundred to a thousand guineas a year. In some of the *squares* of the West-end, I learned, that the rent of a furnished house was sixty and sometimes eighty guineas a *week*. Houses of the first class, with the sumptuous furniture to suit, are not to be hired at all. These, belonging to the nobility or other opulent proprietors, are left in the care of servants when the owners are away. The house I took was in Baker Street, at a rent of four hundred and fifty guineas a-

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year. The policy of my Government being to give to its public servants small salaries, the latter act but in unison with this policy, in having their establishments small. It is not for those honoured by being selected to serve the Republic abroad, to complain. Nor, with the English, do I believe, that the consideration attaching to foreign ministers, is dependent upon the salaries they receive. However large these may be, and sometimes are, in the persons of the representatives of the Imperial and Royal governments of Europe, they are still so much below the wealth of the home circles of London, as to be no distinction, supposing distinction to be sought on that ground. The surpassing incomes in the home circles, and habits of expenditure, with the ample accommodations by which the many who possess them live surrounded, incline their possessors to regard such official strangers as objects, rather than agents, of hospitality. It may be otherwise in capitals on the Continent; but this is the general relationship which the diplomatic corps holds to society in London.*

* Since the period here spoken of the salaries of the American diplomatic corps at most of the Courts of Europe, and in most foreign countries, have been very much increased.

CHAPTER VI.

DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.—MEMBERS OF THE
.DIPLOMATIC CORPS.—THE FIRST VISIT.—DINNER AT
LORD WESTMORELAND'S.

January 20, 1818. Dined with Mrs. Rush at Lord Castlereagh's. The company consisted of Lord and Lady Castlereagh, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Melville, Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Burghersh, the Ambassador of France and his Marchioness, the Austrian Ambassador, the Portuguese Ambassador and his Countess, the Minister Plenipotentiary from Bavaria, the Marquis Grimaldi of Sardinia, and a few others. Of the foregoing, some were strangers, to whom, as to myself, it was a first dinner.

The invitation was for seven o'clock. Our names were announced by servants in the hall, and on the landings. The company had chiefly assembled when we arrived. All were in full black, under the court mourning for the Prin-

ess Charlotte. I am wrong—one lady was in white satin! It would have been painfully embarrassing, but that her union of ease and dignity enabled her, after the first suffusion, to turn her misfortune into a grace. Salutations were in subdued tones, but cordial, and the hand given. Introductions took place at convenient moments. Before eight, dinner was announced. The dining-room was on the floor with the drawing-rooms. As we entered through a door-way surrounded by a hanging curtain that drew aside, the effect was beautiful. A profusion of light fell upon the cloth, and as everything else was of silver, the dishes covered, and wines hidden in ranges of silver coolers, the whole had an aspect of pure white. Lord Castlereagh sat at the head. On his right was the lady of the French Ambassador, with whom, in going in, he had led the way. Lady Castlereagh was on the side, half way down. On her left, was the Duke of Wellington, with whom she came in. Between the Duke and the Earl of Westmoreland, was my wife, who came in upon the arm of the latter. Opposite, was the lady of the Portuguese Ambassador. She entered with the French Ambassador, and sat next to him. I was between Lords Melville and Mulgrave. The former ratified me by the manner in which he spoke

of the United States ; the latter by what he said of President Monroe, who was Minister in England when he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He had ever found him, he said, conciliatory in business, while steadfast in his duty. Being near to these two noblemen in coming in, I paused to give place, having understood that Cabinet Ministers preceded Ministers Plenipotentiary on these occasions ; but they declined it, and I went first ; Lord Melville remarking, “ We are at home.” There appeared to be at least a dozen servants ; the superior ones not in livery.

The general topics related to France, and French society. The foreigners spoke English ; nevertheless, the conversation was nearly all in French. This was not only the case when the English addressed the foreigners, but in speaking to each other. Before dinner, I had observed in the drawing-room, books lying about. As many as I glanced at were French. I thought of the days of Charles II. when the tastes of the English all ran upon the models of France. Here, at the house of an English minister of state, French literature, the French language, French topics were all about me ; I add, French *entrées*, French wines. I was unwilling to believe that the parallel to the days of Charles II. held throughout. By my

onger residence in England I discovered, that the enlightened classes were more ready to copy from the French what they thought good, than the same classes in France to copy from England. As regards language, the difference is striking. There is scarcely a well-educated person in England who does not speak French, while thousands among the best educated in France are ignorant of English. In the competition between these great nations, this gives England an advantage. It is no answer that French is the language of intercourse in Europe: the Frenchman may repose upon this, for not acquiring the English; but it cannot take from Englishmen the advantage of being at home in both tongues. Equally have the English the advantage in travel. They go in great numbers to France; while few of the French, comparatively speaking, visit England.

Soon after nine, the ladies left table. Before ten, the gentlemen followed. The company broke into knots, or loitered through the drawing-rooms. In one, was a full-length likeness of the Prince Regent, by Lawrence; in another, the celebrated portrait of Charles I. by Vandyck, presenting three views of his face; scattered about in all, were articles of vertu or munificence. Of the latter, were vases of massive porcelain and other memorials, sent as

presents to Lord Castlereagh by the crowned heads of Europe, after the treaties of Paris and Vienna. I had now conversation for which opportunities had not before offered. The Austrian Ambassador told me, that his court had appointed Baron Sturmer, Consul-General to the United States. He said, that it was the wish of his court to cultivate amicable relations with the United States; the more, as foreign commerce had become an object with Austria. I replied, that my Government would receive the information with satisfaction. This was the first public officer sent by Austria to the United States, and laid the foundation of commercial relations that had not before subsisted between the two nations. I remarked, that the commerce of Austria appeared to be doing well in the Black Sea. "For a beginning," he replied. I added a hope, that the flag of the United States might find admittance into that sea; but it was a point on which he was not prepared to speak. To Lord Castlereagh, I expressed the pleasure I had derived from making the acquaintance of his guests; amongst them, the Duke of Wellington. He spoke of the Duke. He said that his achievements in war were known; but that his ability in council, his caution, his conciliation in dealing with the complicated arrangements of the Continent

that had followed his battles, were not so much known ; these formed not less a part of his character, and had gained for him, perhaps in a higher degree than centered in any other individual in Europe, the confidence of its cabinets and sovereigns.

Before parting, his Lordship said, that the Prince Regent would probably be in town by the middle of February, and that I might then expect my audience of reception.

At eleven, I came away. The servants were at their stations, and passed the call for my carriage, as when we were announced ; forms observed towards all.

Having here, for the first time, met some of the diplomatic corps, I will subjoin the names of those who composed it, whilst I was in England. There was entire cordiality in the intercourse of its members. The period was one of peace. No acts transpired among nations, tending to abridge the harmony of private life among their representatives.

From France, there was the Marquis D'Osmond, among the best specimens of the old French court. From Russia, Count, afterwards Prince Lieven ; from Austria, Prince Esterhazy ; from Prussia, Baron Humboldt, brother and rival in genius to the celebrated traveller ; from the Netherlands, Baron Fagel, a name

known in his country's history; from Spain, the Duke of San Carlos; from Portugal, Count, afterwards Marquis Palmella, maintaining under all vicissitudes, his reputation for abilities. These were Ambassadors. The chief difference between the ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, in common speech often confounded, is, that the former is viewed as representing the person of his sovereign. In that capacity, he takes precedence in matters of form. He has also exaltation, personally, in various ways. For every national end, the attributes of the minister plenipotentiary are the same.*

France changed her ambassador four times. She sent, after the departure of the Marquis D'Osmond, the Marquis de la Tour Mauberg, the Duke de Cazes, Viscount Chateaubriand, and Prince Polignac. The first was the celebrated cavalry officer, not more known by his powers as a commander, than his gallant exploits in battle, particularly at Leipsic, where

* This difference could hardly have been within the contemplation of the Constitution of the United States, wherein the President is empowered to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, "*Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls.*" There may be, and, perhaps, are, reasons of expediency for not sending Ambassadors from the United States, though they did it in the mightiest days of the Roman Republic—again and again, but there is nothing in the American Constitution to prevent it.

he lost a leg. His manly form thus maimed, was doubly interesting by his habitually amiable manners. The second, was the distinguished Minister of the Interior under Louis XVIII. and at that time head of the French administration. The third, was the brilliant author of 'France,'—an author admired by the world; who brings at all times to his page, the most eloquent and touching reflections, whether writing from the deep shades of American forests, from classic Italy, or the sacred banks of the Jordan; who gives elevation to party strife, investing with instructive and elegant generalities, what in feebler hands degenerates into common details or mere personality. The fourth, was the same who was afterwards President of the Council and Prime-minister under Charles X. He was fatally conspicuous in the revolution of July 1830; but to his personal accomplishments and worth all bore testimony. The Netherlands changed her's once, sending, in place of Baron Fagel, called to the home service, Mr. Falcke, whose activity in the cause of Holland has been witnessed at dates more recent. Prussia sent Baron Werter in place of Baron Humboldt; the latter also called to the home service. Spain substituted the Duke de Frias for the Duke of San Carlos; and afterwards sent Mr. Onis (as minister plenipo-

tentiary) in the time of the constitutional government of the Cortes. From Portugal, Count Villa Real succeeded the Marquis Palmella, Mr. Olivera interposing (as minister plenipotentiary) for a short interval, in the time of the constitutional government of that country.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary were Count Munster, from Hanover; Mr. Bourke, from Denmark; Baron Stierneld, from Sweden; Baron Just, from Saxony; Mr. Pfeffel, from Bavaria; Count Ludolf, from Naples; Count D'Aglié, from Sardinia. The only change in this order was from Denmark, in the person of Count Moltke, for Mr. Bourke. The former was accompanied by his Countess, an accession to the English as to any Court. Italy had her season of constitutional governments, as Spain and Portugal; but the Austrian troops overturned them too rapidly to afford time to Sardinia or Naples to new-model their diplomacy. France marched her army across the Bidassoa more slowly, but not less decisively. She too overturned constitutional government in Spain; an attack upon national independence, which Britain, in her state papers and parliamentary speeches, officially disapproved, without resisting, and which the friends of freedom in both hemispheres joined in deploring.

There were two Ministers Resident, an order below Ministers Plenipotentiary: Baron Langsdorff, from Baden ; Mr. Haller, from Switzerland. There was a Chargé-d'affaires from Wirtemberg, Mr. Wagner ; who was succeeded by Count Mandelsloh ; and one from Constantinople, Mr. Ramadani. The latter, on official occasions, appeared in his robes and turban ; a dress not more in contrast with all that surrounded him, than the institutions of his country with those of Christendom. The credentials of diplomatic agents of this class are to the Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, not the Sovereign. When Mr. Canning became Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the fourth year of my residence, plenipotentiaries arrived from three of the new states of Spanish America ; Mr. Hurtado from Columbia ; General Michelena from Mexico, and Mr. Rividavia from Buenos Ayres.

The embassies of the great powers were amply provided with secretaries, and had persons attached to them in other capacities. The entire aggregate made a large body. Not large when compared with the embassies of other times. Sully brought to England a retinue of two hundred gentlemen. Bassompierre, still earlier, speaks of an "*equipage of four hundred persons*" returning with him to France. The

former, on reaching London, was saluted with *three thousand* guns from the Tower. So, D'Estades, ambassador to the States General from Louis XIV. tells us, that he was met at Ryswick by the Deputies, with a train of *threescore coaches*. Compliments so profuse have wisely gone out of date.

But, in all affairs, forms prevail. Governments never dispense with them. Having mentioned the members of the diplomatic corps, I will allude to some of the forms that regulated their intercourse. Once, the uncertainty of these led to difficulties, even wars. The congress of Vienna, in 1815, extirpated them all, as far as questions of precedence were concerned; and these had been found the most serious. It declared that every question of that nature should be settled by the rule of time. He who has been longest at a court or government, is to be first. The relative power of the nation he represents, is to count nothing. This is a rule satisfactory to small states. It is to the praise of large ones, that they established it. It applies to all intercourse where competition can arise, whether in business or ceremony; and therefore regulates visits. The member of the corps who has last arrived pays the first. The rule does not overleap classes, applying only to those of the same

class. Its propriety has commanded universal assent. Under its operation, we shall hear no more of personal rudenesses, no disturbances of the public decorum, no cutting of traces that one ambassador's coach may whip up before another; none of the acts, ill-adapted to such functionaries, of which we catch the glimmerings, sometimes the details, in Finett, Digges, Melville, D'Estrades, Wiquefort; even in the later pages of Segur, much as his own good sense discountenanced them. The treaty of Westphalia tried to put a stop to these contentions by fixing the relative rank of the principal powers of Europe; but in vain. That of Utrecht had the same aim, in introducing the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, the contentions before being confined to ambassadors. In vain also. It was reserved for the rule of Vienna, aided by modern manners, at last to get rid of what had so often proved a hindrance to public business and injurious to individual concord. Although the United States had no agency in making that rule, their minister shared its benefits.*

But, as far as visits are concerned, it has turned out, that the certainty of the rule leads

* The author remained so long at the British Court, nearly eight years, as to become gradually invested with precedence, under this rule, over all the other Ministers Plenipotentiary.

to its being frequently disregarded. In obedience to it I was prepared to pay the first visit to all the members of the corps who had arrived before me. But, from several, I had the favour of calls by anticipation, as was common in other cases. Fortunate change! when the strife of courtesy has supplanted hostile strife.

The right of precedence in treaties is of a different nature. These solemn instruments are executed in double original. This gives to each nation the opportunity of being named first, and signing first, in the treaty to be deposited in its own archives. Such is the rule as between the United States and foreign powers. Formerly it was not so. In the time of President Madison, an occasion arising where the representative of a monarchy questioned the principle of coequality in the United States on the asserted ground of Republics being of secondary dignity, the rule was established and has since been adhered to.

January 31. Dined at the Earl of Westmoreland's, at his residence, Grosvenor Square. Forms were as at Lord Castlereagh's. The party was small—Sir John and Lady Ann Becket, Mr. and Mrs. Patterson of Baltimore, the Danish Minister, and some of the members of Lord Westmoreland's family. The cheerful manner of his lordship promoted conversa-

tion. Much of it related to England. Duelling was spoken of. Lord Westmoreland said, that among private gentlemen in England it was very rare ; that if a person from this class had been engaged in a duel, and applied for admission to a club, there would be a scrutiny ; and unless it appeared that he was not quarrelsome, he would be in danger of rejection ; but that if he had been engaged in two, he believed he would be black-balled. His lordship did not condemn duelling. He only meant that the occasions of it in private life were so few in classes where proper restraints existed, that he whose misfortune it was to have had two duels on his hands, would find gentlemen shy of him as an associate in such institutions. It was upon this he grounded his opinion. The urbanity of our courteous host made the evening very pleasant. It was not until a late hour that we got home.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—SLAVE QUESTION UNDER THE TREATY OF GHENT.—NORTH-WESTERN BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS.—POST AT THE MOUTH OF COLUMBIA RIVER.

February 1, 1818. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh.

He began about the slaves; expressing the readiness he would ever feel in endeavouring to bring to a satisfactory close all points in dispute between the two countries. In this spirit he had laid before the Cabinet my proposal of the 3rd of January upon this subject; and had to inform me that it would be acceded to. But, as the treaty of Ghent had led to the proposal, the assent would be under the rules which that treaty had fixed in relation to other points. That to this end, he was prepared to give effect, substantially, to my proposal, by saying, that his Government was

willing that the question about the slaves should also go before commissioners; and in the event of their not concurring, that resort should be had to an umpire, as prescribed by the fourth and subsequent articles of the treaty in reference to territorial claims. That an article between the two Governments, supplemental to the treaty, might be requisite to give the proper authority for this proceeding. That as regarded the commissioners, his Government had no objections to devolving the service upon some of those already appointed under the treaty, unless mine should wish new appointments; that, in short, the whole machinery of that instrument should be adopted, in settling the conflict of opinion about the slaves.

Finishing upon this point, he went to another. The present, he said, appeared to be a favourable time for putting in train for settlement, claims to territory, other than those comprehended in the treaty of Ghent. That it belonged to forecast, to aim at extinguishing, in a friendly way, seeds of future controversy, while the subjects were of no great present importance, but liable to become so in future. Such considerations led him to hope that the Government of the United States would not be disinclined to measures having in view the final settlement of that part of the North-

western boundary line contemplated in the old treaty between the two countries of 1783; he meant, the line from the most North-western point of the lake of the woods to the Mississippi. Accordingly, he had to say, that the adoption of measures for accomplishing this object would be highly acceptable to the British Government. The treaty of Ghent, he thought, would form a guide equally convenient for fulfilling the intentions of the parties in this instance also. Should his proposal be acquiesced in, another supplemental article might be added to the treaty, to give it effect, and new commissioners be appointed; or, as before suggested, those already appointed, perform the duty.

Lastly, he came to the affair of the post at Columbia river. A despatch from Mr. Bagot, he said, had informed the British Government that the United States were about to take possession of that post, by sending out an armed ship; and he had to express the regret felt at the measure. It was to have been wished, he remarked, that, before the ship sailed, notice had been given to his Majesty's Minister in Washington of her destination, Great Britain having a claim of dominion over that territory. He proceeded to inform me, that Mr. Bagot had sent in a remonstrance upon the occasion; to which, at the last dates, no answer had been

received. He closed by saying, that it was the desire of his Government to submit a proposal that the question of title to this territory should, as in the two other cases, go before commissioners, and be governed in all other respects by the precedent of the treaty of Ghent; annexing to it a third supplemental article as the groundwork of contingent arbitration before some friendly sovereign.

To his proposals and remarks I made such replies as they seemed to call for; and first as to the post on the Columbia. Nothing, I told him, could exceed the concern I felt at our act being viewed in the light presented by him, and nothing could have been less expected. The grounds upon which England claimed dominion, were unknown to me; but granting that she had a claim, was the lawfulness of the step taken by the United States to be questioned? That the post was in their possession before the war of 1812 was admitted; and also, that it had fallen by capture into the hands of Britain during the war. How then under a treaty of peace, the first article of which stipulated the mutual restitution of all places reduced by the arms of either party, was our right to restitution to be impeached? I mentioned the cases of Nootka Sound and Falkland Islands. In these, Great Britain,

under circumstances far less strong, had asserted the principle of which we claimed the benefit.

Lord Castlereagh admitted our right to restitution, and our claim to be in possession, when negotiations for the title were going on. But the manner of obtaining it, he said, was to be lamented, from its possible tendency to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the two countries. He sincerely hoped it would not have that effect, and added, that to forestall all risk as far as he could, he had addressed a note to the Lords of the Admiralty, and one to Lord Bathurst as charged with colonial affairs, desiring that prompt orders might be issued for preventing all hostile collision, either at the post, or with British ships in its vicinity. He took from his files, copies of these notes, and read them to me.

I said, that although it was scarcely to be expected that I could yet have received official information respecting the measure, and although, in fact, none had reached me, I was entirely confident that it had originated in no unfriendly feeling. Nor was it believed that any thing essentially due to Great Britain had been omitted. It had so happened, I remarked, that I had some knowledge myself of the intentions of my Government at the time the

measure was projected, which enabled me with the less scruple to speak as I did. I left Washington, it was true, before the departure of the ship; but felt sure that there could have been no alteration in the views that had suggested her voyage to those seas; and, above all, I knew that the employment of force as a means of reinstating ourselves under the treaty, had in no wise been in contemplation.

These assurances appeared to have the proper influence in placing the transaction in its true lights. The post came peaceably into our possession, and the case was not subsequently revived as one of complaint.

As regarded the North-western boundary line, I remarked, that this subject had no place in my instructions. An article to the effect of his proposal, had once been inserted in a convention between the two Governments, but expunged by that of the United States. The ground of objection was, that the only line that could be run in the direction proposed under the treaty of 1783, would not, as had been ascertained since the date of the treaty, strike the Mississippi; and to run it lower down would bring it through territory within the limits of the United States. Great Britain was free to renew the proposal; all that I could do, would be to transmit it to my Go-

vernment, and it would be for his lordship to judge how far the past rejection, with its unchanged ground, was discouraging to another attempt.

Finally, as to the slaves. I said, that I had no authority to assent to the proposal as modified from that of my predecessor, which I had done nothing more than renew. That much anxiety continued to exist on this subject in the United States, as might be inferred from the late resolution in the Senate, submitted by Mr. Troup, from Georgia; and that the fact of each Government having adhered to its own construction of the treaty on this point, afforded little presage of a concurrence in opinion by commissioners chosen by each. Still, I had every reason to think that the President would view as friendly, the principle of the proposal; for whilst it did hold out a preliminary step of no very probable efficacy, it came at last to our own overture. I would gladly therefore transmit it for The President's consideration, assuming, as I did, that this subject of compensation for slaves would be acted upon by itself, in the event of obstacles being found to lie in the way of the two others.

To this his lordship did not yield his assent. He hoped that I presupposed an imaginary case, abstaining in this way from a positive

refusal at first. He afterwards, in effect, embodied one in the remark, that as each Government had objects of its own in view, the three propositions ought, in his opinion, to be classed together, awaiting a common assent or rejection. I combated this doctrine. The carrying off of the slaves involved a case of palpable injury, and, as we also contended, of wrong; one that brought loss to all, and ruin to some of the proprietors. The fundamental laws of The Union guaranteed to our Southern planters as sure a property in their slaves, as in their houses and lands; and as well might the two last be taken from them as the first. The two other propositions rested upon ancient, undefined claims; not pressing in their nature, or any of their consequences. The case of the slaves, moreover, sprang out of the treaty of Ghent, and was peculiarly entitled to the benefit of its equitable example in settling controversies. The other two subjects were wholly extrinsic. Whatever rights or expectations might even justly be coupled with them by Great Britain, it seemed proper that they should stand upon independent ground. Such, it seemed to me, were the distinctions involved.

But I perceived no change in what were at least his lordship's first impressions, that the three questions ought to be dealt with in the

same way. The interview was extended to much length, and closed by his saying, that as all the proposals proceeded from his Government, they would be forwarded to Mr. Bagot for the information of mine, in addition to the communication of them made to me.*

* Now that Slavery has ceased to exist in the United States, it may seem strange to another generation, that the very first subject which the American Minister was instructed to bring to the notice of the British Government, on his arrival in England in 1818, was a claim by American citizens for compensation for *slaves!* (See *ante* p. 32.) Yet such are the changes which time produces. Proud as we are of our English ancestry, our kindred English friends will do us the justice to remember that the system, now at an end, did not originate with *us!* It originated in 1620, in the early colonial period of American history, more than a century and a half before the Declaration of American Independence, during which time slaves in large numbers were imported from Africa into the American Colonies. Nor was the importation confined to the Southern Colonies. Very soon after the establishment of the United States as an Independent Nation, the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States proceeded to the consideration of the slave trade, against which further traffic, there had been loud remonstrances in Virginia by the people in their primary assemblies, whilst still colonists, with Washington at their head. Finally the year 1808 was adopted by the Convention as the period for the cessation of the trade.

See an interesting review of this portion of American History in an address before the Society of the Alumni of the University of Virginia, July 1, 1869, by William C. Rives, Jun., an address marked by large information and liberal sentiments; the more striking, from the gratifying prospect exhibited of the returning prosperity of Virginia.

CHAPTER VIII.

RECEPTION BY THE PRINCE REGENT.—THE LEVEE.—
THE ROYAL FAMILY.

February 9, 1818. Received a note from Lord Castlereagh informing me that the Prince Regent had appointed Thursday the 12th, for my reception, at Carlton House, at a quarter past two, previous to the levee.

February 12. Had my reception. A competent knowledge of the world may guide any one in the common walks of life; more especially if he carry with him the cardinal maxim of good-breeding in all countries—a wish to please and unwillingness to offend. But if, even in private society, there are rules not to be known but by experience, and if these differ in different places, I could not feel insensible to the approach of an occasion so new. My first desire was, not to fail in the public duties of my mission. The next, to pass properly through the scenes of official and personal ceremony to which it exposed

me. At the head of them, was my introduction to the Sovereign. I desired to do all that full respect required, but not more: yet—the external observances—what were they? They defy exact definition beforehand, and I had never seen them. From the restraints, too, that prevail in these spheres, lapses, if you fall into them, are little apt to be told to you; which increases your solicitude to avoid them. I had, in some of my intercourse, caught the impression, that simplicity was considered best adapted to such an introduction; also, that the Prince Regent was not thought to be fond of set speeches. This was all that I could collect. But simplicity, all know, is a relative idea. Often it is attainable, in the right sense, only through the highest art.

I arrived before the hour appointed. My carriage having the *entrée*, or right to the private entrance, I went through St. James's Park and got to Carlton House by the paved way, through the gardens. Even this approach was already filled. I was set down at a side-door, where stood servants in the Prince's livery. Gaining the hall, persons were seen in different costumes. Among them yeomen of the guard, with halberds. They had hats of velvet, with wreaths round them, and rosettes in their shoes. In the court-

yard, which opened through the columns of the portico, bands of music were heard. Carriages, in a stream, were approaching by this access, through the double gates that separate the royal residence from the street. The company arriving this way, entered through the portico, and turned off to the right. I went to the left, through a vestibule, leading to other rooms, into which none went but those having the *entrée*. They consisted of cabinet ministers, the diplomatic corps, persons in chief employment about the court, and a few others, the privilege being in high esteem. Knights of the Garter appeared to have it, for I observed their insignium round the knee of several. There was the Lord Steward with his badge of office; the Lord Chamberlain with his; also, gold *stick*, and silver *stick*. The foreign ambassadors and ministers wore their national costumes; the cabinet ministers, such as we see in old portraits, with bag and sword. The Lord Chancellor, and other functionaries of the Law, had black silk gowns, with full wigs. The bishops and dignitaries of the Church, had aprons of black silk. The walls were covered with paintings. If these were historical, so were the rooms. As I looked through them, I thought of the scenes in Doddington; of the Pelhams, the Boling-

broke, the Hillsboroughs. The Prince had not left his apartment. Half-an-hour went by, when Sir Robert Chester, Master of Ceremonies, said to me, that in a few minutes he would conduct me to the Prince. The Spanish Ambassador had gone in, and I was next in turn. When he came out, the Master of the Ceremonies advanced with me to the door.

Opening it, he left me. I entered alone. The Prince was standing; Lord Castlereagh by him. No one else was in the room. Holding in my hand the letter of credence, I approached, as to a private gentleman, and said, that it was "from the President of the United States, appointing me their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Royal Highness; and that I had been directed by the President to say, that I could in no way better serve the United States, or gain his approbation, than by using all my endeavours to strengthen and prolong the good understanding that happily subsisted between the two Countries." The Prince took the letter, and handed it to Lord Castlereagh. He then said, that he would ever be ready on his part to act upon the sentiments I had expressed; that I might assure the President of this, for that he sincerely desired to keep up and improve the

“friendly relations subsisting between the two
“nations, which he regarded as so much to the
“advantage of both.” I replied, that I would
not fail to do so.

The purpose of the interview seeming to be accomplished, I had supposed it would here end, and was about to withdraw; but the Prince prolonged it. He congratulated me on my arrival. He inquired for the health of Mr. Adams, and spoke of others who had preceded me in the mission, going back as far as the first Mr. Pinckney. Of him, and Mr. King, his inquiries were minute. He made others, which it gave me still more pleasure to answer—he asked if I knew the ladies from my country, then in England, who had made such favourable impressions, naming Mrs. Patterson, and the Miss Catons. I replied that I did, and responded to His Royal Highness’s gratifying notice of these my fair countrywomen. A few more remarks on the climate of the two countries closed the audience.*

* These three American ladies afterwards became the Duchess of Leeds, the Marchioness of Wellesley, and Lady Stafford. They were all very attractive, and distinguished for native dignified ease and grace. One was remarkably handsome, and of the most winning manners. They were the grand-daughters of the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; his country seat in Maryland, who was one of the Signers of the Declaration of American Independence,

It would be out of place in me to portray the exterior qualities of this monarch. The and who died in 1832, at the age of past ninety, having long been known in the United States by the distinguishing title of "THE LAST SURVIVING SIGNER."

They grew up in Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, of which place the author's wife (Miss Catherine Eliza Murray, a descendant of the Elibank Family, of Scotland) who was one of their early companions, was also a native. It may, perhaps, be added that nowhere in the United States did there prevail, at that time, a higher tone of sentiments and manners, and nowhere was there a more attractive circle, than at the seat of government of Maryland.

Perhaps an anecdote may here be mentioned which the writer had from an authentic source.

At a small dinner many years afterwards at the King's (then William IV.), a gentleman of the company was disposed to a little pleasantry with one of those accomplished sisters, who was at table, on account of her nationality, and at length said, "Now do pray tell us, Lady ——, do you "come from that part of America where they *guess*, or where "they *calculate*?" "She comes from neither," said the King, slowly, immediately interrupting him, "she comes "from that part of America where they *fascinate*."

The graceful allusion by the Prince Regent, to those ladies, to a newly arrived American Minister, here recorded, on the occasion of his first introduction to him,—ladies so descended,—recalls the well known remark of George III. to the elder Adams, on his first introduction to that monarch in a similar capacity soon after the close of the American Revolutionary War, viz., that as he had been the last man in his dominions to recognize the Independence of the United States, so he was happy to be the first to welcome their newly arrived Envoy.

The Adams Family has been hitherto, by far the most distinguished, politically, of any in America. John, the

commanding union of them has often been a theme in his own dominions. He was then in his 56th year; but in fine health, and maintaining the erect, ambitious, carriage of early life. The Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Sicily and Naples, had his reception immediately afterwards.

When the Prince came from his apartment, called in the language of palaces his *closet*, into the *entrée* rooms, I presented to him Mr. John Adams Smith, as public secretary of the legation, and Mr. Ogle Tayloe, as attached to it personally. Other special presentations took place; amongst them, that of the Prince of Hesse Homberg, by Lord Stewart, both distinguished in the then recent battles of the Continent. The Prince Regent moved about these rooms, until he had addressed everybody; all waiting his salutation. Doors hitherto shut, now opened, when a new scene appeared.

“Elder Adams,” and his son, John Quincy, the “Younger Adams,” each known as such in American history, each occupied successively the post of President of the United States, the former having been also a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and one of its most fearless and able advocates. Each was also Minister from the United States to England, as was, until recently, Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy, one of the best fitted men, in every respect, by whom the United States could have been represented during the trying epoch, from 1861 to 1868, of his residence at the British Court.

You beheld in other rooms the company that had turned off to the right. The opening of the doors was the signal for the commencement of the general levee. I remained with others to see it. All passed, one by one, before the Prince, each receiving a momentary salutation. To a few he addressed conversation, but briefly; as it stopped the line. All were in rich costume. Men of genius and science were there. The nobility were numerous; so were the military. There were from forty to fifty generals; perhaps as many admirals, with throngs of officers of rank inferior. I remarked upon the number of wounded. Who is that, I asked, pallid but with a countenance so animated? "*That's General Walker,*" I was told, "*he was pierced with bayonets, leading on the assault at Badajos.*" And he, close by, tall but limping? "*Colonel Ponsonby; he was left for dead at Waterloo; the cavalry it was thought had trampled upon him.*" Then came one of like port, but deprived of a leg, slowly moving; and the whisper went, "*That's Lord Anglesea.*" A fourth had been wounded at Seringapatam; a fifth at Talavera; some had suffered in Egypt; some in America. There were those who had received scars on the deck with Nelson; others who had carried them from the days of Howe. One, yes one,

had fought at Saratoga.* It was so that my inquiries were answered. Each "*did his duty*;" this was the favourite praise bestowed. The great number of wounded was accounted for by recollecting, that little more than two years had elapsed since the armies and fleets of Britain had been liberated from wars of extraordinary fierceness and duration in all parts of the globe. For, so it is, other nations chiefly fight on or near their own territory; the English everywhere.

Taking the whole line, perhaps a thousand must have passed. Its current flowed through the entrée rooms, got onward to the vestibule, and was finally dispersed in the great hall. Those who composed it, found themselves there, by a course reverse to that of their entrance; and went away through the portico, as their carriages came up.

The whole ceremony lasted until past five. When it was over, I called upon each member of the Royal Family; a mark of respect omitted by no foreign minister after being received by the Sovereign. The call is made by inscribing your name in books kept at their several residences. The royal family were, of the male

* In the American Revolutionary War. Now a place of great resort in the summer, by people from all parts of America, on account of its celebrated springs.

branches—the Dukes of York, Clarence,* Kent,† Cumberland, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester. Of the female branches—the Duchess of Gloucester, the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Sophia, and Sophia Matilda. Prince Leopold,‡ husband of the late Princess Charlotte, shared the same attentions; as did the Duchesses of York and Cumberland. How far it may be necessary for a distant Republic; whose genius is entirely different from the ancient governments of Europe, to exchange with them diplomatic representatives of the higher class, may be a question; but it can be none whether, when once sent, they shall offer all the appropriate marks of respect which the usages of the world accord to sovereigns and those in immediate connexion with them. To withhold or stint them, would be in conflict with the purposes of the diplomatic office. I was in this feeling that, during my residence, I thought it proper never to be absent from a levee, or pretermit in any wise attentions to the royal family paid by other foreign ministers; and I will take occasion to add, that I did not find an insensibility to the just motives of such a course.

* Afterwards William IV.

† Father of Queen Victoria.

‡ Afterwards Leopold I. of Belgium.

It will be in unison with my narrative to insert a copy of the letter of credence I delivered to the Prince Regent. It followed the established formulary, when the United States send Ministers to foreign courts. An eminent individual in England asked me what the form was from republics to monarchies. The answer is easy. The head of a republic, however appointed or chosen, represents for the time being, its collective power and dignity. To foreign nations, he is the visible image of its sovereignty, and speaks to monarchs clothed with its attributes. The letter will afford at the same time a specimen of the peculiar style adopted by nations when speaking to each other through the personality centring in their executive heads. It is in these words:—

“James Monroe, President of the United States of America, to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland:

“Great and good Friend:

“I have made choice of Richard ~~E~~^Rush, to reside near your Royal Highness in quality of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is well informed of the relative interests of the two countries, and of our sincere desire to cul-

tivate and strengthen the friendship and good correspondence between us ; and from a knowledge of his fidelity, probity, and good conduct, I have entire confidence that he will render himself acceptable to your Royal Highness by his constant endeavours to preserve and advance the interests and happiness of both nations. I therefore request your Royal Highness to receive him favourably, and to give full credence to whatever he shall say on the part of the United States, and most of all when he shall assure you of their friendship, and wishes for your prosperity ; and I pray God to have your Royal Highness in his safe and holy keeping. Written at the city of Washington, the thirty-first day of October anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventeen. By your good friend,

“JAMES MONROE.”

“John Quincy Adams,

“Secretary of State.”

The letter of credence from the King, or Prince Regent, of England, on sending a minister plenipotentiary to the United States, is the same, *mutatis mutandis*, in its formal commencement and conclusion ; and substantially the same throughout.*

* To be entirely accurate, there were complimentary terms

My reception having established me in full official standing, I left cards at the houses of the cabinet ministers and diplomatic corps. The former have precedence over the latter (though in England they often waive it) because, sharing the confidence and administering the power of the Sovereign, they become identified, so far, with his dignity. I visited also the Lord High Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, and a few others personally attached to the royal household. The only one of the cabinet upon whom I had called previously was Lord Castlereagh. Cabinet ministers in England are exempt from returning the visits of foreign ministers, as of all others; nevertheless, the courtesy of Lord Castlereagh had returned mine.

It was so that I aimed at going through the obligations of ceremony, as I found them established at the English court. I may have dwelled on them the longer because they were new to me; but not too long. I do not discuss their importance. I give them as facts. The philosopher may rail at them; but, in his philosophy, he may discover, if candid, matter for raillery too. In the machinery of political

in the first line of the President's letter, immediately after the name of the person of his choice; but the Author has not thought it necessary to insert them.

as social life, the smallest parts are often those that give impulse to the greatest movements. If we visit a strange country, scan its general population, enter its farm-houses, its cottages, its work-shops, we are permitted to speak of appearances and habits that on all sides arrest the eye. May we not, with a guarded freedom, do the same of the high places of the world? In the modes of life in each, are beheld component parts of the grand whole. If, from the former, issue the springs of power, it is in the latter, under monarchies, that its agents dwell. Perhaps if the feelings that exist in each could be better known to the other, jealousies might be softened, more frequently than increased.

If may be thought that the forms I detail, are the growth only of monarchical soils. Their roots lie deeper. If none but republics existed, other forms would arise, differing in circumstance, but not in essence. In the genius of the latter governments, there is a sternness peculiarly opposed to giving up claims to outward reverence. The Roman Senate took more offence at Cæsar's refusal to rise on an occasion when they intended to do him honour, than at his passing the Rubicon or seizing upon the treasury. The title of Majesty is modern, as applied to Kings. The

Romans used it with peculiar fondness, says Dryden, in reference to the people—*MAJESTAS POPULI ROMANI*. The first treaty that Cromwell entered into with the United Provinces, had a stipulation that their ships should strike their flags in British seas, to the “*REPUBLIC*” of England. We have seen, in our own day, with how prompt a sensibility President Madison, whose life has been a model of dignity as of public and private virtue, stood upon the point of form, when treaties were to be signed. Nor was he less scrupulous, when complimentary salutes were to be exchanged with the vessels or batteries of foreign powers. If the individual of just pride respects himself whilst he respects others, nations will ever be still more quick to the same feeling, and to all its external manifestations.

CHAPTER IX.

ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—OLD CUSTOMS ABOUT THE COURT.—DINNER AT THE DANISH MINISTER'S.—PRIVATE AUDIENCE OF THE QUEEN.—THE DRAWING-ROOM.—DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.

February 16, 1818. The late attempt upon the life of the Duke of Wellington in Paris is a topic. He went there on business relating, as is believed, to the evacuation of France by the Army of Occupation, of which the English forms a part. Returning to his hotel at midnight, a pistol was fired at his carriage. One of his aids was with him. Nobody was hurt. The report collected people, and some gendarmerie went in pursuit. The Duke made his coachman stop, got out, and looked around. Such is the account I hear. I learn that it was transmitted by a special messenger from the French King, to his ambassador at this court. The ambassador repaired to Carlton House, to express to the Prince Regent the

concern felt by his sovereign, with assurances that all means would be used to discover the offender, and bring him to proper punishment. The ambassador afterwards went to Apsley House, the residence of the Duke of Wellington, to express to his family appropriate sentiments on the occasion.

February 21. Since my reception I have had calls from servants of official persons for "*favours.*" I became acquainted with the term at Portsmouth. They had no warrant from their masters; but came under ancient custom. There have also been to me, fraternities, more nearly allied to the Portsmouth bell-ringers; as the "*Palace drums and fifes,*" the "*Royal waits and music,*" and a third, the derivation of which I could not understand, and which no external signs that I saw bespoke, the "*King's marrow-bones and cleavers.*" Each presented me with a congratulatory address. Each had their "*book to show.*" They all have something to do with out-door arrangements when levees are held. These contributions upon the diplomatic stranger, awakened at first my surprise. I afterwards heard what, perhaps, may serve as explanatory. Ambassadors on leaving England, receive from the Government a present of a thousand pounds; and ministers plenipotentiary, five hundred. If then on their

arrival, and afterwards, there are appeals to their bounty by those in menial and such-like situations about the Government, the latter, it seems, *pays back again!* I do not hint that it does so in the light of an indemnification; but the *customs harmonize*. True, the minister plenipotentiary of the United States never takes the five hundred pounds; the constitution of his country forbidding it. But this is a point which it may be presumed he does not stop to expound to the servants of the foreign secretary, or the "*Royal waits and music.*" It would doubtless be to them a novel plea in bar for not putting his hand in his pocket! Whenever he pays for music, he must consider himself as having an equivalent in its "silver sounds."

If I had calls like these, I am bound to mention others. A great number of persons of the court and other circles paid me visits. Their names I need not recount. Of the list, were those whose acquaintance any one might regard as a source of gratification. In me, the feeling was heightened, as it marked the estimation in which my country was held. Inter-course to which the door thus opened in my favour, was afterwards extended, leading to hospitalities, that can neither pass from the memory, nor grow cold upon the heart.

February 23. At a dinner at the Danish minister's we had half a dozen gentlemen; among them Sir Humphrey Davy. There were also ladies. One of the latter spoke of Franklin; he was a captivating writer—so much nature—so much genius; Mr. Jefferson had said that to see the junction of two of our rivers where one breaks through a mountain, was worth crossing the Atlantic; but she would think the voyage better undertaken to see Franklin's old china bowl and silver spoon his wife bought for him; she hoped both were kept; it would be sacrilege to let them perish. I was charmed at her manner of saying all this. Sir Humphrey took his share in the conversation. At the first words of this great chemist and philosopher, I was all attention. But he talked of neither chemistry nor philosophy. He agreed to what was said of Franklin. He spoke of the expedition preparing for the North Pole; it was fitted up, he said, with every thing but a philosopher; whether the sailors would have no such non-descript on board, or none would consent to go, he could not say; the ocean was a noble dominion for nations, but a bad place for landmen; worst of all for philosophers. He spoke of the case about wager of battle, pending in the King's Bench; the very argument was so like a burlesque, that, he

thought, the parties had better be allowed to fight it out at once, the "*fancy*" forming a ring, while parliament and the judges looked on. His elocution was remarkably prompt and smooth. In society he seems as pleasing, as in the lecture-room he is profound. He told me that the widow of Garrick was alive, at an advanced age, and lived not far from the house I had taken. Mr. Bourke, our kind host, had been much among the courts of Europe. Inclination and opportunity had improved his taste in the arts. In the drawing-rooms after dinner, pictures were talked of, his walls showing some fine ones. He said that in distinguishing the various productions of the different masters, there was no more difficulty, where the eye had been practised among large collections, than in distinguishing the faces and handwriting of your living acquaintances.

February 25. Having brought from my Government a letter of credence to the Queen, I was this day presented to her. It was called a private presentation, and took place at Buckingham Palace.

I got to the palace before the hour fixed. Servants were at the door, and in the hall. Ascending an ample staircase, the master of ceremonies received me in one of the rooms of a suite, all open, but no one else in

them. When five o'clock came, he conducted me to the audience-room, which I entered alone.

Immediately before me was the Queen. On her right was one of the Princesses, her daughter; on her left, another. Near them were two ladies in waiting. All were in full court-dresses; and all standing. In another part of the room were her Majesty's Chamberlain, and the Duke of Montrose. These made up the whole assemblage. All was silence. Approaching the Queen, I said;—"Having been accredited by his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, I have now the honour to present this letter to your Majesty. In executing the duties of my mission, I have it in charge from the President so to bear myself as to give hope of gaining your Majesty's esteem; and this I beg to assure your Majesty will be my constant ambition." She received the letter. As she took it, she said, that the sentiments I expressed were very obliging, and entered into conversation. Learning I was from Philadelphia she asked questions about it, and others respecting the United States, generally; all put in a very kind spirit. The interview lasted about fifteen minutes.

The Queen was then seventy-six. Her birth-

day was the day following. As I entered the room, and during the whole interview, there was a benignity in her manner, which, in union with her age and rank, was both attractive and touching. The tones of her voice had a gentleness, the result, in part, of years; but full as much of intended suavity to a stranger. The scene as it first broke upon me; its novelty, its quiet yet impressive stateliness, became, almost immediately, by her manner, one of naturalness and ease. My immediate predecessor, Mr. Adams, when presented to her, made an allusion to qualities in her character, which, as I came to learn through a good source that it was advantageously remembered at the English Court, I will repeat. His mission began in 1815, immediately after the war between the two countries. He said, that the political relations between them had been subject to the versatility that attended all human affairs; that dissensions had arisen, which however had been removed, and, he ardently hoped, permanently removed; but that the reverence commanded by her Majesty's private virtues had been subject to no such change; it had been invariably felt by his Government, and he could utter no wish more propitious to the happiness of both countries, than that the future harmony between them might be equally unalterable. The allu-

sion was happy, because it was just. Throughout a long life, she had been uniformly distinguished by her private virtues, and her efforts to imprint them upon the times. I saw her sinking below the horizon. But the serenity that I saw, betokened, that as the splendours of her day were setting, she had a consciousness that it was not for them alone she had lived.*

* Mr. Adams was always very happy in his allusions on such occasions. Who, that heard it, can forget his memorable parting address, while President, to General Lafayette, in 1825, on behalf of the American People, while the U.S. Frigate "Brandywine," that was to convey him home, lay at anchor in the Potomac, almost within sight of the President's House, where the address was delivered, as the President, surrounded by his Cabinet, and high officers of Government, civil and military, stood face to face with the Nation's Guest. The passage beginning, "Go, then, our beloved Friend, return to that beautiful France, &c. &c.," was particularly impressive.

And what right-minded American but would be willing to trace a parallel to the reverence, here spoken of by Mr. Adams as existing in America, for the private virtues of Queen Charlotte, in the same feeling among his countrymen for the domestic virtues of the present Female Occupant of the British Throne, singularly exemplified throughout a reign already long, and strikingly exhibited on more than one recent memorable occasion. This feeling prevails largely in the United States, and triumphing over temporary "dissensions," and the "versatility" belonging to "political relations," found vent in a wide-spread sympathy for Queen Victoria on the occasion of the late alarming

February 27. Yesterday her Majesty held a drawing-room. It was in celebration of her birth-day. My wife was presented by Lady Castlereagh. Besides being a birth-day celebration, it was the first drawing-room of the season, and the first since the death of the Princess Charlotte. The weather was fine, with a brilliant sun. A permit had been sent from the Board of Green Cloth for my carriage to pass into St. James's Park, through the gate on Constitution Hill.

Going through Hyde Park, I found the whole way from Tyburn to Piccadilly (about a mile) filled with private carriages, standing still. Persons were in them who had adopted this mode of seeing those who went to court. Tenfold the number went by other approaches, and every approach, I was told, was thronged with double rows of equipages, filled with spectators. I was to be set down with the rest of the diplomatic corps, and others having the entrée, at a door assigned, within the court-

illness of her eldest son, the Heir Apparent to the British Crown. Of this feeling the English People are not unaware. It is not many weeks since one of the leading Journals of England, in referring to the late insane attempt to alarm the Queen by pointing a pistol at her, spoke of Queen Victoria as "the best and most beloved of Sovereigns—not only best beloved by her own subjects, *but by the great and kindred race from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.*"

yard of the palace. Arrived in its vicinity, my carriage was stopped by those before it. Here we saw, through the trees and avenues of the Park, other carriages rapidly coming up, in two regular lines from the Horse Guards and St. James's. Another line, that had been up, was turning slowly off, towards the Bird-cage Walk. Foreigners agreed, that the united capitals of Europe could not match the sight. The horses were all in the highest condition; and, under heavy emblazoned harness, seemed, like war-horses, to move proudly. Trumpets were sounding, and the Park and Tower guns firing. There were ranks of cavalry in scarlet, with their bright helmets, and jet black horses; the same we were told, men and horses, that had been at Waterloo.

We were soon set down, and entered the great hall. What a contrast! The day before, I had gone up the staircase alone. Now, what did I see? We were not out of time, for, by appointment, my carriage reached the palace with Lord Castlereagh's; but whilst hundreds were still arriving, hundreds were endeavouring to come away. The staircase branched off at the first landing, into two arms. It was wide enough to admit a partition, which was let in. The company ascending, took one channel; those descending, the other; and both were

full. The whole group stood motionless. The openings through the carved balusters, brought all under view at once, whilst the paintings on the walls heightened the effect. (The hoop dresses of the ladies, sparkling with lama; their plumes; their lappets; the fanciful attitudes which the hoops occasioned, some getting out of position as when in Addison's time they were adjusted to shoot a door; the various costumes of the gentlemen as they stood pinioning their elbows, and holding in their swords; the common hilarity, from the common dilemma; the bland recognitions passing between those above and below, made up, altogether, an exhibition so picturesque, that a painter might give it as illustrative, so far, of the court of that æra. Without pausing to describe the incidents during our progress upwards, it may be sufficient to say, that the party to which I was attached, and of which Lady Castlereagh, towering in her bloom, was the pioneer, reached the summit of the staircase in about three quarters of an hour.

Four rooms were allotted to the ceremony. In the second was the Queen. She sat on a velvet chair and cushion, a little raised up. Near her were the Princesses, and ladies in waiting. The general company, as they reached the corridor by one arm of the staircase, passed

on to the Queen. Bowing to her, they regained it, after passing through all the rooms, by an outlet that led to the other arm ; which they descended. When my wife was presented, her Majesty addressed some conversation to her, as a stranger. This she could not do to all, time not permitting. The Regent was there, and the Royal Family ; cabinet ministers and their ladies ; foreign ambassadors and ministers with theirs. These, having the entrée remained, if they chose, in the room with the Queen. A numerous portion of the nobility were present, their wives and daughters ; with others distinguished in life, though bearing neither title nor station. Conversation you got as you could, in so great and rich a throng.

If the scene in the hall was picturesque, the one upstairs transcended it. The doors of the rooms were all open. You saw in them a thousand ladies richly dressed. All the colours of nature were mingling their rays together. It was the first occasion of laying by mourning for the Princess Charlotte ; so that it was like the bursting out of spring. No lady was without her plume. The whole was a waving field of feathers. Some were blue, like the sky ; some tinged with red ; here you saw violet and yellow ; there, shades of green.

But the most were like tufts of snow. The diamonds encircling them, caught the sun through the windows, and threw dazzling beams around. Then the hoops! I cannot describe these. They should be seen. To see one is nothing. But to see a thousand—and their thousand wearers! I afterwards sat in the Ambassadors' box at a coronation. That sight faded before this.* Each lady seemed to rise out of a gilded little barricade; or one of silvery texture. This, topped by her plume, and the "face divine" interposing, gave to the whole an effect so unique, so fraught with feminine grace and grandeur, that it seemed as if a curtain had risen to show a pageant in another sphere. It was brilliant and joyous. Those to whom it was not new, stood at gaze as I did. Canning for one. His fine eye took it all in. You saw admiration in the gravest statesmen; Lord Liverpool, Huskisson, the Lord Chancellor, everybody. I had already seen in England signs enough of opulence and power. Now I saw, radiating on all sides, British beauty. My own country I believed

* The Coronation of George IV. To one who many years afterwards had the good fortune to occupy a seat in the Ambassadors' box at the Coronation of Queen Victoria, and to be present at many of her Drawing Rooms, a similar thought readily suggests itself.

was destined to a just measure of the two first ; and I had the inward assurance that my countrywomen were the inheritresses of the last. *Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior*. So appeared to me the drawing-room of Queen Charlotte.

The ceremonies of the day being ended, as far as myself and suite were concerned, we sought the corridor to come away. In good time we reached the head of the descending channel. Will it be believed ? both channels were full as ever of hoops and plumes. There was something in the spectacle from this position that presented a new image. Positively, it came over the eye like beautiful architecture ; the hoops the base, the plume the pinnacle ! The parts of this dress may have been incongruous ; but the whole was harmony. Like Old English buildings, and Shakspeare, it carried the feelings with it. It triumphed over criticism. We got down stairs in about the same time it took to get up. As we waited in the hall for our carriage, military bands were playing in the court-yard, some mounted, some on foot ; amidst the strains of which we drove off.

In the evening I dined at Lord Castlereagh's. It was a dinner in honour of the birth-day. All were in official costume. The foreign ambassadors and ministers, and several of the

English ambassadors at European courts, at home on leave, were at it. Among the topics was the beautiful scene of the morning. All gave their voice to its attractiveness. I will say no more of the dinner. Lord Castlereagh, anxious for the pleasure of his guests, diffused his attentions in ways to promote it. We sat down at eight, and rose at ten. By eleven the company dispersed.

CHAPTER X.

EMIGRATION. — LITERARY INSTITUTIONS. — CLUBS. — BOOKSELLERS' SHOPS.—ST. JAMES'S PALACE.—PARTY AT THE DUCHESS OF CUMBERLAND'S.—AT THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S.—AT THE MARCHIONESS OF STAFFORD'S.—AT LORD MELVILLE'S—THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.—DINNER AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

March 1, 1818. I RECEIVE many letters from persons in England, on emigrating to the United States. The writers seek information and advice. I afford neither. The bad subjects of Britain we do not want; the good, it is no part of my province to be instrumental in drawing away. If the majority of the applicants be what they profess, they would prove an acquisition to any new country; where, land being abundant and labour dear, men are the best imports. One, a farmer, represents himself to have six thousand pounds. Two of the same class say, that they each would carry over about half as much. I learn that another of the applicants, a manufacturer, is reputed to

be worth thirty thousand pounds. The naturalization laws of the United States give less encouragement to emigrants than is generally supposed; less than some of their citizens think wise. For one, I regard them as injudicious. They do not confer citizenship upon terms at all as favourable as Russia and Holland have formerly done, and are believed to do still; as England did, for ages, when she even offered *bounties* to certain classes of foreigners on coming to her shores; and as France has done at periods when her population, in proportion to her soil, was far greater than that of the United States. The latter require a full residence of five years, with regulations that put further clogs upon the privilege.

I should fill many pages were I to detail applications of another description; I mean from the authors of new projects. One has an improved plan for making rockets; another thinks he has discovered a mode of building ships that will all sail alike; a third has a model of a gun-carriage, by which a 64-pounder can be worked like a swivel; a fourth a fire-machine to explode under water, with more destruction to every thing above than Fulton's torpedo. The projectors all desire patronage from the Government of the United States, and will go

over, on proper encouragement from me, It will be inferred, that if I leave farmers and manufacturers to think and act for themselves, I abstain from all interference in the cases of these ingenious persons. In truth, we want them less. Most of their inventions are for destroying life ; as if means enough were not known already.

March 2. Visited the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. Its objects are scientific and literary. A lecture-room, with apparatus, is annexed, where Sir Humphrey Davy, and Professors Brande and Milligan, deliver lectures. It has a large library, and is furnished with the current periodical publications. I note it merely as one, though of much repute, among numerous establishments of the kind in London. Another was mentioned to me—the London Institution in Moorfields—founded a few years back, at an expense of upwards of fifty thousand guineas, obtained by subscription among private individuals in that range of the city. The Clubs also have libraries, and the periodical works. It is so at the Alfred, which is near the Royal Institution. The Club Houses appear to be among the largest in town, judging from those in St. James's Street. Let me here relate what I heard of one of them—White's—the great Tory Club, in

St. James's. Somebody spoke of the lights kept burning there all night: "Yes," said a member, "*they have not been out, I should think, since the reign of Charles II.*" The London Clubs of the higher order are not associations for mere conviviality, but for intercourse upon a far broader scale; political, literary, scientific, dramatic, and objects more diversified. At a subsequent day I visited several, and had the freedom of some bestowed upon me. I was honoured with that of the United Service Club, the Travellers', and the Alfred.* The first, for extent and completeness, I may almost add splendour, surpassed any that came under my observation, though all were more or less striking. None of its members are below the rank of field-officers in the army, or captains in the navy. Through the good offices of Sir Humphrey Davy, I had the privilege of resorting to the library and reading-rooms of the Royal Institution. My gratitude is due for the facilities accorded to me at all times for reading and consulting books there, and attending lectures.

* To one of these beautiful and celebrated Clubs, the 'Travellers,' the writer avails himself of this occasion to record his acknowledgments for repeated opportunities, through the obliging courtesy of its Committee, of participating in its advantages and agreeable intercourse, not only while U.S. Secretary of Legation in London, but long afterwards.

I have been to several of the great booksellers' shops; that of Payne and Foss in Pall Mall, whose collection is said to be very choice; some in Paternoster Row, and Lackington's, corner of Finsbury Square. A bird's-eye view of them shows the amount of capital employed in this great branch of business, the more imposing as it gives the idea of intellectual as well as moneyed capital. The mere external arrangement at Lackington's seemed to be the best, and I should have inferred, but perhaps erroneously, as I did not see the whole extent of some in Paternoster Row, that their collection was largest. One of the firm told me, that the number of volumes in two descriptions of books, Shakspeare and the periodical writers, amounted, as nearly as he could say, to about one hundred thousand. I should have conjectured that the entire collection could scarcely have fallen short of a million of volumes. Opening cursorily some of the catalogues, Lackington's appeared to contain the greatest number of works on America; especially on the early colonial history of the United States. The catalogues are made out with great care, and give the prices. They formed well-sized octavo volumes. Lackington's ran on to a thousand pages.

Of books, we expect catalogues. But it

is much the habit of English shopkeepers generally to have printed lists of their articles. Stepping into a large ironmonger's-shop, the proprietor handed me a stout pamphlet which presented his whole assortment in print, with the prices annexed to each item, no matter how minute. Haberdashers send out their inventories in print, and the dealers in a thousand other things theirs. Their packets come to my house in I know not what quantity; to the advantage of the paper-maker, job-printer, and other handicrafts in the system of subdivision.

March 4. Went the evening before last, to a party at the Duchess of Cumberland's, St. James's Palace.

This is among the oldest buildings in London. It presents on the street, a fortress-like appearance. To what order it belongs would be hard to say. The whole is an irregular pile. But the very confusion in its plan, with its antiquity, and the sentinels pacing day and night about it, minister to the fancy, making amends for its want of good architecture. So says one, who, unaccustomed to the sight of edifices that go far back into time, finds this the ingredient which seizes most upon his first feelings.

We drove under a gatehouse leading to a

paved court-yard. Here we were set down at the entrance to the Duke of Cumberland's apartments. Directed by servants who lined the way, we passed up to the rooms of entertainment. The company was not very large. In a rich arm-chair, sat the Prince Regent; on one side of him the Duchess of Cumberland, on the other the Marchioness of Hertford. The rest of the company stood. When we entered, all were listening to music. Members of the royal family, cabinet ministers, the foreign ambassadors, with their respective ladies, and others, formed the groups. I observed among them the Lord Chancellor, Sir William Scott, and Mr. Canning. On a pause in the music, there was conversation. The Duchess of Cumberland spoke kindly of my country, and individuals belonging to it; particularly Mr. and Mrs. Adams, whom she had known at the court of Berlin. The Duke talked to me of the United States, embracing in his inquiries, language; with a desire to learn how far, if at all, we fell into changes in idiom or pronunciation from the parent stock.

I had introductions to several persons. Whilst in conversation with the Earl of Hardwicke, a gentleman stood within a few paces. I did not know him. On separating from Lord Hardwicke, he advanced towards me,

saying, "I'm going to bring a bill into Parliament, making it indictable in any stranger, whether ambassador from a republic, kingdom, or popedom, ever to leave his card without his address upon it: how do you do, Mr. Rush, how do you do? I've been trying to find you everywhere—I'm Lord Erskine." In this manner commenced my acquaintance with this gifted man. There was no one in England of whose fame I had oftener heard, or whom I more desired to know. He continued—"I had a letter for you from my brother, the Earl of Buchan, but you made me carry it so long in my pocket that I lost it; it had no secrets; it was only to congratulate you on your arrival; he was long a correspondent and friend of your father's, and wants to transfer his feelings to you, that's all; so you can write to him as if you had received it." I assured him of my gratification at meeting him, and made the due apologies for the omission on my card. He inquired for President Monroe, Mr. Pinkney, and others; said he had always loved the United States, and hoped to visit them yet, as he was an old sailor and cared nothing for storms. Such was his sprightly strain. He must have been seventy, or near it; but, as Sir Francis Burdett said, he illustrated the fable of youth peeping through the mask of age. It was a

treat to see so much genius with so much playfulness ; such a social flow from one whose powerful eloquence had been felt by the English nation, and helped to change, on some fundamental points, the English law. He sauntered about with me and looked at the paintings. There was a full-length likeness of George II. another of George III. and one of Mary of Scots ; a “ Royal jade,” he feared, “ but very pretty.” We ended in a room at the extremity of the suite, where was a table set out with golden urns for tea, and other light refreshments ; to which those went who were inclined. At one o’clock we came away. The music was by professional performers. Not only are the first musical talents of England engaged for private entertainments at houses of distinction, but the best from Italy, France, and other parts of the continent ; the Fodors, the Pastas, the Ambroettis, the Catalanis, who may always be seen in London.

March 10. Dined at the Russian Ambassador’s. This distinguished diplomatist is understood to enjoy in a high degree the good-will of his sovereign, and by all other titles is prominent in official and court circles. To the social assemblages of each the Princess Lieven, his wife, brings dignity, intelligence, and grace. From the embassy, we experienced at all times the kindness in unison with the good relations

subsisting between the United States and Russia. The guests consisted of the diplomatic corps, their wives, and some other foreigners. General conversation was kept up at table, and revived in smaller circles in the drawing-rooms afterwards.

I had some with the Minister Plenipotentiary from Naples. He directed it to the affairs of the United States. Of their commerce and marine he had been observant, particularly in the Mediterranean. With the interests of the countries on this sea, he seemed familiar. He had been minister at Constantinople; his father had been in the same post before him, and now, it was filled by his son. He asked if my Government did not contemplate opening diplomatic intercourse with the Porte, which led us to talk of the commerce of the Black Sea. He doubted if we could derive benefit from it, unless as carriers, should we even be admitted there. All that we desired, I said, was the opportunity. The nations to whom it was open were, he said, Russia, Austria, England, and France. Naples enjoyed it not; she was unwilling to pay what the court of Constantinople asked.*

* The United States and Turkey have long since exchanged diplomatic representatives, and are represented at this moment at the Government of each.

Prince Lieven expressed to me his hope, that the late appointment by the Emperor of Mr. Poletica as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, would improve the friendship between our two countries. I joined in the hope; the more, as Mr. Poletica had been favourably known in the United States since the days of Count Pahlen's mission. He spoke of Mr. Adams and the respect in which he was held when minister in Russia. I said, that his titles to respect at home had been increased by his correspondence whilst at St. Petersburg. Here I stated, that in 1811 and 1812 his despatches relating to the great movements in Europe, were frequent and full; that he proved himself master of them all, anticipating the political combinations, and military results of that era, with remarkable precision; above all, confidently predicting the failure of Napoleon's grand expedition to Moscow, from the roused and warlike patriotism of Russia, and her abundant resources. Such had been the uniform tenor of his communications. They were on the archives of the American government, as monuments of the writer's capacity to handle public affairs of magnitude, with judgment and forecast. The Ambassador heard with satisfaction my narrative.

March 12. Last night we were at the Marchioness of Stafford's. The rooms were full. The Prince Regent, Royal family, many of the nobility, and others thronged them. It was past eleven when we arrived ; yet fresh names were every moment announced. All were in black under an order for a new Court mourning for the late King of Sweden, Charles XIII.; who however did not die king, Bernadotte—the remnant of Napoleon's royal creations—occupying the Swedish throne. The rooms abounded in ornamental articles. The paintings commanded admiration. Under light judiciously disposed, they made a magnificent appearance. There is said to be no such private collection in Europe. It comprehends the productions of the first masters of the different schools. A considerable number are from the Orleans collection, procured in France by the late Duke of Bridgewater, from whom the estates of the Marquis of Stafford in part descend. These works of genius glowing from every part of the walls, formed of themselves a high attraction had the evening afforded no others.

It was the beginning of many hospitalities we had from this family. The Marquis is known to his country by the public character his peerage gives him, and the posts he has

filled. The Marchioness is not less known by her rank ; for she is of the oldest of the realm. But this is adventitious. She is known by her cultivated mind, her taste in the arts, her benevolence to her tenantry, by virtues unostentatious and refined, that commend her to the love of domestic and social circles, and endear her name to strangers.*

March 17. Dined at Lord Melville's. Lord and Lady Melville, Lord and Lady Mulgrave, Lord Keith, the Ambassador of the Netherlands, the Danish Minister and Lady, Mr. Barrow, and a few more, made the party.

The Polar expedition was talked of. The prevailing opinion was against its success, but Mr. Barrow stood up for it. For every doubt, man of genius like, he had a solution, often in veins of pleasantry. I learned that he was the author of the article on this subject in the thirty-fifth number of the Quarterly Review, which everybody had read with pleasure, at least. Lord Melville said, that nothing would be omitted by the Admiralty to ensure success to the expedition, as far as equipment was con-

* One who knew her long afterwards as Duchess Countess of Sutherland, and recalls the recollection of some of these traits, with kindnesses always so acceptable to a stranger, is prompted here to respond to this just tribute.

cerned ; but I saw that he was not sanguine as to results.

I commended some delicious oranges on the table. His lordship asked if we had them in the United States. In the southern parts, I replied ; in other parts we got them from the West Indies. Copying Mr. Barrow's good vein I said, that those from the English Islands would have a better relish if his Majesty's Government would allow us to bring them in our own ships ! In the same spirit his lordship answered, that, for one, he would be most happy to contribute to our enjoyments ; but must hear what Lord Castlereagh had to say !

In the dining-room hung the original paintings of the places seen by Cook in his voyages. In the hall was one of Duncan's victory over the Dutch off Camperdown. I asked if there was no collection in England representing, in historical series, the victories of the nation gained in fleets, beginning with those in Cromwell's time. His lordship said, none.

In the drawing-room was a large vase of alabaster about eight feet high, and of the finest proportions. It stood before a mirror. On the exterior surface, the whole story of Lucretia was represented in figures of demi-relievo. The work was exquisite. The vase was illuminated inside, and cast softened

shades through the room. By the reflections of the mirror, all the figures, though on a spherical surface, came under the eye at once. This classic and beautiful ornament, which the size of the room displayed to the best advantage, had been imported from Florence. England, though carrying the manufacturing arts to so high a pitch, is filled with the costly productions of other parts of the world; the porcelain, the silk damasks, the or-molu, of France; the finest works in marble from Italy; the table-linen of Holland and Saxony; the lace of Flanders; the gems, the cashmeres, of India. No amount of duty shuts out such articles from her opulent classes. Their very costliness brings them into demand.

March 18. The Duke of Sussex visited me. He had called when I was out. Seeing the Secretary of Legation at Almack's, he fixed to-day for calling again. I stayed at home to receive him.

An ardour for constitutional liberty pervaded his conversation. It rose sometimes to an eloquent boldness. I had not been prepared for quite as much in a prince of the blood, and prized it the more. Passing in review some of the speakers in parliament, he specially commended Lords Grey, Holland, Lansdowne, Grenville, and Erskine; and, of the House

of Commons, — Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Brougham, and Sir James Macintosh.*

Gibbon was mentioned. He thought highly of his historical research, but preferred Addison's style. The latter never tired. It was adapted to all subjects. He spoke of Mr. Adams, called him his friend, said he had known him on the Continent, where, as in England, he was esteemed by all to whom he was known. In paying a tribute to his talents, he mentioned his knowledge of languages.

The French was spoken of as the language of conversation in Europe. His Royal Highness said, that he would not perhaps object to

* A member of the House of Peers, at the close of a protracted debate, many years afterwards, in which Lord Brougham had electrified his audience by his marvellous eloquence, was heard to say, "There has been nothing like this since the days of Chatham." At the period in question, Brougham was in his zenith, winning nightly triumphs in the field in which he was such a consummate and acknowledged master. There are those who have *stood* for hours, in the House of Lords, in the space allotted to strangers, without being in the slightest degree sensible of fatigue, listening to, and carried away, by his resistless oratory. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley (the late Earl of Derby,) contributed their powerful share in the other House to the English Parliamentary renown of those days, sometimes making it difficult to decide to which House to give the preference for an evening's intellectual treat, but Brougham was *primus inter pares*.

this, as it was established; but when used as the language of state papers and treaties, he was disposed to make a quære. The French was acquired by foreigners with sufficient precision for conversation, and general purposes of literature; but in drawing up treaties, where the employment of words in their nicest shades of meaning was often of national moment, he who wrote in his native language had an advantage; and however slight, it was enough to lay the practice open to objection. He would suggest as a remedy, that treaties and other solemn papers, to which two or more nations were parties, should be drawn up in Latin. This would put modern nations upon a par. Each would stand upon the scholarship of their public men. It was to this effect he spoke. I thought it in the natural feeling of an English prince.

The language of France has been diffused by her social manners, the merit of her writers, the exile of her protestants, and the power of her monarchy. Some of these influences are past. Others are shared by contemporary nations. Is it right that the monopoly of her language should last for ever? I would be much inclined to his Royal Highness's remedy, if there were no other, though open to difficulty, perhaps, from modern terms of art. But

I venture upon the suggestion of another. Let the language most likely to be predominant throughout Christendom, be the common vehicle of Christendom. If a living language is to be adopted at all, this would be the fairest test. The European dominions of Britain have a population of upwards of twenty-two millions; the United States count more than twelve, to take no notice of the rapid increase of the latter, or numerous colonies of the former. Here is enough to authorize the belief, that, already, there are more persons to whom English is the vernacular tongue than French; and that it is destined to gain, not only upon the French, but German, Spanish, and all others. There is another fact more applicable. The foreign commerce of Britain and that of the United States conjointly, exceed that of all Europe. This serves, at the present day, to send forth the English tongue more extensively to all parts of the globe, than the French, or any of Christendom. Malherbe asserted the rights of his native language so strenuously against all foreign usurpation, that he gained at the French court the appellation of "*tyrant of words and syllables.*" Very well, in a Frenchman! But if treaties and all other international papers are always to be written in French words and syllables, what becomes

of the equal independence of English words and syllables? The French are too just to disparage the language of Milton, and Newton, and Locke; and why should they insist upon the perpetual preference of their own; or rather why should England acquiesce?*

His Royal Highness, it must be added, is himself an excellent linguist. To his knowledge of the classics, he adds German, Italian, French, *Hebrew*, and it may be others, of which I am not informed.

March 23. Dined at the Lord Mayor's. It was not *Lord Mayor's Day*, but a city entertainment always given on Easter Monday, at the Mansion-house. This edifice is sometimes called the City palace. In size, it resembles one, and in some points of architecture; but

* If it were true in 1818 that the English language was more spoken throughout the globe, than any other, how much more true now? The Author's suggestion that "the language most likely to be predominant throughout Christendom, should be the common vehicle of Christendom," deserves to be thought of. Why indeed, it is well asked, should other Nations acquiesce in the claim to monopoly set up by France in this respect? Prince Bismark has already set an example which it is hoped may be followed, and already a change is perceptible to ordinary travellers. On a late tour through parts of Germany (before the War) it was remarked that Germans spoke English more frequently than French. At times, it became rare to hear the latter, while the former was not rare.

is badly situated, close to the Bank and Royal Exchange. The streets are so narrow, you can see it but in part, and it is with difficulty that carriages approach it at all. Through the courtesy of the Lord Mayor, the diplomatic corps are annually invited to this entertainment. It is a gratifying one to them, for they see at it, the image of a powerful class in the empire; the commercial class.

The Royal Dukes, some of the nobility, and persons in station, were present. These, with the diplomatic corps, occupied seats in a half circle at the upper extremity of the room, on an elevation or dais. The tables in the area below, were filled with the opulent citizens of London. It was a fine sight. They might be taken as a representative body from the great ocean of mercantile wealth between Temple-bar and London-bridge. The room was the Egyptian hall, of ample dimensions and brilliantly lighted. A band played as we entered. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress were side by side in the centre of the half circle, at the top of the dais; the latter in a full court-dress. By her position she faced the whole company; a trying situation, which she bore with grace. After all the courses were over, toasts were given, the first I had heard in England. Music was kept up, the song rose,

and every thing ministered to the festive feeling. On one side of me was Sir Benjamin Bloomfield. At intervals we conversed. It was principally of the United States. He spoke in a very friendly spirit ; urging the benefit to both countries of mutual good-will and good offices. I listened the more, as he was Private Secretary to the Prince Regent.

The entertainment closed with a ball in another part of the building. Throughout the rooms, were insignia of the commerce and riches of London from an ancient day. The nation that commands the trade of the world, said Sir Walter Raleigh, commands its riches, and consequently the world itself. Whether the saying be true or not, the policy, the laws, the whole conduct of the English, attest that they never forget it.

CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO MR. WEST.—DINNER AT MR. LYTTELTON'S—AT LORD HOLLAND'S.—A DAY AT DEPTFORD AND GREENWICH.—DINNER AT THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S—AT EARL BATHURST'S.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—DINNER AT LORD BAGOT'S.

March 26, 1818. Visited Mr. West, President of the Royal Academy. I found him with his pencil in his hand.

The most curious piece in his collection, was one painted when he was eight years old. It was small, and very imperfect, he said ; but added, that the primary colours, blue, red, and yellow, were so justly blended that he could not improve that part of the work. On asking if he had any previous instruction that enabled him to go right in so important a particular, he replied, no ; he could no more say how his judgment had been formed to it, than how he learned his mother tongue.

The piece to which he pointed with most

interest, was the "Continence of Scipio." It had been instrumental in bringing him into notice, forty years before. George III. sent for it, and kept it for some time at his palace. At his Majesty's request, he had painted a series of historical pieces, from the New Testament. They were at Windsor—to be put up in a chapel the King contemplated building.

The number of pieces in his rooms was very great. He had been computing the dimensions of a gallery, to contain all he had ever painted. He found that it would require one four hundred feet long, fifty broad, and forty high. The piece from Lear, in the Academy of Arts at Philadelphia, was, he said, among those with the execution of which he had been best satisfied. I spoke of his "Christ healing the sick," in the hospital at Philadelphia, remarking how highly it was prized; all the town had flocked to see it. He spoke of a criticism upon it in Philadelphia, that had come under his notice; said it was written in a scholar-like manner, and with a perfect knowledge of the subject. He knew not the author, nor could I inform him.

This eminent and venerable artist was then near eighty. A native American, born near Philadelphia, he adverted to scenes of his early life. I was enabled to understand some of

his local allusions. His patriarchal look and character gave me something of the filial feeling. What am I to do, I asked, as our conversation proceeded, to be able to judge of paintings? Wherever I go, I meet with them; in palaces, private houses, everywhere; engravings rest in portfolios; I see nothing but the works of your art, and all persons appear to have a knowledge of them; I the rather ask, as there is a growing taste for the arts in the United States; Republics have been celebrated for them; we cherish the hope that it may be our lot. He replied that he believed he could not do better, than name to me the discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Those productions, I said, but increased my despair; we knew them in Philadelphia; they were ingenious, profound; but what a universe they opened!—wider than the poet's in *Rasselas*; it was boundless; all kind of knowledge was necessary to the painter; and could we, with less, and without superadding the practice of the eye, become judges of painting? He agreed that the art was boundless; said that he every day saw something to learn in it; told the anecdote of the clergyman who preached one of Sir Joshua's discourses from the pulpit, omitting technical words, as a proof of its foundation in the principles of man's

general nature, and admitted that it could only be successfully studied in conjunction with practice; in other words, that the eye could not gain a quick or sure perception of beauties and defects, but by familiarity with the best models. I said, it was this which gave to the English their facilities; foreign travel was so common with them, that they saw the best models abroad, and then kept the eye in practice at home; the Vatican, the Louvre, the Museum at the Hague, the galleries of Sans Souci, the collections in the Low Countries and Spain, persons whom you met every day, had more or less seen. It was somewhat the same with books of travels. If you alluded to the latest in France, a gentleman by your side had been over the ground, and knew more than the book; if you spoke of the Coliseum or St. Peter's, half the company had been at Rome; and so of other places. He replied that it was true. Englishmen travelled a great deal; all did not bring back useful information in the arts, but so many went abroad, that the number was still great who did; hence there were more good judges of painting in England, than good painters; it was rare to meet with a person of leisure and fortune who had not visited Italy and France, if not more countries; England also contained more paint-

ings than any other country, not in public depositories, for there were none worth speaking of, but in private houses; the rich bought up the best upon the Continent, wherever to be had; he would be glad to point out the private collections; those of Lord Stafford and Lord Grosvenor stood at the head, but there were others scattered about town, and all over the country. He invited me to call, whenever I had an hour to throw away, and saunter through his own collection, for all that it might be worth to me, saying that he would saunter with me, being always at home. It was thus that he received and talked to me. Once there was a tear, that the early recollections of his native land seemed to have drawn down: I felt in his fame the interest of a countryman. In his whole manner there was a cordiality which also inspired personal attachment even in a first interview. As often as I saw him afterwards, it was with renewed pleasure and advantage; but it was not long, before I was summoned to bear his pall.

March 27. We were entertained at dinner by Mr. and Lady Sarah Lyttelton. Mr. Lyttelton is in Parliament, and heir presumptive to Hagley, with the title of its possessor. I spoke of the letters in the name of one of his family. He said it was an admitted point that

they had not been written by Lord Lyttelton. Sir Humphrey Davy was at table. The newsmen had been blowing horns on a false rumour of Bonaparte's death. "When that happens," said Sir Humphrey, "Europe will fly up, compression being off." We had also Lady Davy, Miss Fanshawe, Earl Spencer, Lord Folkstone, and Mr. Luttrell. There was a flow of conversation that gives charm to a dinner-party; our reception having been as friendly as courteous by this accomplished pair.

March 29. Dined at Lord Holland's. His Lordship and Lady Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Morpeth, Lord Maitland, Sir James Macintosh, and Mr. Tierney, were of the company.

Lord Holland spoke of the institutions of the United States. Our system, he said, appeared suited to our circumstances; he hoped we would not put it to risk by a fondness for war; was there no fear that the excitements apt to arise under popular forms, and the courage that springs from freedom, might make us prone to war? I replied, that our reliance was in the checks which our constitution raised up, and chiefly, that the people, who must suffer from war, were the power who alone, by their representatives, could declare it. He bore testimony to the merit of President

Monroe, whom he had known in personal and official relations, saying that in such hands our Republic, as far as depended on the chief magistrate, might always be considered safe.

I asked Sir James Macintosh, when we were to be favoured with the history the public had been led to hope he was preparing. He spoke doubtfully. Hume was mentioned. He could not always agree with him, he said, but commended the general spirit of his history; the whole, indeed, was masterly; the best portion, that which comprised the reigns of the Tudors, particularly Elizabeth's. He spoke of Robertson and Gibbon; both were careful inquirers into facts; Gibbon's research was profound, but he saw objections to his style. He spoke of Franklin's style with nothing but praise. It was more than pure; it was classic. It was neither the style of Addison nor Swift; it had the simplicity of theirs, but an original and graceful playfulness not carried too far, which neither of the others had in so great a degree. Lord Holland asked if it could be true that his works, and especially his style, were not popular in the United States; he had seen late publications seeming to point that way. My own knowledge and observation, I said, would lead me to a different conclusion as to the opinions of my countrymen.

Holland House, where we dined, four miles from London, is a venerable building. Among other associations that go with it, is the name of Addison. He lived here, after his marriage to the Countess of Warwick. After dinner we went into the room that had been his library. It is now Lord Holland's. It is very long. Addison was not happy in his marriage; and the jocose tradition is, that he kept his bottle at each end of the room, so that in his walks backwards and forwards he might take a glass at each! It was in this room he wrote his despatches when Secretary of State. The Spectator being mentioned, Sir James said, that it had lost its value as a book of instruction, but as a standard of style would always last. I listened with interest to these and other remarks from him. His speeches and writings, read on the banks of the Delaware as those of the Thames, had taught me to regard his mind as kindred to Burke's; the same elementary power; the same application of the philosophy of politics and jurisprudence to practical occurrences; the same use of history never heavily but always happily brought in; the same aptitude for embellishment, not so gorgeous, but always chaste; the same universal wisdom.

I resumed the topic of his history. I said, that when he got to the American revolution

we should, on our side of the Atlantic, open his pages with peculiar interest. That we believed the full and proper account of it had not yet gone forth to the world; that among us were still left a few who were contemporary with it; their minds were the repositories of facts and reflections which, if not rescued in time, would perish: I instanced particularly, Mr. Jefferson and the elder Adams. The life of each hung by a thread; but their faculties were unimpaired. If he thought it worth while to embark in a correspondence with these fathers of our country, who, like himself, could have no object but truth, I would be happy to be the medium of its commencement. Some light he might hope to gleam; and if, examining also for himself, he should find it the light of truth, would it not be worthy of both nations to establish this part of their common history, on a basis that both might approve? He caught at the suggestion, and followed it up with inquiries, saying he would avail himself of it. But it was not acted upon. I do not believe the omission arose from any diminished sense of the value of the aid he would probably have derived; but other causes. His parliamentary engagements took up much of his time; those at the India College had their claims; and shall I add, as another and natural

hindrance, the claims of daily society upon him in the highest spheres, uniting as he did, the ease of the man of the world, to intellectual stores attractive and inexhaustible. Such men grow into favourites in these spheres in London. Chains are thrown round them, not easy to break.*

The conversation from which I have minutely a small part, took place after we had risen from dinner, and were in the library. At table it was suited to the moment, and with the moment passing away. Of hospitality as dispensed by Lord Holland I had heard; of its kindness, its elegance. His standing as a peer is known. Not less, the many attainments which he makes subservient to the pleasures of society and friendship. In his house, opulence and refinement seem to lend their aids to invest letters with glory. The room in which we dined was richly ornamented. I un-

* Few things are more striking in England than the way in which Statesmen, the busiest and most distinguished, and men of affairs, contrive to unite these claims of society, with all other engrossing claims upon their time, but they do manage it. Of course it can only be by great industry and activity, combined with subdivision and *method*, for which latter the present Premier of England is said to be remarkable. Nowhere is economy of time better understood and more successfully practised than among the classes here referred to.

derstood that it had been painted and gilded as I saw, by one of Lord Holland's ancestors in the time of Charles I. on the occasion of a fête given to Henrietta his Queen, when she came over from France.

I must mention an incident at one of the Holland House dinners, though I was not present. Scott's novels became a topic, a new one being out. One or two of the company expressed preferences among them. Before opinion had gone farther, Lady Holland proposed that each person should write down the name of the novel liked best. Paper and pencil were passed, and a slip torn off as each wrote. Nine were handed to her, and each had the name of a different novel!—a happy illustration of the various merit of this fascinating writer.

April 1. Went to Deptford with Sir Humphrey Davy. His carriage was at the door when I drove up at an early hour to his house. An accident happening to it, he took a seat in mine. Our conversation was chiefly about the United States, he leading it by his rapid, intelligent inquiries. One subject of our excursion was, to see the ships fitting out for the Polar voyage. We went on board the *Isabella*. Outside she looked like any common merchant-vessel equipped for boisterous seas. There was double planking round her bow

and sides to resist ice. The interior arrangements embraced whatever science could devise and mechanical skill effect to promote the objects of the expedition and comfort of the officers and men. Flues for diffusing heated air through the ship, nautical and philosophical instruments, with a library that seemed to contain the accounts of all former voyages of discovery were to be seen. Parliament, to increase the zeal of the officers, had included them within the promise of reward to those who ascertained most nearly the longitude. After going through nearly all parts of the ship, we went into the Naval Dockyard, and afterwards to Greenwich to see the Hospital.

Deptford is the smallest of the English dockyards. We saw but few ships-of-war. Only one of the line, and three frigates were building. There were docks for repairing as well as building. We saw several royal yachts; among them, a very old one, the same that had conveyed Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. to Denmark, on the occasion of her marriage to the king of that country. The Danes sent it back to England; refusing to keep it after the attack upon their capital, and capture of their fleet by Britain, in 1801. Although this is the smallest of the yards, it is not without importance, from being so near London.

The business of supplying the navy with provisions is, or until lately was, carried on from a depôt adjoining it. Sir Humphrey spoke of their excellent quality, remarking how much the strength and courage of seamen depended upon food. They got, he said, bread and beef of the best quality, and in full quantity; an ample allowance of malt liquor; wine and cocoa, with all other things proper for the sea ration. In the timber piled up in the yard, I observed mahogany. The Commissioner said, it was used, not merely for decks, as in the royal yachts, but with advantage, as knees and beams in heavy ships. The timber of all kinds on hand in the yard, generally amounted to a supply for three years. It consisted of English oak chiefly; but they also got supplies of foreign timber. A quantity was soon expected from the forests of Croatia and Dalmatia, under contracts with the Government of Vienna. They also obtained it from the Baltic. This they thought good when cut from the southern shores. From their North American possessions they did not get much, except for large masts. The attachments of George III. to the navy were spoken of, his feelings as monarch being seconded, as was said, by a personal fondness for naval architecture and affairs of the sea. He had first evinced them in pro-

moting the voyages of Byron and Cook, as soon as he got to the throne. It was added, that at Buckingham Palace, he was furnished with models of the dock-yards, and, occasionally, of the vessels building; which he took an interest in examining. These modes of exerting a superintendence over the navy, seem better in themselves, and, it must be owned, more befitted a sovereign, than if he had turned ship-carpenter, like Peter of Russia. The yard at Deptford was one of those in which that eccentric monarch worked.

Commissioner Cunningham received us very kindly at his house within the yard. He would not allow us to depart without partaking of a collation.

We proceeded on towards Greenwich. Going through the streets, and stopping a moment, an incident arrested my attention. A woman stood at the door of a house where cheap refreshments were sold. Some common people passing, she called to ask if they would take *tea*. It was about one o'clock. Houses of this kind, I understood, were not uncommon in London. I had myself observed tea sold in the streets near Charing Cross, by huckster women, who obtained the boiling water by means of coals in a pan, or lamp. In a country where the light wines are not produced, the first step into temperance is small beer; the next tea. The national schools

in England have done much towards meliorating the condition of her people. The use of tea has co-operated, by doing more of late years, probably, than any other physical cause, towards lessening the appetite for ardent spirits. It acts not so much by reclaiming old drunkards, as diminishing the stock of new. What a sight to see this woman beckoning labouring men to tea, instead of drams! The use of tea in England is universal. It is the breakfast of the wealthy, as of the poorer classes. On rising from the sumptuous dinner, coffee is first handed; but black tea comes afterwards. A general of the Duke of Wellington's army told me, that when worn down with fatigue, there was nothing for which the officers in the Peninsular war used to call so eagerly, as tea. Servants in London take it twice a day, sometimes oftener, and the occurrence at Greenwich shows the taste for it to be spreading among labouring classes at all hours.

We soon got near the Hospital. The day was fine. I saw, as we approached, men in uniform. They had a blue coat, full in front, flapped waistcoat, with breeches and stockings. All had three-cornered hats. Until we got near, a stranger might have taken them for an assemblage of old admirals. They were the pensioners—common seamen. Some were sunning themselves in seats. Others moved slowly about. I heard no talking from any. Al-

together, they had a venerable appearance. Arrived within the high palisades of iron, I was struck with the extent and grandeur of the building. Domes; single and double rows of columns; flights of solid steps; Corinthian porticoes—met the eye on all sides. The whole was of Portland stone, and on a terrace fronting the Thames. I had heard that English hospitals, were like palaces. The one before me far exceeded any palace I had beheld. The interior corresponded with the outside. There was space, neatness, universal order. The number of pensioners drawing the funds of the institution was more than thirty thousand. Those accommodated within the building, amounted to about three thousand. A Naval Asylum for minors is annexed, where are eight hundred boys, and two hundred girls, children of British seamen. These are educated, and otherwise provided for. Some of the apartments of the Hospital, as the chapel and great hall, are superbly ornamented. In the first is the Shipwreck of St. Paul, a large painting by West. It fills the space over the altar, to which you ascend by a range of black marble steps. There are representations of Christ stilling the tempest and walking upon the waves, with various other costly emblems from the pencil and chisel, having relation to the sea. In the great hall, the ceiling exhibits paintings which years of labouring art

had been necessary to perfect. They portray, under appropriate allegories, astronomical and nautical science, intermingled with insignia of the naval glory of England. Probably no age or nation can show a charity more splendid; the first approach so imposing, the minute examination so calculated to augment admiration.

But there arose a reflection that I could not repress. Many of the veterans whom I saw, had, doubtless, fought under the compulsion of impressment. As I looked on their hoary locks and scarred faces, I thought that a country treating its seamen thus, was *bound* to lodge them like kings, when old or wounded; that in fact, it was only a payment back, and not adequate, for the previous infliction of such a wrong. It is to me an unaccountable anomaly, that a nation in which individual rights are guarded by barriers such as no other ever raised up, except the nation in the New World that springs from her; who would wade through blood sooner than part with her Habeas Corpus, or trial by jury, should yet sit calmly down under this unjust and tyrannical practice. It is said that her navy cannot otherwise be manned. Poor excuse! as if it were not universally true, that labour of any kind can be commanded by paying for it, and of course labour upon the ocean, with the risk of battle and death; and as if, supposing it to

cost ten times over what would be asked, it ought not to be paid, sooner than such an outrage be committed ! The statesmen, the philanthropists of England will at last awake from this dream of supposed necessity for the press-gang. It will cease, and the wonder be, that any arguments for sustaining it could have been made current so long. There have, it is true, been states ancient and modern, that have resorted to force for obtaining military service ; but it has generally been for temporary purposes. Where this has not been the case, the states have been those in which personal rights have been imperfectly protected. The precedents are to be shunned, not copied ; especially by a nation whose fundamental code looks to the inviolability of personal liberty in a degree far above that of the civil law of Rome, or any of the codes of Continental Europe engrafted upon it. I did not volunteer my thoughts upon my English companion ; but if I had, I scarcely think that dissent would have come from his liberal mind, accustomed as it was to analyze and reason.*

* Anxious to arrive at the exact state of the English Law, in this respect, as it now stands, the writer sought the best information, and here subjoins an extract from the reply of an enlightened English friend :—“ I think there can be no doubt that the right of Impressment is at this moment existing. It appears to be part of the Common Law of England, limited and defined by a series of statutes since the reign of Richard II., but never abrogated. The last statute on the

We visited in the last place the Observatory at Greenwich. Mr. Pond, the astronomer-royal, received us in the same hospitable manner as Commissioner Cunningham. We ascended to the top of the edifice, seeing all the astronomical instruments in use. When chronometers were spoken of, it was stated, that the Government ordered twelve to be made every year by the best watch-makers in London. For the one which kept the most accurate time, a premium was given; for the next best, a diminished premium; and the remaining ten, if approved, were taken at fair prices. All were for the use of the public ships. In this way competition was kept up, no watch-maker suffered loss, and the navy got a supply of the best instruments for measuring time in all latitudes. The hour for our return pressing, we hastened back to town, after a day which, to me, had been one of great variety and interest. The Secretary of Legation, and Captain Thompson of the navy of the United

subject, 5 & 6 W. IV., c. 24, limits the time for which a man may be taken to five years. I have not been able to ascertain the time when the last press gang was sent out, and it would, I should think, be very difficult to get this information. But as it seems men were not impressed except under stress of war, I suspect that the right has been in abeyance since 1815. It is pretty safe to prophecy, I think, that the right is one which will remain in abeyance."

Nevertheless it seems scarcely credible that this blot upon the English statute book should be suffered to remain.

States, were of the party. Sir Humphrey's ardour of conversation did not abate going home.

April 2. Dined at Prince Esterhazy's. Company—the diplomatic corps and their ladies. The dinner was one to have been expected from the munificence of the entertainer. Among a variety of wines, we had hock. By Austrian connoisseurs, this is not prized so much on account of its age, as original quality. When best, they think it does not improve after twelve or fifteen. Perhaps no wine does. The preference at English as at foreign tables in London, is for the light wines; the strong, as Madeira and Sherry, are little used: Sherry most. Generally, it is limited to a single glass after soup. With the latter every dinner begins. Turbot follows, before the meats are uncovered.* We had French cookery, in its perfection. This I find at English, as foreign tables. Mr. Morris, American Minister in France at the time of the revolution, said, that if the French had revolutionized the kitchens of Europe instead of its courts, they would have rendered a service that no party would have called in question. He was right. Food simply roasted, or boiled is thought temperance. The French know better, and that to render it simple as well as savoury, a process

* *Turbot* is doubtless used here as *nomen generalissimum*.

more artificial is required. Hence, the made dishes, like the light wines of France, promote health and cheerfulness. Oppression seldom follows indulgence in them; gout as rarely.

Talking with the Prince after coming out from dinner, we spoke of the campaigns of Frederick. There is a pretty little fact with which he was familiar on my allusion to it. After Berlin was taken by the Austrians and Russians, the soldiers gave themselves up to plunder. An officer high in rank was seen to protect the palace at Potsdam. He would suffer nothing to be touched; but asked as a favour to be allowed to take a small picture of Frederick, and one of his flutes, that he might preserve them as memorials of so great a warrior and king. This officer was Prince Esterhazy, a relative, as I learned, of our accomplished host.*

Although no political relations existed between the United States and Austria, I received from this her ambassador in London,

* The name of the Great Frederick naturally suggests that of the Great Emperor King who now rules over united Germany, and leads the mind irresistibly to the great German People; a People whose solid qualities, domestic and stern virtues, conspicuously their love of *truth*,

“Wo ein ja, ein ja, und ein nein, ein *nein*, ist;”
whose simplicity, yet nobility of character, developed by high education, and invincible courage, point them out as destined to a mighty future upon the Continent of Europe.

invariable marks of esteem during my residence.

April 3. We dined at Earl Bathurst's. Earl and Countess Bathurst, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Montrose, Lord Lynedoch, Mr. and Mrs. Villiers, Sir Henry Torrens, General Maitland, Mr. Goulburn, and a few others, were the company.

Conversation turned upon the United States; their climate, government, productions, steam-boats. On a question respecting the width of a river in one of the States, I was at fault. One of the Royal Dukes put me right. Both of them spoke of our Constitution. They asked how the Senate and Supreme Court were modelled, not well perceiving the line between the National and State authorities. I endeavoured in a few words to explain; which it was not easy to do, in a few words; and it was no place for dissertation. The Colonization society became a topic. Its objects were approved. Inquiries were made as to the amount of our slave population, the ratio of increase, and others bearing on this subject. I answered with an admission of the general evil of slavery in the United States; but added that there were great mitigations in the good treatment of the slaves. To this the exceptions, I said, were rare, and scarcely known at all, among the better classes of our

Southern planters. The effect of good treatment was, to diffuse in a large degree content and happiness among the slaves. Conciliatory statements towards the United States ran throughout all the conversation.

At eleven, we left the table. An hour passed in the drawing-room, where conversation was continued.

April 8. The Princess Elizabeth was married last evening to the Prince of Hesse Homberg. The cabinet ministers, foreign ambassadors and ministers, officers of the royal household, persons in the suites of the Royal Dukes and Princesses, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice were present. The Prince Regent was not there, being ill. Our invitation was from the Queen, given through the Earl of Winchelsea, nearly three weeks before.

We got to the palace at seven o'clock. Pages were on the stairs to conduct us to the rooms. The ceremony took place in the throne-room. Before the throne was an altar covered with crimson velvet. A profusion of golden plate was upon it. There was a salver of great size on which was represented the Lord's Supper. The company being assembled, the bridegroom entered, with his attendants. Then came the Queen, with the bride and royal family. All approached the altar.

Her Majesty sat ; the rest stood. The marriage service was read by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Duke of York gave the bride away. The whole was according to the forms of the Church, and performed with great solemnity. A record of the marriage was made. When all was finished, the bride knelt before the Queen to receive her blessing.

The consent of the King (or Regent) and Privy Council, is necessary to the validity of a royal marriage in England. There is another mode, where the party intending to marry, and being of the male branch, is of the age of twenty-six. In such case a record of the intention on the books of the Privy Council will authorize the marriage at the expiration of a twelvemonth, unless Parliament interpose an objection.

Soon after the service was performed, the bride and bridegroom set off for Windsor. The company remained. The evening passed in high ceremony, without excluding social ease. From the members of the Royal family, the guests had every measure of courtesy. The bearing of the Queen deserves special mention. This venerable personage, the head of a large family—her children then clustering about her ; the female head of a great empire—in the seventy-sixth year of her age—went the rounds of the company, speaking to all. There was a kindness about her manner from which

time had struck away useless forms. No one did she omit. Around her neck hung a miniature portrait of the King. He was absent, scathed by the hand of Heaven; a marriage going on in one of his palaces; he, the lonely, suffering tenant of another. But the portrait was a token superior to a crown! It bespoke the natural glory of wife and mother, eclipsing the artificial glory of Queen. For more than fifty years this royal pair had lived together in affection. The scene would have been one of interest anywhere. May it not be noticed on a throne?

Tea was handed. The Queen continued to stand, or move about the rooms. In one was a table of refreshments. I went to it with Major-General Sir Henry Torrens, distinguished by service and wounds, whose acquaintance I had made at Lord Bathurst's. He was of the establishment of the Duke of York. On the table were urns and tea-kettles of fretted gold. Sir Henry recommended me to a glass of what I supposed wine, in a flagon near me; but he called it king's *cup*, given only at royal weddings.*

Returning to the chief rooms, the Princess

* This was the solitary *fact*, mentioned by the Author, which the writer remembers to have heard called in question when this book first appeared, and it is quite possible that he may have misapprehended his informant. Happily the error, if error it be, is not a grave one.

Sophia Matilda pointed out to Mrs. Rush and myself the paintings, the representation of a bird from India formed of precious stones so as to resemble beautiful plumage, with other objects of curiosity or taste. She did more. She spoke of Washington. She paid a spontaneous tribute to his virtues. None but Americans can know how this would fall upon the heart. To hear his immortal name pronounced with praise in a palace of George III., had a high and touching value. Mentioning this Princess, I add, that myself and family afterwards experienced her obliging attentions in ways the remembrance of which is cherished with grateful pleasure.

At ten the company came away.

April 9. Dined at Lord Bagot's. We had the Earl of Mount-Edgumbe, Lady Emma Edgumbe, the Duchess of Leeds, the Countess of Dartmouth, Mr. Disbrow, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen, the Bishop of Oxford, and several Members of Parliament. The conversation had frequent allusions to the United States, their public institutions, and private society. The royal marriage was talked of. Lord Mount-Edgumbe, who had been much an inmate of the palace, told anecdotes of the Queen illustrative of her domestic virtues. Another topic was, the attempt on the life of Lord Palmerston, Secretary-of-War. He was shot at and wounded, going into his

office at the Horse Guards, yesterday.* The person who fired was supposed to be deranged. His acquittal was anticipated on this ground, as with Margaret Nicholson, and Hadfield, who attempted to assassinate the King. Whether the life of their King or the lowest subject be struck at, let the law have its course is the cry in England. Their code is sanguinary, but all are bound by it, all look up to it. One of the company considered the law too lenient upon these attempts to assassinate kings and their ministers; they recurred too often; he would punish the offender in the persons of his relations, as well as his own; as had been done with the Ravillacs and Damiens in France. This opinion found no countenance. It was canvassed with sprightliness.

After dinner an evening party followed. We had an invitation from Lord Bagot, to visit him at his country estate, Blithfield; and Lord Mount-Edgecumbe invited us to his, near Plymouth.

* The first mention of this great English Statesman, as he subsequently became, may perhaps justify the writer in here recording his recollections of the attractiveness of his intercourse, whether official or social. Foreign Secretary between the years 1837 and 1841, it happened to him while occasionally left in charge of the United States Legation, to see much of that distinguished English Minister, in whom he always found a conciliatory disposition towards America, united with a personal courtesy, enhanced often by the sprightly vein which belonged to his character, and which so impressed itself upon all who knew him.

CHAPTER XII.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—GENERAL NEGOCIATIONS PROPOSED ON THE WEST INDIA TRADE, MARITIME QUESTIONS AND IMPRESSMENT.—NATURE OF THE LAST QUESTION.—THE SLAVE TRADE.—OFFER OF BRITISH MEDIATION IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.—DINNER AT MR. WILBERFORCE'S—AT THE EARL OF HARDWICKE'S.—ALMAÇK'S.—LATE HOURS.—COVENT-GARDENTHEATRE.

April 11, 1818. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh. I asked it, to apprise him of the desire of my Government to open negotiations for a general treaty of commerce, and arrange other matters of importance to both countries.

It was the wish of the President, I said, to see the commercial relations between the two countries placed upon a basis broader and more permanent than hitherto. The existing convention was not only limited as to time, but objects. The period not being remote when it would expire, it was desirable that the President should know the probable determination of His Majesty's Government as to form-

ing one of a different character ; one which, if not comprehending all the colonies of Great Britain, should at least include those in North America and the West Indies. I was aware of her past unwillingness to treat of this, and other subjects I should name ; but had been instructed to present them anew, in the hope of other views prevailing. In this event, I was furnished with a full power to negotiate a treaty of the nature indicated.

Lord Castlereagh was candid in reply. He said, that he could hold out no encouragement towards a treaty so comprehensive ; too many interests hung upon their colonial dominion in the quarter mentioned. It would operate like a revolution in their commercial system. But I might be assured, that the determination of Great Britain not to bring the trade of those islands and colonies under such, or any, arrangements by treaty, arose from no unfriendly feeling. It was only continuing a policy long established. Hence, no complaints would be made if the United States adopted countervailing measures ; more especially if, not being vindictive, they were merely based upon fair competition. I replied, that the latter was the spirit alone in which they would be resorted to ; that as Great Britain guarded her commercial interests very scrupulously, and in connexion with them those of her tonnage, the United States must do the same.

This subject being for the present disposed of, I passed to others. A time of general peace, as lately intimated by his lordship, seemed, I said, the proper time for settling points which, although of no immediate importance, were highly so in the future. The President was therefore desirous to take advantage of it, in the hope of being able to arrange the most important of this description; such as, trade with the colonies of enemies during war; that between colonies and the parent country; that from port to port of an enemy; the list of articles contraband; the doctrine of blockade, and the question of impressment. Past experience had shown the tendency of conflicting opinions on these points to embroil neutrals and belligerents; it had been unhappily too much the case as between Great Britain and the United States; the season when both parties were free from the excitements of momentary feeling or interest, was auspicious to attempts for adjusting them amicably, and I was empowered to enter upon negotiations on them all.

Lord Castlereagh replied by concurring in the fitness of the time to the objects. He first spoke of blockade. Upon this point he believed the two Governments were agreed, and asked if they were not? I said that my Government was satisfied with the definition of blockade adopted by England in Lord St.

Helen's convention with Russia of 1801; but that it was the President's desire to have the point placed upon an exact footing, by compact between the two nations. Not much passed upon this, and scarcely any thing upon other points, both of us agreeing, that even if there could be an understanding upon them all, a treaty would be of little value that did not also comprehend that of impressment. To this question he therefore came, as of absorbing importance.

It is one prominent in the negotiations between the two Governments. I will therefore, before stating what was said on this first occasion of its being broached under my mission, offer some general account of it. It may be understood by those who are not politicians, and its peculiarity may perhaps impart to it, in the eyes of such, some share of interest. To many of the rising generation it is also in a great measure new, and to be learned only through numerous and detached state papers, not always at command but in the libraries of public men.

Great Britain, as a measure of state policy, impresses her seamen to serve on board her ships-of-war; in other words, takes them by force. The practice is one with which other nations have nothing to do, as long as it is confined to British seamen, the British dominions, and the decks of British vessels upon

the seas. It may seem at variance with the high standard of personal rights upon which her laws are set in other respects; but that consideration is wholly for herself.

But she claims the right of searching the vessels of other nations upon the seas, for her seamen; and here begins the cause of complaint. For, how can the claim ever be enforced consistently with what is due to other nations?

Let the steps by which the enforcement proceeds be attended to. A British frigate, in time of war, meets an American merchant vessel at sea, boards her, and, under terror of her guns, takes out one of the crew. The boarding-lieutenant asserts, and, let it be admitted, believes, the man to be a Briton. By this proceeding the rules observed in deciding upon any other fact where individual or national rights are at stake, are overlooked. The lieutenant is accuser and judge. He decides upon his own view, instantly. The impressed man is forced into the frigate's boat, and the case ends. No appeal follows. There is no trial of any kind. More important still, there is no remedy, should it appear that a wrong has been committed.

Different is the mode of proceeding if an American merchant-vessel be stopped and examined at sea under circumstances subjecting her to suspicion as prize of war. In the latter

case, the boarding-officer sends the vessel into port under accusation. Facts are inquired into judicially. Both parties are heard. Both have ample opportunities of bringing forward proofs. Should the tribunal decide that no lawful cause of seizure existed, the vessel is restored, the captors are answerable in damages, and there are adequate modes of making them pay. If, on the other hand, the *man* seized be in fact no Briton, the most he can ever hope for is, merely to be released. This can only take place after he has been kept an indefinite length of time on board the frigate, put to duty, and perhaps made to fight. He may be slain in battle. If this fate does not await him, his subsequent liberation, from the nature of the case, can only be effected at a distant day, and is not certain at last. He may not be able, whilst on board the frigate, to obtain documents to show that he is not a Briton. He may be transferred to some other vessel of war. Even to trace him through a navy scattered over all seas, must become to his country or friends a difficult, often a hopeless task. Should the chances, multiplied as they are against him, all turn out in his favour, and the order for his discharge be obtained, where is his action for damages? where his remedy for loss of liberty?—He has none!

A claim so *ex parte* in the whole enforcement, so intrinsically open to error, and the

error so fatal, cannot, it should seem, rest upon public law. The United States say that it does not. They have never denied to Great Britain the *right of search*. They allege, however, that this means search for enemy's property, or articles contraband of war, not search for *men*. They say that no public code, or other adequate authority, has ever established the latter as an international right. If its exercise by any other State than Great Britain can be shown, the instances are averred to be too few, and too devoid of the evidences of general consent, to have made it part of the law of nations.

Great Britain places her claim on the ground of natural allegiance. She alleges that, by a principle of universal law, a man owes this kind of allegiance to the country of his birth. That he never can shake it off. That as his country protects him, so it may demand his services in return; especially in time of war.

The United States reply, that the principle of natural allegiance, however cherished by some states, is not universal. Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries, so able for the most part, lays it down as universal. But he refers for support, only to the writers of England. Puffendorf holds that allegiance may be put off. So do Grotius and Bynkershoek. If we choose to go as far back as the Justinian code, we shall there find the same

doctrine. The principle of perpetual allegiance may be held sacred by Britain ; it may be of the highest practical importance under her own system ; but the United States say, that its operation should be confined to her own territorial dominions, and decks of her own merchant-vessels. There is scarcely an important principle of public law that has not, at one time or other, had place in treaties among European States, the better to define or regulate it. This is especially the case with principles that belong to maritime affairs. Would a right of such concern to all nations using the sea, as a sovereign's to enforce the allegiance of his own subjects in neutral vessels on its broad highway, have escaped notice in these solemn instruments between States? Yet no treaty contains any thing in relation to it.

The United States have been exposed to grievances from the exercise of the claim by Britain, heavier perhaps than ever fell to the lot of an independent nation. It springs from a cause rooted in nature, and irreversible ; the resemblance of their seamen to those of England. Their language, dress, sea-phrases, every thing, are alike. To discriminate, is in most cases impossible. Of this, the proof is incontestable. It here follows.

Britain disavows, unequivocally, all claim to impress from American ships, any other seamen than her own. Her sense of justice

would not allow her to set up any pretence of claim to take Americans; yet these she unavoidably does take, and in numbers sufficient to surprise those not informed upon the subject.

From a report made to Congress by the Secretary of State in April 1816, it appeared, that the impressed American seamen on board of British armed ships at the commencement of the war of 1812, a war occasioned chiefly by this cause, amounted to one thousand four hundred and twenty-two. Here is no exaggeration. The fact comes from the archives of Britain. It is taken from official lists, furnished by functionaries of the British Government to the American agent for prisoners of war in London. These men had been transferred from English ships to English prisons, on the breaking out of the war, or during its progress.

Furthermore. Britain, at a former period, liberated one thousand one hundred and thirty-two Americans who had been impressed prior to the month of September 1801. This fact also rests upon the authority of British archives, and was included in the same report to Congress. On the impressment of all these Americans, the British boarding-officers must have believed they were taking their own subjects; else they took them knowing them to be Americans. Hence the difficulty not to be

surmounted, of distinguishing American from British seamen.

What then do we learn? more than TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AMERICAN CITIZENS, confessedly, the sufferers under this practice! and by no means the whole list. All were native Americans. No British seaman, naturalized in the United States, was ever, if impressed, given back again. Can Britain, whose pride and spirit have raised her to greatness, and who must know how to respect such qualities in other nations,—can she, for a moment, wonder, that a practice leading to such consequences should excite the deepest sensation in the United States?

She complains, that she is aggrieved by the number of her seamen who get into the merchant-service of the United States, through our naturalization laws and other causes. This takes from her, she alleges, the right arm of her defence. Without her navy, her existence, no less than her glory, might be endangered. It is therefore vital to both, that, when war comes, she should reclaim her seamen from the vessels of a nation where they are so frequently found.

I have incidentally remarked in another place, that the naturalization laws of the United States are less favourable to foreigners than is generally supposed, and less than those of some of the principal states of Eu-

rope. England has statutes, unless recently repealed, under which foreigners serving only two years in her navy, become naturalized ; which is going much beyond any facilities afforded by the United States. As to other causes that may bring her seamen to their vessels, the United States can only reply, that they do not entice them. Seamen are birds of passage ; now under one flag, then another. Those of the United States often seek voluntarily the service of other nations, as those of other nations voluntarily seek theirs. The British navy, it is well known, is manned by a large proportion of foreign seamen. Some go there of their own accord. The decks of all nations show, more or less, an intermingling of the seamen of all. But no country is more desirous of employing their native seamen than the United States. They know the value of British seamen ; nevertheless, they prefer their own. And why should it be thought that they have not enough of their own, as any other country whose interests and pursuits have long been maritime ? New England alone is more populous than was Holland, when her sailors swarmed ; and as maritime. “ Her farms are upon the ocean,” said one of her statesmen, “ and she gathers her harvests from every sea.” How numerous her sailors were as long ago as when she made part of the British empire, British sta-

tistics of that day may attest. This great nursery, passing by all other districts of a country with a vast sea coast, is perhaps sufficient to give to the United States as large a stock of seamen as they require. The supply, as in other fields, meets the demand. If ever interrupted by temporary causes, things soon return to this natural basis.

The United States not only desire to foster their own seamen, but have gone farther. In the hope of terminating the dissension about impressment, they have shown a willingness, as the progress of this work will make known, to exclude British seamen entirely from their service. They do not desire to hide the fact that they come, often in large numbers. It is a fact, however, which British records will also attest, that the number of *British* seamen regained by impressment out of the vessels of the United States, falls far behind the number of Americans taken in their stead. Under this view alone of the practice, apart from all others, the injury to the United States is greater than the benefit to Britain.

It is not immaterial to remark, that impressment, as a measure merely under the English laws and as exercised only in England, has a tendency to drive her seamen into the merchant-service of the United States on the breaking out of war. Obedient as the impressed British seaman may be to discipline

when once on board a man-of-war of his country, it is not in human nature that he should like to be impressed. It is notorious that he does not. He dreads it. He tries to hide from the press-gang. His bold spirit would resist if he could; and sometimes he seeks foreign decks to get out of the way.

There is another heavy evil resulting to the United States. The voyages of their merchant-vessels are sometimes broken up by impressment. It is not to be supposed that they carry extra hands. Hence, when men are taken out of their vessels upon the high seas, it may happen, and has happened, that not enough are left for their safe navigation: and they have been compelled to make ports, other than of their first destination.

The foregoing is an outline of the question, in its main features. It may serve to give some idea of the manner in which it operates upon the United States. As between the two nations, it is a question *sui generis*. To both it is of the last importance. The diplomatic history of the United States will show how repeated and earnest have been their endeavours to settle it. The joint mission to London in 1806, when Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney were our negotiators, could effect nothing on this point; and Mr. King's effort in 1803, successful in all other respects, was at last frustrated by Great Britain insisting on re-

serving her right to impress within the narrow seas. To this doctrine of the *mare clausum* of her Selden, in opposition to the *mare liberum* of Grotius, the United States were not prepared to assent.

I return to my interview with Lord Castle-reagh. He remarked, that intrinsic as were the difficulties respecting impressment, his desire was sincere to see them removed, and his efforts would be given with earnestness to remove them. I assured him, that, under all my instructions, my efforts would be equally sincere and earnest. The conversation proceeded. We adverted to the principles maintained by our respective countries. He said, that the abuse of the practice, for he freely admitted its abuse, had been the result of the peculiar state of the world, all Europe having been at war, and America neutral. He did not believe that the desire to enforce their right to the same extent, would exist in future ; or that it would be drawn into exercise at all, if means could be devised to keep their men out of our vessels. I said, that the question never could be put to rest as long as a British naval officer was allowed to muster an American crew upon an American deck, to look for British seamen. Besides the indignity, so felt by all America, the inevitable consequences to which it must lead of subjecting Americans to seizure instead of Britons, would preclude for ever all hope of

adjustment. The best mode we could devise of keeping British officers from our vessels on such errands, was that which he had hinted at; namely to keep British seamen away altogether. This we were desirous to do, as far as in our power. I promised to furnish him with a proposal to this effect; and he, that it should have a liberal consideration.

His lordship next spoke of the Slave-trade. The Government of Great Britain felt, he said, an increasing desire, that the Government of the United States should lend itself to measures of regulation going forward in Europe for its extirpation. These were, mainly, a reciprocal submission to the right of search for slaves, and a limited number of the armed vessels of each of the maritime states, to be empowered to search. It was contemplated to form out of an association of these, a species of international police in the African seas, from which the best effects were anticipated. No unusual structure or appearances in the vessel searched; no presence of irons or other presumptions of guilty intention; nothing but the actual finding of slaves on board, was to authorize a seizure and detention. Great Britain had lately urged France on this subject; but her consent could not, for obvious reasons, be made known, until the military occupation of her territory ceased. A recent vote, however, in both her chambers, on the principle of abolition, his

lordship added, might safely be taken as a pledge of future co-operation. I replied, that I was wholly without instructions on the subject, but would transmit to my Government all that he said. The United States had long been awake to the evils of the slave-trade. They had been the first nation to abolish it, unless Denmark led the way, and had directed against it the penalties of their own laws.

Before we separated, his lordship spoke of the late offer of Britain, through her minister at Washington, to mediate in our affairs with Spain. Although the offer had been refused, he desired to assure me that the refusal was taken in no unfriendly part; the less, from its conciliatory manner. Britain had in like manner refused the mediation of Russia, offered during the late war with the United States, without any unfriendly feeling towards Russia, or any question of her impartial dispositions. He was about to say something farther on the affairs of Spain, but, the hour being late, deferred it.

April 12. After my interview with Lord Castlereagh yesterday, I dined at Mr. Wilberforce's. Of the company, were Lord Teignmouth, Lord Rocksavage, Lord Gambier, Mr. Babington of the House of Commons, Mr. Neal, with others, ladies as well as gentlemen.

Many inquiries were made about the United

States ; their commerce, revenue, population, literature, and state of religion. A friendly spirit characterized the inquiries and remarks. Mr. Wilberforce's fame as a philanthropist and Christian had been known to me. His parliamentary labours, and those of his pen, had probably been more diffused over the United States than any country out of England. I expected to find him grave. He was full of animation. He led, without engrossing the conversation. His manner gave point to all that he said, and in his voice there were peculiarly eloquent intonations. He spoke of Mr. Pitt. They had been at school together. He was remarkable, he said, for excelling in mathematics ; there was also this peculiarity in his constitution, that he required a great deal of sleep, seldom being able to do with less than ten or eleven hours ; he would often drop asleep in the House of Commons ; once he had known him do so at seven in the evening, and sleep until day-light. The ease with which some persons wrote, and the labour it cost others, were spoken of. Burke, Pitt, Windham, and Lord Ellenborough, were all great blotters, he said ; Burke had begun a history of England, but gave it over ; Windham's powers of conversation exceeded those of Fox, Pitt, and all his contemporaries ; he even went beyond Sheridan in wit. One of the company mentioned the name of a gentleman who had

large possessions in the West Indies. There is, said Mr. Wilberforce, in grammar, what they call a disjunctive conjunction ; so there is in society. It is thus with that gentleman and me, he is so great a slave-holder ; but we do very well when we meet ; we pass by topics we should not agree upon, and exchange the small shot of conversation. The income-tax being mentioned, he remarked, that having borne it once, they could bear it again ; it yielded fifteen millions a-year, which would be good for a new loan of three hundred millions.

These things all flowed from him happily. Lord Teignmouth and others made their contributions. We were invited and arrived at an early hour. It was midnight when we got home, so agreeably had the time passed. Most of the company were public professors of religion, always the more attractive when in alliance with genius and accomplishments.

April 13. Dined at the Earl of Hardwicke's. Lord Somers was of the party. English historical names as met in daily society, vividly arrest the attention of Americans. On this occasion I could not forget that I was with those of renown in the law ; Lord Hardwicke being the grandson of the Lord Chancellor of that title, and Lord Somers a descendant of Lord Chief Justice Somers. The interest was heightened by portraits of the two ancestors hanging in view, the families having intermar-

ried. We had also Lord and Lady Caledon, Lady Somers, Lady Catharine Halket, Admiral Sir Joseph Yorke, and Mr. Montagu.

The conversation turned upon France. Commendation was freely bestowed. Before coming to England, I had adopted an impression that the people were not prone to speak of the merits of their neighbours on the other side of the Channel. I remark the contrary in the circles I frequent. Another observation continues to force itself upon me; their taste for foreign things. Among the embellishments of the table this evening, were some beautiful ornaments in silver, from France. Although the French take the lead in many of the finer manufactures, I had supposed that English plate was preferred, from the more copious use of it in England leading to superior excellence in its manufacture. The French use more abundantly the sumptuous porcelain. The English import that, in all its variety and costliness; but French plate, it seems, is also imported. So it will always be with nations that are opulent. Tired even of their own forms of superiority, they seek novelty from abroad.

Sir Joseph Yorke had been reading some of the official documents published by Congress, that treat of our navy. He made its condition the subject of complimentary remarks.

It is not uncommon to hear, that at enter-

tainments there were all the luxuries of the season. In this metropolis, I witness constantly those out of season; as, on this occasion, strawberries and pine-apples, recalling the "winter roses and summer snows" of the Roman poet; *æstivæ nives, hybernæ rosæ*. We had also tokay that had been thirty years in his lordship's cellar; and, better than all, respectful things said of our country, with other attractive conversation.

April 16. We were at Almack's last night. The younger part of the company danced. They were not the most numerous part. Statesmen, cabinet ministers and their ladies, peers, peeresses and their daughters, foreign ambassadors, and others, were present. In these circles, if all *classes* do not intermingle, all *ages* do. Gibbon, writing to Lord Sheffield from Paris, says, that Horace Walpole gave him a letter to Madame du Deffand, "*an agreeable young lady of eighty-two,*" who had constant suppers at her house, and the best company. There may be seen in society in London, and as part of its ornaments, ladies whom I should set down as not much short of that youthful age. It would be doing injustice to the stronger sex, to suppose that they give up sooner.

We got to Almack's after having been at Covent Garden theatre to see Miss O'Neil's Bianca. In like manner, it is after the Opera,

that we go to the weekly parties of Lady Castlereagh, the invitation specifying that time. Neither the Opera nor Covent Garden break up until twelve. Parties beginning at that hour, last until two and three. Most of those who have been at them, do not rise until towards noon next day. About two, commences the roll of carriages. At six in the evening, the *morning* ends. Then, scarcely sooner, the throngs of carriages, with gentlemen and ladies on horseback, disappear from the streets and parks, the hour of preparation for dinner being at hand. This is no overdrawn account, but the daily routine. It seems strange that health can be preserved, with such habits; yet the men look hale, the women blooming. Chiefly, they are of a class whose riches leave them at perfect leisure; but mixed in with them, are others, men of affairs, whose duties are arduous, and whose fame must be kept up by exertion—cabinet ministers, parliamentary orators, even chancellors and vice-chancellors—the last being seen on the bench next morning by nine. How these go through it all, seems more strange. This kind of life opens by degrees in February, gets to its crisis in May and June, and ends with July.*

* See *ante* p. 141, note. This was more than fifty years ago. The hours are even *later* now during the London season. The *morning* now, scarcely ends much before *seven* in the evening, nor is the consequent disappearance of car-

On the drop-curtain at Covent Garden, are seen the flags of nations with whom England has been at war. They are in a shattered state, and represented as in subjection to England. That of the United States is among them. The symbols are not historically true. If they were, they are misplaced at such an exhibition. Foreign nations do not take offence at such things now, and show good sense. The age is not remote when their sensibility was quicker. In the time of Charles II. one of the reasons given by England for a rupture with Holland was, that a picture of the burning of the English ships at Chatham by the Dutch, was permitted to be hung up in the Town House at Amsterdam. England has fame enough, military and of all kinds, without straining in small ways after what does not belong to her.

riages and horsemen from the streets and parks witnessed much sooner, certainly during the height of the season, *eight* o'clock being now the hour of invitation to dinner.

CHAPTER XIII.

WAGER OF BATTLE.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLE-REAGH.—IMPRESSMENT.—COURSE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, AS BETWEEN SPAIN AND HER COLONIES. — AFFAIRS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN. — SAFETY OF DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.—THE DRAWING-ROOM.—BIRTH-DAY DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.

April 16, 1818. Went to the Court of King's Bench to hear the argument in the case of wager of battle. The parties were present. Through the courtesy of the Judges, I had a seat on the bench, next to Mr. Justice Bayley. On his left was Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, occupying the seat of the Cokes, the Hales, the Mansfields. To the left of Lord Ellenborough were Mr. Justice Abbot and Mr. Justice Holroyd. If at Lord Hardwicke's I was awake to the associations which the great legal names of England call up, the feeling could not be less here. The room was extremely full. The case was so remarkable as to have become a topic in general society.

By the ancient law of England, when a

person was murdered, the nearest relative of the deceased might bring what was called an appeal of death, against the party accused of the murder. Under this proceeding, the accuser and accused fought. The weapons were clubs. The battle began at sun-rise, and was in the presence of the Judges, by whom also the dress of the combatants, and all other formalities were arranged. Part of the oath was, that neither combatant would resort to witchcraft. If the accused was slain, it was taken as a proof of his guilt; if the accuser, of his innocence. If the former held out until star-light, that also attested his innocence. If either yielded whilst able to fight, it worked his condemnation and disgrace. Those who wish a full description of the proceedings, may seek it in Sully, or continental writers of an earlier day, as Froissart, the custom having been imported into England by the Normans. My summary will give the general idea.

It was a mode of trial for dark ages. Ashford the appellor, had accused Thornton the appellee, of the murder of one of his relations, and the latter desired to fight. In the highest tribunal of the most enlightened country in Europe, I was listening to a discussion whether or not this mode of trial was in force in the nineteenth century! It was difficult to persuade myself of the reality of the scene. Sir Humphrey Davy's remark was fresh in my

mind. Mr. Chitty, a lawyer of eminence, argued against the right of battle. Mr. Tindall had argued on the other side, on a former day. Fleta, Bracton, the Year-books, and other repositories of ancient law, were ransacked. Abundant ability was displayed on both sides. The greatest order prevailed; even gravity. The Judges were in their robes. About seventy lawyers sat in front of them; all in gowns and wigs. Finally, the Judges decided that trial by battle was in force. It had never, it seems, been repealed.

To repeal laws, belongs to the legislature. Courts expound and apply them. Free government is complex, and works slowly; tyranny is simple, and does it work at once. An absurd law may sleep in a free code, because overlooked; but, whilst there, it is the law. It is so, I suppose, that we must reason; and generally the reasoning would be right. Yet it might have been thought, that, in a case like this, long disuse added to obvious absurdity, would have worked the silent repeal of the law; according to the doctrine of *desuetude* under the Roman code.

In the end, no battle was fought. A technical flaw interposed to prevent it, and Parliament passed a repealing statute.* But the case marks an incident in English jurisprudence, having come near to converting the Court of

* 59 Geo. III., c. 46.

King's Bench into another Lyceum of Mendoza.

April 18. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh. My object was, to submit a proposal for abolishing impressment. Its nature will be seen in the paper subjoined. It is not my general design to insert copies of official papers, meaning to content myself, when they come into view, with making known their substance and results. But there may be exceptions, and the subject of impressment is one. I therefore give the paper in its words, as follow :—

“Great Britain alleging a right to impress her seamen out of American vessels, upon the high seas, it follows, that whenever a mode can be devised for their previous exclusion from American vessels, the motive for the practice must be at an end. It is believed that this may be effected by each nation imposing restraints upon the naturalization of the seamen of the other, and reciprocally excluding from their service all seamen not naturalized. If Great Britain be allowed to naturalize American seamen, the United States must be allowed to naturalize British seamen. Each should be at liberty to afford the same facilities, or bound to interpose the same restraints. The greater the difficulty in acquiring the right of citizenship, the easier will it be to avoid imposition, and the more complete the desired exclusion.

The law of Congress of the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, of all the provisions of which Great Britain may command the benefit, will prove how sincerely the United States desire to settle this controversy on conditions satisfactory to Great Britain. By that law it is made indispensable for every British subject who may hereafter become a citizen, to reside five years in the United States without intermission, and so many guards are interposed to prevent frauds, that it seems scarcely possible they should be eluded. No British subject can be employed in a public or private ship of the United States, unless he produce to the commander in the one case, and to the collector of the port in the other, a certified copy of the act by which he became naturalized. A list of the crew, in the case of a private ship, must be taken, certified, and recorded by the collector; and the consuls or commercial agents of Great Britain may object to the employment of a seaman, and have the privilege of attending the investigation relative to his citizenship. The commander of a public ship receiving a person not duly qualified, is to forfeit a thousand dollars, and the commander or owner of a private ship, five hundred. It is also made a felony punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any person to forge or counterfeit, or to pass, or use, any forged or coun-

terfeited certificate of citizenship, or to sell or dispose of one. The United States will also be willing to provide, that every British subject desiring to become a citizen, shall be bound to appear in person before the proper tribunal, once a year, for the term of five years, until his right shall be completed, or adopt any other more practical and satisfactory evidence that his residence within their territory was *bonâ fide* and uninterrupted, it being their sincere desire to employ their own seamen only, and exclude British. By requiring five years' uninterrupted residence as the condition of citizenship, it is confidently believed that, from considerations readily suggesting themselves, few, if any, British seamen would be found to take advantage of it. The nature of a seaman's life stands opposed to a different conclusion. If, in some instances, a residence should be commenced with a real intention, at the time, of submitting to this condition, the presumption is strong that, at the expiration of the term, such a change of habits and prospects would be superinduced, as to lead to the abandonment for ever of the sea as an occupation. If the proposal be accepted, the United States would farther agree, that none of the British seamen who might be within their territory when the stipulation to give it effect was entered into, without having already become citizens, should be admitted

into either their public or private ships, until they had acquired the right, according to all the above regulations. In return for them, a clear and distinct provision to be made by Great Britain against impressment out of American vessels."

I accompanied the delivery of the paper with renewed assurances to his lordship of the President's desire to see this cause of dissension for ever removed, and the expression of a hope that Great Britain would see in the proposal no surrender of any right or interest, whilst its acceptance would guard the United States against wrongs that were palpable. He replied, that he would lay the proposal before the cabinet; that it should have all the consideration due to its importance, and, I might be assured, in a conciliatory spirit.

Leaving this subject in his hands, I reminded him of his intention to speak on Spanish affairs. He resumed the thread. Great Britain, he said, lamented the long continuance of the contest between Spain and her colonies. She had done all in her power to heal it. She would not relinquish her efforts, always desiring that Spain should pursue a liberal course, not a narrow or exclusive one; he meant a course that would look largely to the commercial emancipation of the colonies. Great Britain, in particular, would not be instrumental to a settlement of the contest upon terms

which, drawing to herself peculiar advantages, would exclude the United States, or any other nation, from a just participation in the trade of South America. He hoped he might hear from me, that the United States would be governed by similar principles.

I replied, that they were the principles which had invariably governed the United States. They desired, as ardently as Great Britain, the termination of the contest. They considered it in the light of a civil war, injurious to other nations, and, from geographical and other causes, especially injurious to the United States. The latter lent aid to neither party, in men, money, or ships. Spain made complaints; but they were unfounded. The United States maintained as strict a neutrality as was possible; they considered each party as having all the rights of war as between themselves, and as against other powers. If any of their seafaring or mercantile inhabitants gave illegal aid to either party, they did it at their peril; they were subject to belligerent capture by the party injured, and to prosecution under the laws of the United States; who, the better to enforce neutral conduct upon their citizens, had special statutes annexing penalties to a departure from it. If the colonies finally prevailed, the United States not only did not seek, but would not, by treaties or other compacts, accept, any exclusive advantages; these,

they knew, would create jealousy in other nations; all that they desired was, fair competition. Such were the maxims of the United States; they had been made known to the world, and there was no reason to think they would be departed from.

Lord Castlereagh asked if I knew whether my Government had given notice to Spain of its intention to take possession of Amelia Island. I said that I did not; nor did I know that it would have been practicable. That island had been taken, not from Spain, but those who had previously wrested it from her. It adjoined territories of the Union; an expedition had been set on foot against it, ostensibly by the public enemies of Spain, viz. some of her colonies warring against her; but, in fact, by an irregular force from all countries, with such aid as could clandestinely be drawn from the United States in spite of prohibitory laws. This force took the island, and the Spanish authorities at the Havanna strove, but without success, to get it back. It became a rendezvous for freebooters, smugglers, and renegado slaves; and an entrepôt for fresh slaves from Africa. To put a stop to these and other enormities upon their border, the United States sent a small naval and military force to take possession of the island. They held it subject to a proper accountability, not doubting that the world would see in the measure nothing

beyond a necessary precaution for the security of their commerce, and maintaining the authority of their laws. His lordship assented to the strength of these motives.

He inquired, lastly, if I was acquainted with the intentions of my Government as to the reception of deputies from the colonies of Spain.

I replied, that up to the time of my leaving Washington, no representatives of the colonies had been received in any official capacity. Informal agents had arrived, and been informally listened to. Spain complained of this, and had even demanded that the United States should exclude from their ports the flags of Mexico, Carthagena, Buenos Ayres, and other provinces in resistance. The demand was thought unreasonable, especially whilst the United States had, as they conceived, long and just causes of complaint against Spain. Some, I recapitulated. 1. Questions of territory, growing out of the purchase of Louisiana from France, by the United States, in regard to which Spain still failed to do them justice. 2. Her sudden and violent interruption of the trade of the United States descending the Mississippi, by cutting off the right of deposit at New Orleans, before Louisiana belonged to the United States. 3. Her neglect to award compensation to the citizens of the United States for spoliations during the wars of the

French Revolution, although a treaty had attested their title to it; a treaty signed by her own minister at Madrid, but from which her Government withheld its ratification. These things I brought into view, that the forbearing policy of the United States towards Spain might be the better appreciated. His lordship expressed a hope that all our differences with that power might be satisfactorily accommodated. I joined in the hope, saying that the desire of my Government not to disturb the general peace, was steady and sincere, and that it would leave nothing undone in the way of further negotiations, earnest as had been its past endeavours.

April 21. Count — called on me. He had requested an interview. After introductory words, he asked if I was aware that the English Government watched foreign ministers. I asked, how? He said, by having persons in its service. Watched them in what ways? In all ways; was I sure of my servants? did I lock up my manuscripts? did I send my letters through the post-office? I said, yes, as to the two last. As to my servants, I hired them, as others did, after learning their characters. Was I sure they were not in secret pay? Not sure, I said; did he know it? Not positively; he could bring no proof; it was a business that kept proof out of sight. Had he heard anything? I asked. No, but he

had been long in London, and heard much on this subject; the Government with an outside of candour, knew how to work underground; it thence became an adept in intrigue by lulling suspicion. But would he let me into the grounds of his suspicion in my case? what whispers were there? History enlightened us much, he said;—did not Walpole expend a million in secret-service money—had the English Government so changed since, as to be above all similar practices?

I replied that little would be gained by watching me. My Government was not one of mystery. Those in its service had to act and write under the responsibility of publication at home. Their secrets would thus come back to England, more fully than servants, or the post-office, could detail them. Nevertheless, he rejoined, the American and Russian legations were the two most watched; he believed so, and desired to render me a service by putting me on my guard. I thanked him, but said I was slow to believe. The English Government had its faults, but not of that kind. Why not? Because it was against the genius of the Government and people; they openly debated all that they did, and printed all that they said; twenty folios would scarcely hold the matter annually sent forth by Parliament about their finances, trade, foreign relations, army, navy, everything;

into their public offices any one might go ; into their barracks, arsenals, or any other depôt. Their press was everywhere, ferreting out every thing. But what did all that prove ? Nothing, I said, if he had special facts to make good his suspicion ; but, in the absence of them, it led me towards the conclusion that a nation so devoid of concealment in its own affairs, would be little inclined to bribe the servants of a foreign minister. What then had Walpole done with his million sterling ? That was more than I could say ; every Government, however open, had a secret fund ; the Government of the United States had ; some of Walpole's went to pay newspapers, we were told, which would be foolish in these days, if not in his.

I do not know that I changed the opinions of my visitant. He spoke on other subjects and left me, after having staid an hour.

April 23. Went to the Drawing-room. We had the hoops and plumes, the same spectacle in the hall, up-stairs, and going to the palace. It was one to bear repeating. The company was even more numerous.

The Queen was on her velvet elevation as before. I stood next to the Duke of Sussex. He named to me those who passed before her. The anxious countenances as the line slowly advanced ; the dresses ; the silence, increasing as the moment of presentation approached ;

the graceful timidity when at last the youthful fair curtsied before the Queen, gave to this real scene whatever imagination might picture. Close by me was the Duke de Bourbon; pale, silent, accustomed to Chantilly, to Versailles—even he stood gazing in admiration. It was the fine sensibility of a Condé, touched by the female beauty of England. Pensive though placid, it seemed, even at such a time, as if the remembrance of his son, the Duke d'Enghien, was stealing into his thoughts. Among the attractions of the day were Lady Elizabeth Leveson Gower,* Miss Seymour, Lady Georgiana Fane, Lady Emily Bathurst. It was their first presentation at Court. The Queen cordially welcomed them, dispensing her accustomed kindness.

This drawing-room was in honour of the birth-day of the Prince Regent. It comes in August, but is not then celebrated. The conjecture ran that not fewer than two thousand persons were present. We got down stairs as we could, through *tulle*, gold net, hoops, and other glittering entanglements with which beauty obstructed the way.

In the evening, Lord Castlereagh gave a grand dinner. He was himself unwell, and

* Now the Dowager Marchioness of Westminster, of whose courtesy and kindness, as Countess of Grosvenor to an official stranger many years afterwards, in unison with her early attractions here spoken of, time has not effaced the memory.

not at table. His brother, Lord Stewart, did the honours. At the foot, were the Earl of Clanwilliam and Mr. Planta; the former, private secretary of Lord Castlereagh, the latter, under secretary of state. Lord Stewart gave the Prince Regent as a toast. The company all rose. A few minutes afterwards, Prince Esterhazy gave Lord Castlereagh, which was received in like manner. In each case, the name alone was mentioned. Among the wines were dry champagne *non mousseux*, said to have been the favourite wine of Napoleon; and tokay, a present to Lord Castlereagh from one of the crowned heads.

***** said to me, that he believed the United States might obtain an island in the Mediterranean if desired. I said, that our interests were not European. Did we not keep a squadron there? he asked. I replied that we did; only, however, to guard our commerce from African pirates. How long would we continue that policy? Always, I remarked, rather than pay tribute? Had we no treaty with Algiers by which our commerce was to go free, without tribute? Yes, but the Dey gave us to understand, what might have been inferred, that he would abide by it no longer than he could help it; he had signed the treaty to save his fleet from attack; an enterprise resolved upon by the United States prior to Lord Exmouth's

bombardment of his town ; from that time we had kept a naval force in the Mediterranean strong enough, as was believed, to check his. Then, would not this policy make it desirable to have a station for our ships, and for supplies? I replied, that our squadron readily obtained supplies from friendly ports, paying in specie which it took out, or bills on London ; was not this safer than to run the risk of exciting jealousy, perhaps of exposing our purpose itself to frustration, by attempts to get footing in the Mediterranean? He said that he was under the belief that we might obtain Lampedosa in a manner to avoid objection ; he meant the use and occupation of that island, Naples retaining the sovereignty. To such a transfer he did not see that Spain, England, France, or any power, could object. That might change, I said, some aspects of the question ; still there might be stumbling-blocks. Here our conversation closed.

After we came out from dinner, Baron de Gerning, attached to the suite of the Prince of Hesse Homberg, spoke to me of the great and good Washington. So he called him. The United States were far removed, he said, from his part of Germany ; but virtue was of all countries, and all revered it in the illustrious founder of mine. I had conversation with Admiral Van der Capellen, who

commanded so ably the Dutch ships that fought with Lord Exmouth at Algiers. He had been on board the United States squadron in the Mediterranean, under Commodore Chauncey. There was, he said, throughout every part of it, a discipline that excited his admiration. It is always grateful to hear the things of one's country so spoken of abroad.*

* It is remarkable how often foreigners are struck with the discipline prevailing on board United States' Ships of War. Perhaps they are not always prepared for it. There is reason for their admiration. Naval discipline in the United States is carried to a high pitch. It was one of the causes which helped to win for the infant Navy of The Republic, in the early years of its history, its way to renown.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DAILY PRESS.—ANNUAL EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—PUBLIC SOCIETIES.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—EVENING ENTERTAINMENT AT CARLTON HOUSE.—DINNER AT DR. PINCKARD'S.

April 29, 1818. A country is not to be understood by a few months' residence in it. So many component parts go to make up the grand total, where civilization, and freedom, and power, are on a large scale, that the judgment gets perplexed. It pauses for re-examination. It must be slow in coming to conclusions, if it would be right. Often it must change them. A member of the diplomatic corps, an enlightened observer, said to me a few days ago, that, at the end of his first year, he thought he knew England very well. When the third had gone by, he began to have doubts; and that now, after a still longer time, his opinions were more unsettled than ever. Some he had changed entirely; others had undergone modification, and he knew not what fate was before the rest.

There was reason in his remark. If it be not contradictory, I would say, that he showed his judgment in appearing to have at present no judgment at all. The stranger sees in England, prosperity the most amazing, with what seems to strike at the roots of all prosperity. He sees the most profuse expenditure, not by the nobles alone, but large classes besides ; and, throughout classes far larger, the most resolute industry supplying its demands and repairing its waste ; taxation strained to the utmost, with an ability unparalleled to meet it ; pauperism that is startling, with public and private charity unfailing, to feed, clothe, and house it ; the boldest freedom, with submission to law ; ignorance and crime so widely diffused as to appal, with genius and learning and virtue to reassure ; intestine commotions predicted, and never happening ; constant complaints of poverty and suffering, with constant increase in aggregate wealth and power. These are some of the anomalies which he sees. How is he at once to pass upon them all ? he, a stranger, when the foremost of the natives after studying them a lifetime, do nothing but differ !

One of the things that strike me most, is their press. I live north of Portman Square, nearly three miles from the House of Commons. By nine in the morning, the newspapers are on my breakfast-table, containing the debate

of the preceding night. This is the case, though it may have lasted until one, two, or three in the morning. There is no disappointment; hardly a typographical error. The speeches on both sides are given with like care; a mere rule of justice, to be sure, without which the paper would have no credit, but fit to be mentioned where party-feeling always runs as high as in England.

This promptitude is the result of what alone could produce it; an unlimited command of subdivided labour of the hand and mind. The proprietors of the great newspapers employ as many stenographers as they want. One stays until his sheet is full. He proceeds with it to the printing-office, where he is soon followed by another with his; and so on, until the last arrives. Thus the debate as it advances, is in progress of printing, and when finished, is all in type but the last part. Sometimes it will occupy twelve and fourteen broad closely-printed columns. The proprietors enlist the most able pens for editorial articles; and as correspondents, from different parts of Europe. Their ability to do so may be judged of from the fact, that the leading papers pay to the Government an annual tax in stamps, of from twenty to fifty thousand pounds sterling. I have been told that some of them yield a profit of fifteen thousand sterling a-year, after paying this tax, and all expenses. The profits

of "The Times," are said to have exceeded eighteen thousand a-year. The cost of a daily paper to a regular subscriber is about ten pounds sterling a-year. But subdivision comes in to make them cheap. They are circulated by agents at a penny an hour in London. When a few days old, they are sent to the provincial towns, and through the country at reduced prices. In this manner, the parliamentary debates and proceedings, impartially and fully reported, go through the nation. The newspaper sheet is suited to all this service, being substantial, and the type good. Nothing can exceed the despatch with which the numerous impressions are worked off, the mechanical operations having reached a perfection calculated to astonish those who would examine them.*

What is done in the courts of law, is disseminated in the same way. Every argument, trial, and decision, of whatever nature, or before whatever court, goes immediately into the

* What is here said of the promptitude and accuracy of the English Press will astonish less, now at the end of more than half a century, in connection with the wonderful results since achieved through the agency of steam and the telegraph. In this respect it is believed that the American Press is not behind. But in the scrupulous observance by the former of the "*mere rule of justice*," mentioned by the Author, perhaps the Press in other lands, though less liable to complaint than formerly, may yet have something to learn.

newspapers. There is no delay. The following morning ushers it forth. I took the liberty of remarking to one of the Judges, upon the smallness of the rooms in which the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery sit, when the proceedings were so interesting that great numbers of the public would like to hear them. "*We sit,*" said he, "*every day in the newspapers.*" How much did that answer comprehend! What an increase of responsibility in the Judge! I understood from a source not less high, that the newspapers are to be as much relied upon, as the books of law reports in which the cases are afterwards published; that, in fact, the newspaper report is apt to be the best, being generally the most full, as well as quite accurate. If not accurate, the newspaper giving it would soon fall before competitors. Hence, he who keeps his daily London paper, has, at the year's end, a volume of the annual law reports of the Kingdom, besides all other matter.

In the discussions of the journals, editorial or otherwise, there is a remarkable fearlessness. Things that in Junius's time would have put London in a flame, pass almost daily without notice. Neither the Sovereign nor his Family are spared. Parliament sets the example, and the newspapers follow. Of this, the debates on the royal marriages in the course of the present month, give illustrations. There are

countries in which the press is more free, by law, than with the English ; for although they impose no previous restraints, their definition of libel is inherently vague. But perhaps nowhere has the press so much latitude.

Every thing goes into the newspapers. In other countries, matter of a public nature may be seen in them ; here, in addition, you see perpetually even the concerns of individuals. Does a private gentleman come to town ? you hear it in the newspapers ; does he build a house, or buy an estate ? they give the information ; does he entertain his friends ? you have all their names next day in type ; is the drapery of a lady's drawing-room changed from red damask and gold to white satin and silver ? the fact is publicly announced. So of a thousand other things. The first burst of it all upon Madame de Stael, led her to remark that the English had realized the fable of living with a window in their bosoms. It may be thought that this is confined to a class, who, surrounded by the allurements of wealth, seek emblazonment. If it were only so, the class is immense. But its influence affects other classes, giving each in their way the habit of allowing their personal inclinations and objects to be dealt with in print ; so that, altogether, these are thrown upon the public in England to an extent without parallel in any country, ancient or modern. When the drama at Athens

took cognizance of private life, what was said became known first to a few listeners ; then to a small town ; but in three days, a London newspaper reaches every part of the kingdom, and in three months, every part of the globe.

Some will suppose that the newspapers govern the country. Nothing would be more unfounded. There is a power not only in the Government, but in the country itself, far above them. It lies in the educated classes. True, the daily press is of the educated class. Its conductors hold the pens of scholars, often of statesmen. Hence you see no editorial personalities ; which, moreover, the public would not bear. But what goes into the columns of newspapers, no matter from what sources, comes into contact with equals at least in mind among readers, and a thousand to one in number. The bulk of these are unmoved by what newspapers say, if opposite to their own opinions ; which, passing quickly from one to another in a society where population is dense, make head against the daily press, after its first efforts are spent upon classes less enlightened. Half the people in England live in towns. This augments moral as physical power ; the last, by strengthening rural parts through demand for their products—the first by sharpening intellect through opportunities of collision. The daily press could master

opposing mental forces, if scattered ; but not when they can combine. Then, the general literature of the country, reacts against newspapers. The permanent press, as distinct from the daily, teems with productions of a commanding character. There is a great class of authors always existent in England, whose sway exceeds that of the newspapers, as the main body the pioneers. Periodical literature is also effective. It is a match at least for the newspapers, when its time arrives. It is more elementary ; less hasty. In a word, the daily press in England, with its floating capital in talents, zeal, and money, can do much at an onset. It is an organized corps, full of spirit and always ready ; but there is a higher power of mind and influence behind, that can rally and defeat it. From the latter source it may also be presumed, that a more deliberate judgment will in the end be formed on difficult questions, than from the first impulses and more premature discussions of the daily journals. The latter move in their orbit by reflecting also, in the end, the higher judgment by which they have been controlled. Such are some of the considerations that strike the stranger, reading their daily newspapers. They make a wonderful part of the social system in England. Far more might be said by those having inclination and opportunity to pursue the subject.

May 3. Yesterday the Royal Academy gave their anniversary dinner at Somerset House. It was the fiftieth celebration. Froissart, when he found himself on the English coast, said, that he was among a people who "*loved war better than peace, and where strangers were well received.*" If the latter were true in the time of Edward III, diplomatic strangers must say, that it is still. Invitations crowd upon them. If they did not decline more than they accept, there would be a poor account of their public business. The Royal Academy is an institution for the encouragement of the arts. Professorships of painting, sculpture, and anatomy, are annexed to it. The first President was Sir Joshua Reynolds. In that capacity he delivered his celebrated Discourses; a work invaluable to the student in painting, and to be read with scarcely less advantage by the student of any science or profession. The author, says Burke in his beautiful obituary notice of him, was the first Englishman who added the praise of the elegant arts, to the other glories of his country. Yesterday I had the satisfaction to see, as his successor in the chair, my venerable countryman Mr. West. There were present, the royal academicians, a large collection of the nobility, many of the cabinet ministers, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, artists and others, high in the walks of genius and taste;

the foreign ambassadors, and an array of private gentlemen. Five of the rooms had their walls hung with paintings. There were more than four hundred. The rule being to receive none formerly exhibited, this number was therefore to be taken as the year's production of pieces deemed by the Academy worthy of exhibition. Additional rooms were open, containing architectural designs and specimens in sculpture.

The collection was rich in portraits. The English in this line do not perhaps fall behind any part of Europe. The productions of Lawrence, Beechey, Phillips, Davis, Newton, Jackson, and many others, were seen all around. The piece that excited most attention from the interest of the subject in British eyes, was a full-length likeness of the Duke of Wellington on the horse he rode, and in the dress he wore, at the battle of Waterloo. It was by Sir Thomas Lawrence. There was a fine piece by Mr. West, founded on an interview between the great Mogul and Lord Clive. But one was seen of surpassing charm; the family of Walter Scott, by Wilkie. The great author is seated on a bank, his wife and daughters near him in cottage dresses. If we had Shakspeare in a family scene on the Avon, by a distinguished artist of Elizabeth's time, how would it be prized now! In going through the rooms, it was not easy to avoid the reflection, that a day

of fame in the arts awaits Britain. She is still in her youth in them. She has made hardly any efforts. Busy in climbing to the top of every thing else, she has not had time. The useful arts have occupied her. At the head of these in Europe, she is now at a point for embarking in the fine arts. And are not these *useful* too, when all ages pronounce that they enlarge the understanding, and improve the heart, as much as they refine the taste? To suppose the English climate not favourable to the fine arts, is strange. A climate where beautiful appearances of nature abound; that has been favourable to every kind of mental eminence, as mechanical skill; where the inferior animals are seen in full size and strength, and the human form in all its proportions and beauty, not a climate for painters and sculptors! But it is said there must be a certain delicacy of thought and feeling to appreciate the world of nature, and deck it with the glories of art! Is not then the country of Shakspeare and Scott, of Milton, and Byron, and Moore, one for painters? How came the Dutch with a school of painting of their own, and an eminent one? Is their sky more genial? And will not the English, with political institutions and social manners of their own, try new fields of art? An American adopts the anticipation the rather, because he clings to the belief that his own country, like repub-

lics of old, is by and by to take her stand in the arts. Her students even now go to Italy for instruction. They hold, that in the great world of art, there is still immeasurable room for originality, and this under the strictest rules of art.

We dined in the principal exhibition-room; a large one. Two tables ran down the sides, connected by another at the top. In the middle of the latter, sat the President; on one side of him, the Duke of Sussex, on the other the Duke of Norfolk. The walls were so covered that every position commanded the paintings; and through vistas, the eye could steal into the other rooms. The whole was extremely attractive. I enter into no criticism. I give general impressions. It is not, as I know, the habit of the English, fastidious from their familiarity with the exquisite models of the Continent, to value themselves much on this home exhibition; but for myself, bursting upon me as it did all at once, I thought it highly worthy to be extolled. I could have made bold to suggest a subject for a piece that I did not see in the collection; viz. "*The President and Royal Academy at the anniversary dinner with their guests.*"

The members of the diplomatic corps had seats near the head. After the Prince Regent and Royal family had been given as toasts, according to the custom at public festivals in

England, the President gave the "Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers," who, as he was pleased to add, "had done the Academy the honour to be present." The toast was cheered with great courtesy. The corps looked to me as the organ of acknowledgment, English being my native tongue. Obeying their wishes, I returned thanks, adding that I was authorized to express the gratification we all derived in partaking British hospitality, surrounded by so many memorials of British art. Speeches were made by several of the nobility and gentlemen, but chiefly the Duke of Sussex and Lord Chancellor Eldon. They were in commendation of the arts, and on the usefulness of that institution towards their advancement in England. Dinner was served at six. Until past seven, we had the sun through sky-lights. Afterwards, there fell gradually from above, light from numerous shaded lamps in hanging circles. They were burning, unobserved, when we sat down, and emerged from ambush only as night came on.

— Dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi : et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

May 6. This is the season for public societies to hold their meetings. It would be next to impossible to ascertain the number, charitable, religious, literary, dramatic, philanthropic, and of all descriptions. I made some attempts,

but ceased from their hopelessness. A public-spirited individual, who is also a member of parliament, handed me a printed list containing the day and place of meeting of between fifty and sixty of those only with which he was connected. The Egyptian Hall, City of London Tavern, Crown and Anchor, or some other large building is chosen, and a round of dinners begins; this being most commonly the form of celebration. Persons who were together at the principal schools, as Eton and Harrow; and fellow graduates of the different colleges in the Universities, have also their annual dinners, to keep alive early friendships. Many of the associates come up to town from their homes at a distance in the country, on purpose to attend them.

The English are very remarkable for dinners. I do not allude to the kind last named, or those in private life; but to their habit of giving them in connexion with objects exclusively public. These, charitable ones among them, they constantly advance in this manner.

“The veins unfill’d, our blood is cold, and then
We pout upon the morning, are unapt
To *give* or to forgive; but when we have stuff’d
These pipes and these conveyances of our blood
With wine and feeding, we have suppler souls
Than in our priest-like fasts.”

If the English meant to go by this doctrine of their great bard, they have done well, for their charities are stupendous. A newspaper

can hardly be opened that does not hold up a long list of subscriptions, amounting to sums that are sometimes enormous. I have now reference to some for building churches and establishing schools, that within a few days have met my eye. So, in various parts of London, hospitals and other asylums for the distressed, arrest attention, bearing the inscription, "FOUNDED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION." They would be less remarkable, were they not beheld in connexion with poor taxes to an amount such as no nation ever before paid. The buildings devoted to these charitable purposes, are often more spacious than the royal palaces, and show an exterior more imposing.

A grand annual dinner seems an indispensable adjunct to an English charity. Here is a "Samaritan Society;" or an "Infirmery for diseases of the Eye;" a society for the "relief of decayed Artists;" another for relieving "poor Authors;" a fifth for the "indigent Blind;" a sixth for "Foreigners in distress;" a seventh for the "Deaf and Dumb;" a society for "promoting Christian knowledge;" a "Medical benevolent society," and I know not how many more, for I merely take examples, all of which have their anniversary dinners. Whatever the demands upon the charitable fund, there seems always enough for a dinner fund. Eating and drinking are not the sole objects of this festivity. Business is transacted, reports on the

state of the charity made, and speeches delivered, in the course of which the pocket is appealed to. Feeling rises as the inspiring glass passes, and the evening generally closes with an increase of the treasurer's store. Noblemen, including royal dukes, take part. They often preside at the dinners, and otherwise give their personal instrumentality, and freely their purses, towards the objects of the societies. In France, before the Revolution, the noble families were computed at thirty thousand. In England, they may perhaps be computed at six or eight hundred. This handful does more of the every-day business of the country, than the thirty thousand in France. In France, they did the work of chivalry; they fought in the army and navy. In England, besides this, you trace them not merely as patrons of the arts, but in road companies, canal companies, benevolent and public institutions of all kinds, to say nothing of their share in politics; in the latter, not simply as cabinet ministers, but speakers, committee-men, and hard-workers otherwise.

I have to-day been at a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Lord Teignmouth was in the chair. Lord Harrowby, President of the Council of cabinet ministers; Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Bishops of Norwich and Gloucester, with several other bishops; Lords Gambier and

Calthorpe, Mr. Wilberforce and others distinguished by character, title, or station, were present. A report was read, by which it appeared that the society had been the means of distributing two millions of Bibles; had caused it to be translated into twenty-seven languages, and that since the last annual meeting, there had been collected in aid of the society's funds by private subscriptions in Britain, ninety-nine thousand pounds sterling. The report contained some complimentary allusions to Bible Societies in the United States. These passages were loudly cheered. Several speakers who addressed the meeting mentioned the United States in a similar spirit; amongst them, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Bishop of Gloucester. The former spoke of Great Britain and the United States, as the "two greatest maritime nations of the world;" the Bishop of Gloucester called the latter "a great and growing sister country." I was requested, after entering the hall, to move a vote of thanks to the distinguished President, Lord Teignmouth. A resolution to this effect was put into my hands, which I moved accordingly. In fulfilling the duty, whilst joining in the tribute that all had rendered to the objects of the society, I was happy in the opportunity of responding as national courtesy demanded, to the notices taken of my country.

May 10. Dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's. His name had been familiar to me with every prepossession. In the House of Lords I had already listened to his disciplined eloquence.

The company consisted of Lord and Lady Lansdowne, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Ilchester, the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, the Russian and Austrian ambassadors, the Vice-Chancellor, and the ladies of several of the guests.

In the dining-room were ancient statues. They were in ancient costumes, standing in niches. These time-honoured master-pieces of genius and art had been obtained from Rome. As we walked into dinner through a suite of apartments, the entire aspect was of classic beauty.

Conversation was various. The Floridas being mentioned in connection with the rumour of their intended transfer to the United States, Lord Erskine said, we ought to have them; that is, he added, "if I belonged to the United States, I would maintain that doctrine." There was the same vein about him as at the Duke of Cumberland's; a youthfulness of imagination that imparted its sprightliness to every thing.

The Duke of Gloucester spoke of General Washington. It was with the praise always annexed to his great name. He commended

his farewell address. Lord Erskine called him an august and immortal man.

Architecture being a topic, Lord Holland said that it did not yet flourish in England. Italy, France, and other parts of the Continent, had better public edifices: specimens of domestic architecture were not wanting in England; but these were too often spoiled by putting the door in the middle; by this custom, good arrangement inside was sacrificed to external appearance, and he was not sure that a gain always followed in this respect; on the Continent, the entrance to the best private buildings, was generally at the side. The architecture of the ancients was spoken of, and other subjects touched as they arose.

After we came from table, I had more conversation with Lord Erskine. He spoke of the Emperor Alexander. He had seen La Harpe, his tutor, at Paris, who showed him letters from the Emperor, written soon after his accession to the throne. One of them ran thus: "My dear friend: I feel the load of my responsibility; I feel how incompetent my youth and inexperience are, to wield the sceptre of such an empire; all that I can hope is, that I may be guided by the precepts you have taught me; I pray you, if ever you find me departing from them, to remind me of them; do not wait for me to send for you; this I probably shall not do when I act in opposition to

them; but write to me, *come to me*, to recall me from my errors." All will agree, that such a letter was creditable to both pupil and preceptor. His lordship said that La Harpe told him the Emperor was fond of reading works on the institutions of the United States. Before separating, he said he intended to call on me soon, not by leaving a card, the common way, he believed, of visiting foreign ministers, but by coming in. I assured him he could in no way make me more happy.

May 19. Last evening we were at Carlton House. This seems the season for large routs by night, as the meeting of public societies by day. We have been to a number. I could give little description of them, unless to speak of their crowds, and the difficulty of getting to them and from them through phalanxes of carriages.

The entertainment last evening was different. The company found space in the ample rooms, although there was an array of all the principal persons of the court, a very full number of peers and peeresses, the foreign ambassadors and ministers, and many others. I caught conversation as I could. Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary, assured me of the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government to strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries. He spoke of the United States with great cordiality. He inquired for Mr.

King, saying that he had earned the lasting respect and good will of many persons in England. Nor did the Prince Regent conclude his salutations to me, without renewing his inquiries for him.

The scene was magnificent. The golden plate in display, is said to be unrivalled in Europe. It includes some that belonged to Charles the First. One of the rooms led, through doors of reflecting glass, to a rich gothic conservatory, partly illuminated with coloured lamps. It was filled with flowers, than which there can be nothing more beautiful even in palaces. The effect was heightened by music from the Prince's band, which was stationed here, and played at intervals throughout the evening. It was not at an early hour we got away from such a scene.

May 21. Dr. Pinckard, an eminent physician of Bloomsbury Square, entertained us at dinner. He was formerly attached to the British army, and on service in the West Indies. Thence he visited Philadelphia, where I made his acquaintance; listening, at my father's table, to his various and intelligent conversation.

We had a pleasant party. Of the guests, were Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Green. Advanced in life, he was still a fine-looking man, with little of age in his manner. He had been distinguished by his services in the wars

of the French Revolution. I found that his military career took an earlier date. He was a captain in Burgoyne's army, had been captured at Saratoga in 1778, with that army, and marched as a prisoner from Albany to Boston. He related anecdotes of the campaign, and of his march; it need scarcely be added, with urbanity and good humour.

I mention the incident, because although the first, it was not the only instance in which I met in England those who had shared in the war of the American Revolution, and who spoke of its events in the same spirit. Belonging to an age gone by, it seems no longer to be recalled in any other spirit than that of history.

CHAPTER XI.

THE UNITED STATES AND IONIAN ISLANDS.—AFFAIRS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.—MONUMENT TO BURNS.—BRITISH INSTITUTION.—PALL-MALL.—DINNER AT MR. CANNING'S.—LORD ERSKINE.

May 24, 1818. * * * * from the Ionian Islands called upon me. He had a communication to make of interest, as he said, to his country, and he hoped I would think it so to mine. By a treaty concluded at Paris in 1815, the seven Ionian Islands had been formed into an independent state, denominated "The United States of the Ionian Islands," and placed under the protection of Great Britain. It was a protection the Islands did not like. Did the constitution of my country prohibit our acquiring foreign possessions? I said, no. He asked if it would accord with our policy, to have a connection with the seven Islands; such a measure, he believed would be practicable, if the United States would consent. In short, he thought that the Islands, particularly Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, would be willing to place themselves under the protection of the

United States, if the terms could be arranged.

I asked what England would say, and Russia, and Europe generally? He replied, that he did not see what ground of objection there could be, if the Islands desired it; remarking that he had perceived by the newspapers that *my Government had protested against Great Britain exercising sovereignty over them any longer.*

I was little prepared for his communication. I cannot say that I was an entire stranger to the publication he alluded to, for I had seen it. I had considered it in the light of a burlesque upon a previous newspaper paragraph, stating that Great Britain had protested against the United States acquiring the Floridas. But what is penned in mirth, it seems, may pass for earnest. I assured * * * * that there was no foundation for the account. He appeared to have believed it fully, until this interview. He did not urge the less that my Government should take into consideration the expediency of assuming the protectorship of the Islands. He enlarged on the prospects of commercial advantage it would open to us by an intercourse with the Morea, Albania, Constantino-ple, and the Ottoman dominions generally. I replied, that it was no part of the system of the United States to get into European politics, and least of all, to interfere in the relationship between Great Britain and these Islands. This

was the amount of the interview. He was attended by two other persons from the Islands.

[As the English newspapers have lately abounded in vituperative articles against the United States in connexion with their affairs with Spain, without understanding them, or exhibiting only the Spanish side, I will here insert a letter I addressed to the President.] It bears upon the foregoing interview. My regular weekly despatches, and oftener when necessary, were addressed to Mr. Secretary Adams. These went on the public files of the Department of State. I wrote to him, also on public matters, in a way not designed for those files, it being my good fortune to enjoy his confidence; and, not unfrequently, I wrote to the President in the same manner. The communication in question was dated the 20th of this month. Its material parts are as follow:

“Since my last, no steps that were practicable have been omitted to ascertain from what source the letter, a copy of which I transmitted, proceeded; or how far the information which it disclosed, is to be relied upon. The writer states himself to be in connexion with a person high in station, but declines an interview. Since the tenth instant, he has addressed several letters to the Legation. I would send copies, but that all are to the same effect, and the one already sent, will be to you a sufficient sample of his style and manner. Keeping to points that are

essential, I will condense the information they purport to convey, thus saving your valuable time.

“ He continues, to assert, that Great Britain has secretly determined to support Spain in a contest with the United States; that the cabinet of the former has resolved that our territory shall not be extended, and more than all that the Floridas shall not be added to it, as bringing us too near to Cuba. That Spain is to begin the contest, not by a formal declaration, but by letting loose her privateers; that she will take the step as soon as the armament now preparing at Cadiz to go against South America, shall have sailed, and that this is the opinion of the Spanish Ambassador at this court, founded on communications from Madrid. That the manifesto of Spain will soon appear, calling upon all other powers who have colonies to assist her in the struggle; that an officer high in the Spanish embassy, was sent off express to Paris on these objects last week, and that a Spanish secretary sailed from the Thames with definitive instructions to the Spanish minister at Washington, Mr. Onis, under the crisis that is approaching. That Spain is to have no quarrel with Portugal, such a measure not falling in with the views of England, and that Olivenza will be given up. That five of the daily newspapers of London have their columns open to the Spanish embassy, and that the Spanish

Government is actively employed in buying up vessels to be fitted out and manned in England, to cruise under the Spanish flag against our trade. That Spain has her agents at work in several of the ports of equipment in this kingdom; also in France, Holland, and the Netherlands, expecting, under cover of her own flag, to enlist the privateering means of half Europe against the commerce of the United States whilst everywhere exposed, and that the vessels will be fitted out under pretence of acting against South America. That a person lately arrived here from Madrid, with full powers from the King to the Spanish Ambassador to act at his discretion in procuring the instruments and means of striking at our commerce; that the ambassador, who is represented as having large private resources, which he spends liberally in addition to his public allowances, has the unbounded confidence of his King, who will confirm all that he does. Finally, that the ambassador has caused a pamphlet to be written against the United States, dilating upon their alleged injustice and rapacity towards Spain, which, by raising odium against them, is intended to aid the hostile views of Spain; and that many thousand copies of it are to be circulated in French, Spanish, and English, in quarters where it will be likely to be most effective.

“The question is, how far do the above

allegations, or any of them, appear to be sustained by facts. The most material are, the asserted purchase and equipment of vessels in the ports of Great Britain. This, if true, cannot easily be hidden. As yet I have obtained no information that would authorize me in saying that it has been done. I have made, and will continue to make, every inquiry. Persons connected with the American trade are the proper sources to resort to. Their sagacity will be sure to make the first discoveries; nor will our vigilant consul, Colonel Aspinwall, be asleep.

“As to the newspapers being open to the Spanish embassy, this is not improbable. Most of the violent articles against the United States touching their affairs with Spain, that have lately appeared in the London papers, have proceeded, I have little doubt, from Spaniards, or pens they enlist. They bear marks of this origin. There was, I believe, an officer of the Spanish embassy despatched to Paris ten days or a fortnight ago. I have been able to procure no evidence of the nature of his errand, beyond the assertions of the letter-writer. Upon these alone, reiterated indeed with great confidence, rests for the present, the credit due to all his other communications. The pamphlet of which he speaks, has been written; at least in part. He sent to the Legation some of the printed sheets, which I enclose. It is

said that the writer—an Englishman—has received, or is to receive, sixty guineas from the Spanish embassy. I should pronounce it more than the pamphlet is worth. The Spanish ambassador is the Duke of San Carlos. He formerly represented Spain at the court of Vienna, where his household was on a munificent scale; as here. We exchange visits, and reciprocate other civilities.

“In addition to the communications of the letter-writer, I have been called upon by a member of the Congress of Venezuela, now in London. He regards a rupture between the United States and Spain as so near, that, on the ground of his acquaintance with the condition and resources of Spanish America, he came to tender me all his information in aid of our cause. I said the United States meditated no hostile steps. He replied, that Spain did. I suggested the objections, unless she expected co-operation from England; and that I could not think the latter meant to go to war with us without cause. He met the objections by saying that England had promised no co-operation, but that the condition of Spain was desperate: she must lose her colonies if things continued on the present footing; the only hope of saving them, rested upon her being able to bring England by some means or other to her assistance. That she counted upon the jealousy between England and the United States on the ocean,

and by going to war herself with the latter, the course of events would soon draw the former into it, whatever she might say at first. At any rate, that this was a game of chances Spain had resolved to play, as, at the worst, it could only accelerate a catastrophe otherwise inevitable, viz. the total loss of her dominion in America. This Venezuelan, although liable to be warped by his political wishes, is intelligent and cool-minded, and full of activity in seeking information. I therefore report what he said, although he referred to no specific facts. However plausible his way of reasoning, it is not sufficient with me to overcome weightier reasons opposed to it. Hence, that either Spain or England design to strike a hostile blow at us, I am not able at present to believe. Still I have not felt at liberty to be altogether passive under my own incredulity. I am taking steps of precaution from which, be the issue what it may, no evil can arise. I have written to our ministers at Paris and Madrid, and to the commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean. I have not expressed myself in a way to excite alarm, but watchfulness. I shall continue attentive to what passes, and should any new or more distinctive grounds be laid before me, adopt such other measures as prudence may dictate, hoping those already taken may have your approbation. It is proper I

should add, that there has been no open departure whatever in the English cabinet or court from a frank or conciliatory course towards us. If any thing is going on, it is profoundly in the dark."

The matter of the above letter points to occurrences which belong to the history of a public mission. Light is shed by them on incidents otherwise not so well understood. It was easy to believe that Spain desired a rupture between the United States and England, and that those in her service would labour in all ways to that end. But it was not to be believed, that she would go to war with the United States, on a mere speculation that the force of circumstances might draw England into it. The navy of the United States was efficient, and the certainty of its immediate co-operation with the Spanish colonies, for which their proximity afforded advantages, could not have failed to set before Spain the risks, on that ground alone, of seeking such a war. That England would rather the Floridas belonged to Spain, than the United States, was no more than natural to suppose. She remembered that the treaty of Utrecht had prohibited Spain from transferring any of her colonial possessions to other powers. . But the Congress of Vienna had been silent on such a policy. England, a party to that congress,

knew as well as other powers, that the day for its revival was at an end.*

May 27. A few persons desiring to see a monument erected to Burns, put an off-hand notice in the Morning Chronicle, that the admirers of his genius would dine to-day at the City of London Tavern. About two hundred assembled. The stewards invited me as a guest. The Duke of York was in the chair.

The leading person was Mr. Boswell, son of the biographer of Johnson, and a member of parliament. He made a speech on the genius of Burns, and urged the propriety of erecting a monument on the site of the cottage where he was born. A son of the poet was present. On "Success to the family of Burns" being given as a toast, he thanked the company in a modest, feeling manner. The punch-bowl that belonged to Burns, and of which it is known he was too fond, was handed round the table, as a relic. A full band was in the orchestra. We had a great deal of fine old Scotch music, with several of Burns's songs, and a good one written for the occasion by Mr. Boswell. The Duke of York was toasted,

* It is satisfactory to reflect, that History has justified the Author's incredulity expressed in the above letter to the President, notwithstanding the somewhat grave and exaggerated communications which reached him. History also records the memorable interviews between Mr. Canning and the Author, at a subsequent period of his Mission, in reference to Spain and her Colonies.

with a complimentary allusion to the share which, as commander-in-chief of the British army, he had taken in improving its condition. He returned thanks, adding that it was his highest pride to merit the approbation of his sovereign, and good-will of his fellow-subjects. "The admirers of Burns in the United States" came next; on which I made my acknowledgments, saying that my countrymen were alive to the charms of his poetry, as he wrote for the heart, which was of all nations. The Duke asked me if we made speeches at our public dinners, as they were forced to do in England. I said, not often hitherto; but it was a custom which tended, I thought, to improve the character of public dinners, by introducing excitements beyond those merely jovial. He assented. We had other speeches — short ones. They would otherwise, all must agree, lose a chief merit for such occasions.

Several hundred pounds were collected towards the monument. Three or four of my countrymen, accidentally in London, were present, and marked their admiration of the genius of the bard by being contributors. It may serve as an instance to show how the pocket is opened at public dinners in London.

May 28. Visited the British Gallery in Pall Mall. The collection of paintings is very choice. It is made up exclusively of pieces from the Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish, and

Flemish masters. They belong to persons in England, who annually send specimens from their private collections to this exhibition for the gratification of the public, and to aid in fostering taste in this branch of the arts. You wander through rooms where hang productions on which the public taste of different ages and nations had put the seal of approbation.

It has been said that painters can flourish only in Roman Catholic countries. That the Scriptures have afforded the grandest subjects for the pencil, is true. In Catholic countries, the Church influences largely secular feeling. This is a sufficient reason why their painters so frequently take subjects from Scripture. But they have not confined themselves to these; and are not the same subjects open to the pencil in Protestant countries? The very variety of religions, as of character, in England, will tend to advance her in the arts when she takes her stand in them. She has an established church with every species of dissent; a powerful aristocracy with popular forms and practices, that in some respects Athens never equalled; a King venerated and lampooned; more than all, an amount of riches, not hereditary, merely, but self-acquired, in the hands of individuals in every part of the kingdom, making a greater number independent in their circumstances, and giving them consequently

more command over time and inclination, than has probably ever before been known among the same number of people, existing as one nation. All these are materials for the arts. A school founded in such a soil, could neither be formal, nor limited. Mannerism belongs to feelings and pursuits more circumscribed. It would be a soil too for patronage; not by a few nobles, or the hand of an amateur Prince; but diffused, as through rich republics, all over the land.

The annual exhibition of the works of the masters is not the only way in which this Institution aims at advancing the Fine Arts. Its governors and patrons purchase the productions of British artists where merit is high. It was so that Mr. West's picture of "Christ healing the Sick," was purchased for three thousand guineas. This is the picture, the fellow to which was presented to the Hospital at Philadelphia. There needs no other proof of the interest the venerable artist felt in the land of his birth. It was a munificent donation. He contemplated with delight the growth of the arts in the United States. He had studied painting as carefully, and understood its rules with as just a discrimination as any artist living. He had opportunities of knowing that the study was pursued with both zeal and judgment in the country always dear to him. He had seen in her infancy every presage of

future eminence ; and to aid in stimulating tendencies so noble, was one of the motives to his generous gift.

June 5. We were at another brilliant entertainment at Carlton House on Tuesday evening. To-day I attended the levee. Lord Castlereagh said to me that his constant engagements in parliament had prevented his asking an interview with me during the past fortnight, as he had wished. Its dissolution was at hand, immediately after which he would fix a time for our meeting.

June 6. Dined at Mr. Canning's. His residence is at Gloucester-lodge, two miles from town. We had exchanged visits by cards. The latter periods of my mission, during which he was Secretary for foreign affairs, brought me into much intercourse with him, personal and official ; but this was the first time I had met him except at levees and drawing-rooms. To the space he filled in public estimation, I could be no stranger. He received his guests cordially. The grounds about his house were not extensive, but shut in by trees. All was seclusion the moment the gates closed ; a common beauty in villas near London. The drawing-rooms opened on a portico, from which you walked out upon one of those smoothly-shaven lawns, which Johnson, speaking of Pope's poetry, likens to velvet. We had the soft twilight, which at this season lasts so long

in England, and sets off verdure to such advantage. "You see," said Mr. Canning, "how we prize your plants," pointing to some Rhododendrons; "you must be fond of horticulture in the United States, from the specimens we have of your flowers." I said it was a growing taste with us, but that we had much to do before we should equal England. And we in England, he said, are behind Holland, and I believe France, in flowers. Dinner was soon announced. Mr. and Mrs. Canning, the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, Lady Elizabeth Leveson Gower, the Spanish Ambassador and his Duchess, the Neapolitan minister, and his Countess, my wife, Mr. Chinnery, and some members of the family, made the party. Mr. Canning sat at the head. His quick eye was all round the table; his aim to draw out others. Occasionally, he had touches of pleasantry. He asked for Mr. Pinkney of Maryland. "I once," said he, "had a skirmish with him about language, but he worsted me; I said there was no such word as *influential*, except in America, but he convinced me that it was originally carried over from England." Lord Stafford remarked, that it was so good a one, they ought to bring it back. "Yes," said Mr. Canning, "it is a very good *word*, and I know no reason why it should have remained in America, but that we lost the *thing*."

A library was attached to the suite of rooms.

When we came from dinner, some of the company found pastime in turning over the leaves of caricatures, bound in large volumes. They went back to the French revolutionary period. Kings, princes, cabinet ministers, members of parliament, everybody, figured in them. It was a kind of history of England in caricature for five-and-twenty years. Need I add, that our accomplished host was on many a page. He stood by. Now and then he threw in a word giving new point to the scenes. It is among the contradictions of the English, that, shy and sensitive as the higher classes in many respects are, perhaps beyond any other people, they are utterly indifferent to these kind of attacks. Their public men also, exclude politics from private life. You see, every where, persons of opposite parties mingling in social intercourse.

He asked, who were our favourite authors in the United States. The English, I said. But among the English? Johnson, Dryden, Addison, or Swift? Opinions varied, I said; Johnson had his admirers; but I thought that after five-and-twenty, our readers for the most part came round to the others. They were his favourites, he said. Next he asked, is not Junius liked? Generally, I said. I had heard of a young gentleman in Philadelphia, who transcribed all his letters in the hope of catching his style. He made no comment; but I thought I saw that *he* would not recommend

a young friend to that trouble. From the Spanish ambassador I had every civility, notwithstanding the *pamphlet*.

So, briefly, was my first dinner at Mr. Canning's. Many and agreeable ones followed. Sir James Macintosh said of him in debate, that he had incorporated in his mind all the elegance and wisdom of ancient literature. It was a high tribute from a political opponent and competent judge. Both were first-rate men, as well by native endowments, as the most careful cultivation; both disciplined by an advantageous intermixture in great political and social scenes; Macintosh, universal and profound; Canning, making every thing bend to parliamentary supremacy; the one, delivering speeches in the House of Commons for the philosopher and statesman to reflect upon; the other winning, in that arena, daily victories. Both had equal power to charm in society; the one various and instructive; the other intuitive and brilliant; Macintosh, by his elementary turn, removed from all collisions; Canning, sarcastic as well as logical in debate, and sometimes allowing his official pen to trespass in the former field; but in private circles, bland, courteous, and yielding. Let me add that both were self-made men; enjoying, by this title, the highest political consideration and social esteem, in the most powerful hereditary and other circles of the British empire.

June 7. Lord Erskine called upon me according to promise. First he spoke of the bill he lately brought into the House of Lords, to prevent arrest in cases of libel until after indictment, regretting its loss.

He touched on other topics. I pass by all, to come to what he said of Burke. My boys being in the room, he asked if I had found a good school for them. I said they were at present with Mr. Foothed, in my neighbourhood. "You are lucky," he said, "if Burke's recommendation goes for anything, for he thought well of him as a teacher of the classics.* What a prodigy Burke was!" he

* Lord Erskine soon afterwards sent two of his own sons to the same school, The Hon. Thomas Erskine, and The Hon. Alfred Erskine, both of whom were schoolmates of the boys above mentioned. It is common to speak of the degeneracy of present, as compared with past, times; but the question may at least be asked, are the English schools as good now, as they were then? are they as *thorough*?

At a capital school some years afterwards at Hampstead, conducted by the Messrs. Johnson, one of them a University man (whether Oxford or Cambridge is not now remembered), boys of *fourteen* had read, or were reading, Cæsar, Cicero de Officiis, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Græca Majora, and Homer (considerable portions of each author), and were made to *understand*—and explain—what they read, to which prosody and Latin verse came in as auxiliaries. They were also made to read out loud, in a class, every day, from the standard British poets, with special attention to tone and emphasis, and distinctness of enunciation; and there were also boys of that age who *spoke* French fluently. All this is distinctly remembered. Can as much be said now? It

exclaimed. "He came to see me not long before he died. I then lived on Hampsted hill. 'Come, Erskine,' said he, holding out his hand, 'let us forget all; I shall soon quit this stage, and wish to die in peace with every body, especially you.' I reciprocated the sentiment, and we took a turn round the grounds. Suddenly, he stopped. An extensive prospect broke upon him. He stood, rapt in thought. Gazing on the sky, as the sun was setting, 'Ah! Erskine,' he said pointing towards it, 'you cannot spoil *that* because you cannot *reach* it; it would otherwise go; yes, the firmament itself—you and your reformers would tear it all down.' I was pleased with his friendly familiarity, and we went into the house, where kind feelings between us were further improved. A short time afterwards he wrote that attack upon the Duke of Devonshire, Fox, and myself, which flew all over England, and perhaps the United States." All this Lord Erskine related in the best manner. In my form of repeating it, I cannot do him justice.

Desiring to hear something of Burke's delivery from so high a source, I asked him about it. "It was execrable," said he. "I was in the House of Commons when he made his great speech on American conciliation, the

would be to come short of the "truth of history" not to add, that the *cane* was sometimes held up *in terrorem*, and sometimes came *down*!

greatest he ever made. He drove everybody away. I wanted to go out with the rest, but was near him and afraid to get up; so I squeezed myself down, and crawled under the benches like a dog, until I got to the door without his seeing me, rejoicing in my escape. Next day I went to the Isle of Wight. When the speech followed me there, I read it over and over again; I could hardly think of anything else; I carried it about me, thumbed it, until it got like wadding for my gun." Here he broke out with a quotation from the passages beginning, "But what, says the financier, is peace without money?" which he gave with a fervour, showing how he felt it. He said that he was in the House when he threw a dagger on the floor, in his speech on the French Revolution, and it "*had like to have hit my foot.*" "It was a sad failure," he added, "but Burke could bear it."*

He sat upwards of an hour, leaving me to regret his departure.

* While passing the winter in Paris in 1867-68, an English Officer, who was also passing the winter there, procured from the writer the volume from which this is a reprint, of which he said many courteous things. On returning it, the following pencil note to the above passage was found on the margin, which it is believed there can be no harm in here reproducing:—

"To hear Burke's famous Speech against Hastings, recited by Erskine, who knew it by heart, was a splendid enjoyment."

CHAPTER XVI.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—REVENUE AND RESOURCES OF ENGLAND.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH. — IMPRESSMENT. — THE SLAVE-TRADE.—COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF 1815.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD'S.—FURTHER INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON IMPRESSMENT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—THE HUSTINGS AT COVENT-GARDEN.—DINNER AT THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S.

June 10. Parliament was dissolved by the Prince Regent in person. This is regarded as one of the most imposing public ceremonies in England. It derives this character, in part, from the manner in which the Sovereign goes to Parliament.

In all ages, the horse has helped to swell the pomp of public processions. Dryden renders Virgil's "bellator equus," led in the train of Pallas's funeral, "*The steed of State.*" On this occasion the carriage of the Prince Regent was drawn by eight horses used only for this ceremony. They were of beautiful form, and richly caparisoned :

"With golden bits adorn'd, and purple reins."

There sat with the Prince, the Duke of Montrose, Master of the Horse, and Lord Amherst, as Lord in Waiting. Even in the insignia of a state carriage England does not forget the field of her power. Conspicuously upon this, was a figure of Neptune, in massive gilding. Next in the procession came four carriages and six, all in rich decorations. These made the royal train. It moved from St. James's palace through the Park. Thence it came out, under the arch-way of the Horse Guards. My carriage got to that point, and stopped with others, as the whole slowly turned into the street. The sight was gorgeous. Windows, balconies, house-tops, were lined. It was the spot, where like crowds had witnessed the execution of Charles the First. When the train reached the end of Parliament Street, the number of equipages in the direction of Westminster Abbey was immense. All were in rows, and glittered in the sun. The universal beauty of the horses, for which the English are so celebrated, the completeness of every equipage, the turrets of the ancient Abbey, the vast multitude, presented a scene of great animation and brilliancy. The state carriage drew up before the entrance to the House of Lords. A groom held each bridle, the horses champing the "foaming gold." The Prince Regent, on alighting, was greeted with long shouts.

The ceremony of the dissolution took place in the House of Lords. Close in front of the throne a space was set apart for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. All attended in diplomatic costume. The chamber, when I arrived, was filled with Peers and Peeresses, the former wearing robes of scarlet and ermine. In a little while the Prince Regent entered. A salute of cannon was at that moment heard. A procession formed by a portion of his cabinet ministers, preceded him, the Premier, Lord Liverpool, going first, and carrying the sword of state. The Prince took his seat upon the throne. In a few minutes, doors opened at the extremity of the chamber, and the Commons entered, the Speaker at their head. They stopped at a barrier, from which the Speaker commenced his address to the Throne. It recapitulated the important business of the Session, gave a prominent place to the subject of income and expenditure, saying that, although a heavy pressure continued upon the finances, the revenue was increasing, and concluded with praying the royal assent to a bill of Supply which the House brought up, the last of a series that had been passed. The title of the bill was read, on which a Clerk of Parliament exclaimed, "*Le Roi remercie ses loyals subjects, accepte leur benevolence, et aussi le veut.*" The titles of other bills were successively read, and the royal assent given by the

same officer pronouncing the words, "*Le Roi le veut.*"

The Prince, who had not yet spoken, now addressed both Houses. He said that there had been no alteration in the state of the King's health; that he continued to receive from Foreign powers assurances of friendly dispositions, on which he turned with a manner appropriate towards the diplomatic corps; he thanked the House of Commons for the supplies they had granted; he informed both Houses of his intention to dissolve the present and call a new Parliament, in making which communication he could not, he said, refrain from adverting to the great changes that had occurred since he first met them in that chamber. Then, the dominion of Bonaparte, whom he spoke of as the "common enemy," had been so widely extended, that longer resistance to his power was by many deemed hopeless; but that by the unexampled exertions of Britain, in co-operation with other countries, Europe had been delivered from his oppression, and a contest the most eventful and sanguinary known for centuries, terminated with unparalleled success and glory. These were the main points of the speech. When it was ended, the Lord Chancellor rose from the woolsack and said, that it was the will and pleasure of the Prince Regent acting in the name of the King, that the Par-

liament be dissolved ; and he pronounced it to be dissolved accordingly.*

The Prince remained seated whilst delivering his speech, and wore a hat. The Peers and

* When Queen Victoria delivered her first Speech from the Throne, on the first opening of Parliament in 1838, after her accession, the scene in the House of Lords, as witnessed from the Ambassadors' Box, was extremely brilliant and striking. As the youthful Queen, then still in her teens, advanced, there was a very slight nervousness perceptible in her countenance, while the utmost stillness prevailed through the House. When about to ascend the steps of the Throne her foot caught in her robes, and she tripped slightly, causing a momentary suffusion, but regained her foothold in an instant, and took her seat with perfect ease and self-possession, after which, in the sweetest tone, she signified to their Lordships to be seated. There was still a breathless silence.

As the Queen proceeded with her Speech, the Premier, Viscount Melbourne, who stood by her side, in his rich court dress, holding upright the sword of state, and who was thought to be sometimes a little *absent*, was observed to follow, or rather *anticipate*, every word, by the apparently involuntary movement of his lips, and an occasional inclination of the head, from side to side, as though *keeping time*.

Every word that the young Queen uttered, every syllable, fell from her in tones that were captivating, by their softness and musical sweetness, with the clearest and most beautiful enunciation, while her voice was modulated in the most perfect manner. Yet all so natural, without the slightest shade of affectation.

When the Royal Speech was concluded, an evident and universal feeling of satisfaction seemed to pervade the House, and one of the young men of the Diplomatic Corps, whose eyes and ears had been rivetted to the Throne, and who stood near the writer, turned to a friend, exclaiming, in a suppressed whisper, while *bobbing* his head with excitement, —“ *Parfaitement bien !*”

Commons stood, and were uncovered. Mr. Canning once described the British constitution as a monarchy, intended to be checked by two assemblies, one hereditary, the other elective, springing from the people; but, said he, some argue as if it were originally a democracy, merely inlaid with a peerage, and topped with a crown. This gives, in a word, the opposite theories of the origin of the British constitution. The remark may be made, that its external ceremonies point to a regal, rather than popular root. They are strikingly so at a coronation, as at the dissolution of Parliament. Take another incident at the latter, besides wearing the hat. The Clerk, before reading the title to each bill, made a reverence to the Throne; and another, on laying it down upon the table. On receiving the nod of royal assent, he turned towards the Commons, gave them a look, and barely said, without any reverence, *Le Roi le veut*.

The scene would have been more imposing had the chamber been better. It is not merely deficient in architectural form, but in space. The Commons stood in a confused heap, pressing one upon another. Their own room below,

The writer subsequently heard the young Queen announce, from the Throne, on a similar occasion, her approaching marriage to Prince Albert—a trying moment; yet the announcement was made with a mixture of Regal dignity and feminine modesty, composure and timidity, that commanded universal admiration.

is even inferior in appearance, and alike inconveniently small. Both may have answered their original uses centuries ago; one as a banqueting-room, the other as a chapel to a palace; but are unsuited to the accommodation of Parliament. The mode of giving the royal assent to bills, I had read in books; yet it sounded strangely to me as a fact. It has been remarked by a great English writer, that these old words serve as a memento that the liberties of England were once destroyed by foreign force, and may be again but for vigilance. The remark is a strained one in this connexion. England balanced the account of warlike exploits with France, in the days of her Edwards and Henrys. Her own sovereign at last gave up his titular claim to be King of France. Hence it would seem that this little badge of the Norman conquest might now be allowed to drop off. It was discontinued under the Protectorate of Cromwell, the form in his time being "*The lord Protector doth consent.*" His words of acknowledgment for bills of Supply were, "*Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard for the public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein.*" When the Commonwealth ended, the foreign jargon revived.

The Speaker in his address stated that the revenue was increasing. I cannot pass this

subject by. The income for the year was fifty-one millions of pounds sterling. The largest item was from the Excise, which yielded upwards of twenty-one millions. The Customs stood next. They gave upwards of eleven millions. The Assessed and Land taxes third, from which eight millions were obtained. The Stamps fourth, which produced seven millions. The remainder was from the Post-office, and miscellaneous sources. Large as this sum may appear for the produce of one year's taxes, it is less by more than twenty millions than was raised two years ago, the Property-tax and certain war duties being then in force. It may safely be affirmed that no nation, ancient or modern, of the same population, has ever before paid so much under the regular operation of tax-laws. Of the Excise, I understand that the whole amount due for the year has actually been paid in, except a fraction of five thousand pounds, part of which it is believed will be recovered. So exceedingly small a deficiency on a basis of twenty-one millions, manifests an extraordinary ability on the part of the community at large to meet with punctuality the demands of the Government under this branch of internal taxation. Besides the fifty-one millions, which make up the national taxes proper, for Great Britain and Ireland, the sums levied on account of Poor-rates for England during the year, have amounted to nine millions.

The exports from the kingdom for the same time, amounted, in value, to fifty-three millions of pounds sterling. The manufactures of the United Kingdom constituted four-fifths of this sum. Actual value is meant, as contra-distinguished from official. The latter assumes a certain standard of price, fixed more than a century ago, and no longer applicable as a measure of value. The imports amounted to thirty-four millions; considerably less, therefore, than the value of manufactured articles exported.

Expenditure for the year has been about the same as income. In its great branches, it may be classed thus: For interest on the public debt, twenty-nine millions. For the Army, nine millions; the military force on the present peace establishment, amounting to about a hundred thousand men. For the Navy, seven millions; the peace establishment of that arm being one hundred and thirty ships, twenty thousand seamen, and six thousand marines. For the Ordnance, one million. The Civil list, and miscellaneous items absorb the residue. In statements whether of British income or expenditure, I observe that fractions of a million or two seem to be unconsidered. They are scarcely understood but by those who will be at the pains of tracing them amidst the rubbish of accounts, and not always then.

As to the debt, what shall I say? If I spe-

cify any sum I may unconsciously commit a fractional error of fifty millions ! To find out precisely what it is, seems to baffle inquiry. Dr. Hamilton in his work on this subject states a curious fact. He says, that in an account of the public debt presented to the House of Commons in 1799, it was found impossible to ascertain the sums raised at different periods which created the funds existing prior to the thirty-third year of George the Third. This candid avowal of ignorance, where all official means of information were at command, may well excuse, as the able author remarks, a private inquirer if his statements be imperfect. But I will set the debt down at EIGHT HUNDRED MILLIONS. This as an absolute sum, strikes the world as enormous. It loses this character when viewed in connection with the resources of Great Britain, the latter having increased in a ratio greater than her debt ; a position susceptible of demonstration, though I do not here design to enter upon it. It may be proof enough, that in the face of this debt, her Government could, at any moment, borrow from British capitalists fresh sums larger than were ever borrowed before ; and than could be raised by the united exertions of all the Governments of Europe. Credit so unbounded, can rest only upon the known extent and solidity of her resources ; upon her agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial riches ; the

first coming from her highly cultivated soil and its exhaustless mines, not of gold and silver, but iron and coal, for ever profitably worked; the second, from the various and universal labour bestowed on raw materials, which brings into play all the industry of her people, suffering none to be lost for want of objects; the third, from a system of navigation and trade, followed up for ages, which enables her to send to every part of the globe the products of this vast and diversified industry, after supplying all her own wants. This system of navigation and trade is greatly sustained by a colonial empire of gigantic size, that perpetually increases the demand for her manufactures, and favours the monopoly of her tonnage.

These are the visible foundations of her incalculable riches; consequently of her credit. Both seem incessantly augmenting. It is remarkable that she extends them in the midst of wars. What cripples the resources of other nations, multiplies her's. Not long ago I went to Guildhall, to witness the sittings of the King's Bench, after term-time. The courtroom was so full, that I could hear or see little, and soon left it. I was compensated by loitering among the monuments in the hall close by. The inscription on Lord Chatham's drew my attention most, because Americans always hang with reverence on his name, and

because of the inscription itself. It dwells upon the services he rendered his country, BY "UNITING COMMERCE WITH, AND MAKING IT FLOURISH DURING, WAR." Such was his title to fame, recorded on the marble. Other nations should look at it. War, by creating new markets, gives a stimulus to industry, calls out capital, and may increase not merely the fictitious but positive wealth of the country carrying it on, *where the country is powerful and not the seat of war*. Moscow may be burned; Vienna, Berlin, Paris sacked; but it is always, said Franklin, peace in London. The British moralist may be slow to think, that it is during war the riches and power of Britain are most advanced; but it is the law of her insular situation and maritime ascendancy. The political economist may strive to reason it down, but facts confound him. It has been signally confirmed, since engraven on the monument of Lord Chatham. The Prince Regent pronounced the contest with Bonaparte the most eventful and sanguinary known for centuries. Yet, at its termination, the Speaker of the House of Commons declared, whilst the representatives of nations stood listening, that the revenues of Britain were increasing. What a fact! The Abbé Du Pradt has remarked, that England threatens all the *wealth*, and Russia all the *liberty*, of Europe. Up to the first origin of the contest with

Bonaparte, the largest sum England ever raised by taxes in any one year of war or peace, was seventeen millions sterling. In twenty-five years, when that contest was over, she raised hardly less than EIGHTY millions. This sum was paid indeed in the midst of complaints ; but not more than in Queen Anne's time, when the taxes were three millions, and debt forty ; or at the end of George the Second's, when the former had risen to seven, and the latter to a hundred millions. It was also in 1815, at the close of the same contest, that the world beheld her naval power more than doubled ; whilst that of other states of Europe was, in a proportion still greater, diminished. Hitherto, at the commencement of wars, the fleets of France, of Spain, of Holland, if not a match for those of England, could make a show of resistance. Their concerted movements were able to hold her in temporary check. Where are the navies of those powers now ? or those of the Baltic ? Some gone almost totally ; the rest destined to be withdrawn from the seas, on the first war with England. There is nothing, singly or combined as far as Europe is concerned, to make head against her. France is anxious to revive her navy. She builds good ships ; has brave and scientific officers. So, Russia. But where are the essential sources of naval power in either ? where their sailors trained in a great mercantile marine ? Both

together have not as many, of this description, as the United States. England, then, in her next war, will accomplish more as against Europe upon this element, than at any former period. She will start, instead of ending with her supremacy completely established. The displays of her power will be more immediate, as well as more formidable, than the world has before seen. I will not speak of a new agent in navigation, "that walks," as Mr. Canning said, "like a giant on the water, controlling winds and waves—steam." This great gift to mankind, in its first efficient power upon the ocean, was from the United States; but all Europe will feel its effects in the hands of Britain.

I had intended to say something of public speaking. The dissolution of Parliament might suggest the topic; but I defer it. I have desired heretofore to make a minute of my impressions on this subject. I have heard debates in both Houses; but the occasions have been unfavourable for calling up the leading orators, or drawing them fully out if they rose. I wait further lights.

June 11. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, on his invitation. He informed me, that he had brought before the cabinet my proposal on impressment, and that it had been considered with the care due to its importance.

He went into some of the arguments to which

the subject always leads. He adverted, first, to the opposite opinions which the two Governments held on the doctrine of allegiance. Next he remarked, that we gave to our ships a character of inviolability that Britain did not; that we considered them as part of our soil, clothing them with like immunities. I said that we did consider them as thus inviolable, so far as to afford protection to our seamen; but that we had never sought to exempt them from search for rightful purposes; viz. for enemy's property, articles contraband of war, or men in the land or naval service of the enemy. These constituted the utmost limit of the belligerent claim as we understood the law of nations. What we objected to was, that Britain, passing this limit, should advance a claim to enforce her own municipal claim relating to allegiance and impressment, on board our vessels. His lordship did not view it in this light. He was forced, he said, to add, that on a full consideration of my proposal, the cabinet had not found it practicable to forego under any arrangement, the execution of which was to depend upon the legislative ordinances of another country, the right of Great Britain to look for her subjects upon the high seas, into whatever service they might wander.

The proposal thus rejected, having declared the readiness of the United States to impose further restraints upon the naturalization of

British seamen, and exclude from their ships all not naturalized, I asked his lordship what difference it would make if the United States would agree to exclude from their ships of war and merchant-vessels, *all natural born subjects of Great Britain?*

He replied, that this indeed would be going a step farther, but that it would still leave the proposal within the principle of their objection. That the objection rested upon an unwillingness to concede by treaty or convention, whatever its terms, the right of entering the vessels of a foreign power to search for their subjects.

I said, that I heard this determination with regret. I had been ready, otherwise, to submit a proposal to the effect last mentioned. My regret was the stronger, as it would exhaust all the offers the United States could make. I requested him, in fact, to consider such an offer as actually made, under full authority from my Government.

I now inquired if any proposals would be submitted on the part of Great Britain. Lord Castlereagh was prepared with none which did not assume, as a basis, the right of entering our vessels. For the exercise of this right in a manner not to injure the United States, Great Britain was willing, he said, to come into the most effective regulations; such as restricting the boarding officers to those of rank not below

lieutenants ; giving responsible receipts for the men taken out, or any other safeguards that the Government of the United States might propose as better adapted to the end ; that she would receive, and in the most friendly manner discuss such proposals, in the hope of some satisfactory arrangement. I said that the United States never could admit the right to enter their vessels for such a purpose as impressment. Besides the objection to it in principle, the practice, however attempted to be softened, must be liable, from causes altogether insurmountable as between the two nations, to perpetual and fatal abuse. This had been shown by past experience, and it was impossible to remain blind to it. Lord Castlereagh again admitted the evils of which it had been the parent, expressing his hope that they might never recur.

He next spoke of the Slave-trade. Great Britain, he said, had concluded treaties with three of the powers of Europe on the subject ; Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands. Portugal had agreed to abolish the trade, except in certain specified places on the coast of Africa, south of the equator ; Spain, north of the equator, from the ratification of her treaty, and in all other parts, after May 1820. To these powers Britain had paid, from first to last, 700,000*l.* as inducements to the treaties. The clauses stated the money to be as compensation to Spanish

and Portuguese subjects, for the loss of the trade. The Netherlands had agreed to abolish, immediately and totally, without pecuniary inducement. The purport of the treaties, speaking more particularly of the last, was, that the contracting parties were to authorize a limited number of the ships of their navy to search the merchant vessels of each other, found under circumstances to raise suspicion of being engaged in the trade; and in case of slaves being actually on board, to send the vessels in for trial; the tribunals to consist of mixed courts, composed of judges, or commissioners, appointed by each power; the courts to hold their sittings within the territories or dependencies of each power, but one always to be established on the coast of Africa; no search to be permitted in the Mediterranean, or any of the European seas north of latitude 37, or within and eastward of longitude 20. These were some of the main provisions of the treaties. There were various others designed to guard against irregularity in the exercise of a right which the contracting parties had mutually conceded for the common object. The period had arrived, his lordship continued, when it was the wish of Great Britain to invite the United States to join in these measures, and it was his design to submit, through me, proposals to that effect. It had occurred to him to send me, with an official

note, authentic copies of the treaties themselves ; they would best unfold in all their details, the grounds on which a concert of action had been settled with other powers, and it was on similar grounds he meant to ask the accession of the United States, anticipating large benefits from their maritime co-operation in this great work of humanity. Whilst it had occurred to him to make the overture to my Government in this manner, he said that, if any other course presented itself to me as better adapted to the end, he would be happy to listen to it.

I replied, that I knew of none better. I was altogether devoid of instructions on the subject, as already stated, but would transmit the treaties for the consideration of the President. The United States, from an early day, had regarded this traffick with uniform disapprobation. For many years it had been altogether prohibited by their statutes. The existence of slavery in several of the states of the American Union, had nothing to do, I remarked, with the *slave-trade*. The former grew up with the policy of the parent country anterior to the independence of the United States, and remained incorporated with the domestic laws of the particular states where it had been so introduced, and always existed. Yet, those who could not allow their laws in this respect to be touched, went hand and heart with the rest of

their fellow-citizens in desiring the abolition of the slave-trade.

Lastly, Lord Castlereagh spoke of the commercial convention of 1815. He reminded me that it had but little more than a twelvemonth to run, asking if I knew the views of my Government in regard to its renewal. I said, not precisely, but expected soon to ascertain them.

June 12. Dined at the Marquis of Stafford's, I am no votary of the *rout*. The private dinner-party shows society differently. The diplomatic stranger can hardly command other opportunities of seeing it at all. Evening visits he cannot make; the late hour of dining is an obstacle. Morning calls are a mere ceremony performed by his card. Midnight crowds are not society. It is only at dinners that he finds it.

These seem the chosen scenes of English hospitality. They are seldom large. Mr. Jefferson's rule was, not fewer than the Graces, nor more than the Muses. At the London dinners, from twelve to sixteen seems a favourite number. Sometimes they are smaller. Individual character and accomplishments, reserved at first in these classes, here begin to open. Sully, after Paulus Æmilius, said, that to marshal an army and an entertainment, were equally difficult. Those of which I would speak, present no discordant feelings or topics. All obey forms, with which all are familiar. Conversation moves along under common con-

tributions and restraints. There is no ambition of victory. To give pleasure, rather than try strength, is the aim. You remark nothing so much as a certain simplicity, the last attainment of high education and practised intercourse. Such are some of the characteristics of these private dinners. Beginning with such, I must proceed a little farther. The servants are so trained, as to leave to the master and mistress no care but of looking to the guests. The arrangements of the table are orderly and beautiful. All are alike, yet all vary; alike in general conformity; varying, as taste varies, where there is self-confidence in its indulgence; where all have large means, and all are on the same level. The word *fashion* I have not heard; nor seen its principle, in mere imitation.* The services of silver strike me as among the evidences of a boundless opu-

* How true it is that the word "fashion" is rarely heard, or its "principle," if it have any, witnessed in "mere imitation," in these circles, and if those who are prone to imitate, would borrow a little of the independence and self-confidence of the persons who compose them—most of whom are *above* fashion—the mass of mankind might be the better for it whatever the effect in the diminished gains of some of the celebrities of the Rue de la Paix, or other quarters of Paris. And who, after all, are they who "*set the fashions!*" The writer was struck with the good sense of an English Peer who remarked, with a quiet smile, on the topic being incidentally touched after dinner, that he never could understand people *dressing to please other people!* For his part, he always dressed to please himself.

lence. All forms of it, for use or embellishment, are seen, and in surpassing lustre. Not unfrequently, the romantic patterns and fretted workmanship of past ages, still remain. Foreigners from whatever part of Europe, are in like manner struck with this profusion of solid and sumptuous plate upon English tables, as unknown in any other capital to an extent at all approaching to comparison. The possessors, long accustomed to it, seem unconscious of its presence; but the foreigner sees in it all, national as individual riches. Whence proceed, he asks himself, the incomes, so large, so increasing, that retain, and acquire in fresh accumulation, luxuries so costly, but from the land? and what would be the land with all the works upon it, what the crops on its surface, the mines underneath, but for the manufactures and trade which bring all into value by a vast and ever increasing demand; increasing at home as abroad, increasing in war as in peace?

Our dinner to-day illustrated, as one instance might, the characteristics alluded to. It was not large. Lord and Lady Stafford, the Earl and Countess of Surrey, Lady Elizabeth Leveson Gower, Lord Francis Gower, and a few more, made the party. The country life in England was much spoken of; also the literary publications of the day, this family being distinguished by the literary accomplishments of its members. The paintings of the masters

were all around us. Our hospitable entertainers invited Mrs. Rush and myself to visit them at their seat, Trentham, in Staffordshire, than which we could not have known a higher gratification. Another topic, always grateful, was not passed by; our country. Cordial things were said of it, and enlightened wishes expressed that two nations so connected as England and the United States, might long see their way to mutual good-will. Leaving the table, we were an hour in the drawing-rooms, always an agreeable close to English dinners. Ladies make part of them, and rise first, the gentlemen soon following and rising all together. On no occasion have I observed any one gentleman leave the table, until all rise. We had music from St. James's Park, into which the windows of Stafford-house look. Its notes were the softer from the stillness of that scene, and the breezes of a charming summer night.

June 20. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh. He read the first draft of a note to me, inviting the United States to co-operate in putting down the Slave-trade, asking my suggestions as to any modifications. I had none to offer. It was accordingly sent as prepared. I drew up an answer, to the general effect of the sentiments I had expressed in our conversations, promising to refer the whole subject to my Government.

I renewed the topic of Impressment. Although in our conference of the 11th I had made known the willingness of the United States to exclude from their naval and merchant service all British seamen, native as well as naturalized, I did not think proper to let the proposition rest on the footing of a verbal offer. I reduced it to writing, in terms as follow :--

“The proposal submitted to Lord Castle-reagh upon the subject of impressment on the 18th of April not being found acceptable, the undersigned has the honour to offer, on behalf of his Government, the following. Each nation rigidly to exclude from service on board their ships-of-war and merchant vessels, all native-born subjects or citizens of the other. The checks and precautions stated in the former paper to guard against fraudulent naturalization, to be resorted to (with the proper modifications) to prevent imposition relative to the birth-place of seamen, or others adopted. Seamen already naturalized in the United States to be excluded from the operation of the agreement, as these, by their laws, cannot be included. The number of this class is believed to be small, and in a short time would cease altogether. Although the stipulation for exclusion must be reciprocal, a provision to be inserted authorizing the United States, if so disposed, to dispense with the obligations

it would impose on their own seamen, whenever the latter may choose of their own accord to enter the British service; this power of dispensation to be reciprocal, if desired.

“Should the above proposal be accepted, it will follow, that all British seamen or subjects now in the United States, and not heretofore naturalized, will be excluded from their sea service; and that all who arrive in future will be excluded. Great Britain, on her part, to come into a distinct stipulation not to impress men out of American vessels. R. R.”

I handed this paper to Lord Castlereagh. The proposal had, as I knew, been rejected; but I knew the President's desire to settle this great question, and believed that I should be more truly the organ of his wishes, by putting the proposal in a shape in which it might go upon the archives of his Majesty's Government. I even cherished the hope, that other views might yet be taken of it. His lordship on reading the paper said, that he would lay it before the Cabinet on his return from Ireland, whither he was going the day following, and should the proposal, now that it had taken this form, still be objected to, perhaps it might be thought advisable to put in writing the counter opinions of Great Britain. Nothing farther passed at this interview.

The general election for a new House of Commons being in progress, and the hustings

at Covent Garden open, I said, when about to come away, that I intended to go there to see what was doing. "If you can wait a few minutes," said his lordship, "I will go with you; I want to vote." I replied that I should be happy to go under such auspices. "You might have better," he remarked. At that moment Sir William Scott was announced, and I took my leave, finding my own way to the hustings. They gave a repulsive picture of an English election. Sir Murray Maxwell was the ministerial candidate; Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Hunt, on the other side. The first was not only hissed and hooted by the populace, but on a former day had been wounded by missiles. He appeared with his arm tied up, and a bandage over his eye. I was glad to get away from the scene of tumult. In a little while Lord Castlereagh came. His remark was prophetic; he was mobbed. Having given his vote for Sir Murray Maxwell, he was recognized, and four or five hundred of the populace, under the opposite banners, pursued him.* He took refuge in a shop in

* It is stated that, when Mr. Hunt saw Lord Castlereagh come to vote, he called out, "*Gentlemen, let me introduce to you the Viscount Castlereagh,*" which led to the subsequent pursuit. It is quite true that elections in free countries are not always characterized by the highest propriety and decorum; but it may be safely asserted that nowhere in the United States would a prominent supporter of a candidate be treated by the other side, as Lord Castlereagh was treated here.

Leicester Square, whence he was obliged to escape by a back-way, until finally he found shelter in the Admiralty. If the ministerial candidate and his supporters were thus roughly treated, they bore it with good-humour. The former on reappearing after his wounds, again mounted the hustings to make a speech. Being told that pains would be taken to discover and punish the authors of the outrage, he forbade all inquiry, saying he had no doubt they acted thoughtlessly without any intention of hurting him; a stroke of policy that brought fresh votes. As to Lord Castlereagh, I was informed that, on reaching the Admiralty, he turned round and with much complaisance thanked his pursuers, then close upon him, for their escort, saying that he would not trouble them to accompany him farther; which drew huzzas in his favour.

July 1. Dined at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's. His residence is in Downing Street, and I may add, historical. His dining-room was once Mr. Pitt's. Here he lived while Prime Minister; still earlier, Sir Robert Walpole. A portrait of the latter was on the wall. You beheld in it the composed face that enabled him to sit unmoved under the batteries of Wyndham and Shippen, and Pulteney. There were at table Mr. and Miss Vansittart, Mr. and Mrs. East, Lord Harrowby, the Ambassador from the Netherlands, the Prussian

Ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. MacKenzie.

Mr. Pitt was spoken of. Lord Harrowby said that he was a fine Greek scholar; also that he had retained with singular accuracy his mathematics acquired at school. He spoke of Lord Grenville's attainments as a classic, particularly in Greek, and his skill in languages generally, of which he knew a great number. Lord Harrowby himself has high reputation in this line, modern languages as well as the classics being at his command in great purity. He spoke of words that had obtained a sanction in the United States, in the condemnation of which he could not join; for example, *lengthy*, which imported what was tedious as well as long, an idea that no other English word seemed to convey as well. I remarked, that we were unfortunate in my country, for that if persons, no matter how illiterate, used wrong words, they were brought to light as *Americanisms*, whereas in other countries such things were passed by as merely vulgarisms; thanking his lordship however for throwing his shield over *lengthy*, which I also thought a very expressive word.

Mr. Vansittart had been reading some of the official documents of our Government. He said that our appropriations for the military service for the year exceeded those of Great Britain, in proportion to the size of the two

armies ; remarking that the British army was the most expensive in Europe. The Dutch was next, he said ; the Russian cheapest. The last cost but a seventh part as much, man for man, as the British. I said that the expense of an army in the United States arose from the ease with which subsistence was otherwise obtainable ; moreover, that the service was not popular in peace. He assigned a further reason—our large proportion of artillery ; we had three thousand to an army of ten thousand ; whilst the British artillery, to an army of an hundred thousand, amounted to not more than seven thousand.* This I explained by saying, that one of the chief uses of a small standing army in the United States was to keep fortifications in order, adding, that we also made large expenditures upon them, under our military appropriations. I owe warm acknowledgments to Mr. Vansittart for hospitalities and other acts of kindness during the whole of my mission ; appreciated the more in my public and personal feelings, from his high station in the cabinet, in conjunction with his individual distinction and various worth.

In a renewed conversation I asked him what work was regarded as containing the best account of the British finances. He said it

* The standing army of The United States has been largely augmented since.

was difficult to arrive at a knowledge of them from any single work ; but, on the whole, he considered Sir John Sinclair's, for the periods it embraced, as most satisfactory.

July 15. Went to an entertainment at Carlton-house. It was in honour of the marriages of the Duke of Clarence, and Duke of Kent, who, with their royal brides, were present. These marriages, with those of the Princess Elizabeth and Duke of Cambridge, all within a few months, have led to a succession of entertainments in which the diplomatic corps have participated.

CHAPTER XVII.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—GENERAL NEGOTIATION PROPOSED.—COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF 1815.—EUROPEAN MEDIATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND HER COLONIES.—DINNER AT MR. VILLIERS'S.—THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—PROPOSAL FOR A GENERAL NEGOTIATION ACCEPTED.—MR. GALLATIN TO JOIN IN IT.—MR. ROBINSON AND MR. GOULBURN, THE BRITISH NEGOTIATORS.—COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF 1815.—DINNER AT SIR JOHN SINCLAIR'S—AT MR. BENTHAM'S—AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—COURSE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES AS BETWEEN SPAIN AND HER COLONIES.—AFFAIR OF PENSACOLA.

July 16. Lord Castlereagh returned from Ireland on the 14th. To-day I had an interview with him on my application.

I entered upon the subject of the commercial relations between the two countries. I remarked, that it was with reluctance the President had given his consent to the act of Congress to exclude from ports of the United States, British vessels coming from the West Indies or other British colonies, from whose

ports vessels of the United States were excluded. The act indeed was founded on equal justice, and could lay no ground of complaint, as had often been agreed by Great Britain. Still, the President could not but know, that its practical operation might be irritating to individual interests affected in both countries, and his desire was, to give efficacy to measures mutually more beneficial and conciliatory. It was therefore that I was once more instructed to propose to His Majesty's Government the negotiation of a general treaty of commerce. The President desired also, that the negotiation should include other matters. I recapitulated the four following. 1. The question respecting slaves carried off from the United States, in contravention, as we alleged of the treaty of Ghent. 2. The question of title to Columbia River. 3. That of the north-western boundary line, from the Lake of the Woods. 4. The question of such immediate importance, relating to the fisheries. Upon all these, the President preferred negotiating directly, rather than resorting to commissioners as under the treaty of Ghent, in the hope that it might prove the means of the two Governments coming more speedily to an understanding. If his Majesty's Government was prepared to go into them all, in addition to the question of a general treaty of commerce, as the whole would take wide range, the United

States would name another plenipotentiary to meet, in association with me, any two designated by Great Britain.

Lord Castlereagh asked what was to be understood by a general treaty of commerce. I replied, a treaty that would open not a temporary or precarious, but permanent, intercourse with the British West Indies and their colonies in North America to the shipping of the United States; a subject which I admitted it might seem unnecessary to bring forward after the recently expressed opinions of his Majesty's Government, were it not that others of interest to both nations were now coupled with it in a way to give the proposition in some measure a new character.

He said that the British Government would be willing to enter upon a negotiation on the commercial relations of the two countries; but he had no authority to say that the colonial system would be essentially altered. Broken down, it could not be. I said, that if it were not to be departed from at all, or in no greater degree than as provided by the four articles spoken of in our conference of the 3rd of January, as those articles had not proved acceptable to my Government, it did not appear to me that any advantage would be likely to arise from going into the negotiation. He replied, that he was not prepared to answer definitively upon any of the subjects,

but would lay them before the cabinet. He professed it to be the earnest desire of the British Government to see the commercial intercourse between the two countries placed upon the best footing at all points; the stake to each being alike important.

In the event of a negotiation not being opened on the broad grounds I had stated, his lordship asked if it were yet in my power to inform him of the intentions of my Government as to the existing convention of July 1815, now so soon to expire.

I gave him to understand that the President was willing to renew it; thus keeping it distinct from all other questions. It was an instrument satisfactory to the United States, because, as far as it went, it placed the tonnage of the two countries in each other's ports, on a footing of equality. His lordship expressed the readiness of his Majesty's Government to adopt that course.

I next passed to South American affairs. I said that my Government was desirous of ascertaining the intentions of the European Alliance in regard to the contest in that hemisphere, and especially of learning those of Great Britain, as far as she might be disposed to communicate them. The information was sought, not from a mere desire to draw aside the veil of European politics, but from the deep interest the United States took in that contest. They

asked nothing which they were not prepared to reciprocate, being ready to disclose with candour their own intentions. My Government was not uninformed of a general purpose of mediation by the European Alliance; but upon what precise basis, it did not know. This was the point on which it desired light.

Lord Castlereagh made the following replies. He said that the British Government was not only willing, but desired, to communicate to the United States, every thing in relation to the proposed mediation. It acknowledged our natural interest in the question; but that, in fact, no plan for the mediation had been matured. Difficulties had arisen with Spain, on points the most essential; they were increased by obstacles to a quick intercourse of counsels among parties so remote from each other, as London, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Madrid; even the place for the mediation had not been fixed upon. The Allied sovereigns when assembled at Aix la Chapelle in the autumn, would probably take up the subject, although meeting primarily for the consideration of others; and as soon as a basis of pacification had been laid down, he would not fail to apprise me of it.

Before parting, he gave me the following piece of information: that in consequence of the depredations committed upon the lawful

commerce of the world by cruisers ostensibly sailing under commissions from the Spanish colonies, the British Government had issued orders to some of its armed vessels to arrest and bring them in, for the purpose of putting a stop to the vexations and losses they inflicted upon British commerce. He added, that the orders did not embrace cruisers fitted-out *bona fide in South American ports*.

July 20. Dined at Mr. Villiers's, North Audley Street;* to whom I owe obligation for frequent kindnesses; not less for invariable expressions of good-will towards my country. Field-marshal Lord Beresford, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lady Fitzroy, the Duchess of Wellington, Mrs. Pole, Lord Maynard, Mr. Ponsonby, Mrs. Villiers, and my wife, were the party. Conversation turned chiefly on France, in the spirit of commendation I remark to be so usual.

After dinner, Lord Beresford spoke to me of the United States. He thought the Union would not last. Our Government, he said, had worked extremely well, so far; but must give

* Afterwards Earl of Clarendon, uncle to the late Earl, he accomplished Foreign Secretary of England, whose agreeable correspondence the writer, while on the Continent, had the good fortune to enjoy, only mentioned here for the sake of referring to the repeated and marked evidence derived therefrom of his friendliness towards The United States. The former Earl, of whom the author speaks, was also a nobleman of most attractive qualities, as all remember who knew him.

way, it seemed to him, when the country grew to be highly populous as well as powerful. I inculcated other doctrine, mentioning, as among our safeguards, the federative and national principle interwoven in our Constitution, and referring to shocks the Union had already withstood in peace and in war.* He complimented our Navy; it had taken England by surprise, high praise, had it earned no other, he said; but, from its nature, not likely to happen again. I expressed the hope that all such occasions might be far off; in which he cordially joined.

July 21. Mr. * * * * called upon me.

* The accomplished British officer who expressed the above opinion in 1818, might perhaps have seen cause to modify it on the termination of the Civil War between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, nearly half a century afterwards. Deeply as all who love their country deplored that dreadful and prolonged contest, what American, animated by the true spirit of patriotism, but must feel his national pride rise higher, as he contemplates the rank among Nations now every where accorded to The United States as one of the great Powers of the World, which nothing but the successful termination of that contest, would or could have assured to her. This is said with every appreciation of the high sentiments, heroic courage, and other noble qualities of the Southern people, among whom the writer was educated, and formed some of his earliest and warmest friendships, but who fell into a fatal error when they resisted the authority of the mighty UNION of which Washington, (himself a Southern man) laid the deep foundations in the hearts of the American People; a People inheriting, may it not here be added, from their English ancestors, their keen and sensitive appreciation of the value of the "Star of Empire." How would England have acted under a similar attempt, by a portion of her own people, to dismember *her* great Empire!

He said that there would appear in the next Quarterly Review, an article on the life and character of Franklin. It was to be the medium of an attack upon the United States. It would disparage the people, and underrate the resources of the Nation. It would particularly examine the claims of the United States as a naval power, and strip them of importance. It would state their tonnage at less than nine hundred thousand, and as decreasing; endeavouring to show from this and other things, that their maritime resources were not only inconsiderable at present, but not formidable in prospect. The object of the publication was to lower the reputation of the United States in Europe. To this end, it would be translated into French, republished in Paris, and thence widely circulated. Finally, that the article was already known to persons who stood high in England, and countenanced by them.

The last part of what my informant communicated, may, or may not, be true. The whole is of small concern. Cromwell said, that a *Government* was weak that could not stand paper shot. Who then shall write down a *Nation*? Insignificant states escape assaults of the pen. Powerful ones can bear them. If the United States have long been exposed to these assaults, so has England. They come upon her from abroad, but more at home. Anybody who will spend six months in Lon-

don and look at only a portion of the publications daily thrown from the press, will be surprised at the number of denunciations he will surely find of England. The crimes and other enormities committed by her people; the profligacy of the lower orders, the vices of the higher; the corruptions of the Government, its partiality, injustice, tyranny; the abuses of Law; the abuses in the Church; the appalling debt, the grinding taxation, the starving poor, the pampered rich—these and like topics, on which are based assertions of wide-spread depravity and suffering unparalleled, are urged in every form, and run out into all details. It is not the cheap, unstamped press which alone reiterates them; but many of the highest and most powerfully supported of the journals. Sometimes France is fiercely attacked, sometimes Russia, sometimes the Holy Alliance, sometimes the United States; but England always. The battering-ram against her never stops. What English writers thus say of their own country, and the picture is commonly summed up with predictions of national ruin, crosses the Channel next day, is translated into French, and, as foretold of the forthcoming article in the Quarterly Review, circulated over Europe. In a month it has crossed the Atlantic, and is circulating in America. Millions read, millions believe it. In the midst of it all, England goes on in prosperity and power.

Europe and the world see both, in proofs irresistible. The enlightened portion of the world perceive, also, alongside of the picture of moral deformity, no matter how much may be true, or how much over-coloured, counteracting fields of excellence, public and private, that exalt the English nation to a high pitch of sober renown.

It is in this manner I content myself as a citizen of the United States. The last forty years have witnessed their steady advance, in prosperity and power. Europe and the world behold both in proofs as irresistible. The enlightened portion of the world will also infer, that a Nation with a foreign commerce overshadowing that of the greatest Nations of Europe, England excepted; whose whole tonnage, instead of nine hundred thousand, already exceeds fifteen hundred thousand; a Nation throughout whose borders the public liberty and prosperity have long been diffusing the means of private comfort and the lights of general education,—the enlightened everywhere will infer, that such a Nation cannot be wanting in adequate intellectual advancement or social refinements, any more than in political power. They follow through the indissoluble connexion between causes and effects. Ingenuity and ill-nature hunting for exceptions may find them; but the great field of excellence remains. It will continue to

widen, until Britain herself, renowned as she is, will in time count it her chiefest glory, to have been the parent stock of such a people. Of the frame of our Government, so often denounced and little understood, a British Statesman, wanting neither in sagacity or knowledge of history—Charles James Fox—remarks, that it was precisely that constitution which the wisest men of the world would give to the people of the present age, supposing that they had to begin on a clear foundation, and not to destroy any thing existing, at the cost of anarchy and civil war. Of such a Constitution the citizen of the United States may as justly as proudly boast; concluding, in the additional words of Mr. Fox, that it is the “*British Constitution with the improvements of the experience of ten centuries.*”*

July 23. A note from Lord Castlereagh requested I would meet him at the Foreign Office to-day. I found Mr. Robinson with him. The latter is President of the Board of Trade, and has recently been called to a seat in the cabinet.

His lordship informed me that he had made

* It is not for the pen here employed to give expression to any panegyric upon these reflections, but surely no enlightened and dispassionate man in either country would fail to respond to them. Ought not two such Nations to be friends? Ought trivial causes to interrupt their friendship?

known my proposals to the cabinet, and that a general negotiation would be agreed to, on all the points I had stated. With regard to the commercial question, the British Government did not pledge itself to a departure from the colonial system in any degree greater than hitherto, but would bring the whole subject under review ; willing to hope, though abstaining from promises, that some modification of the system, mutually beneficial, might be the result of frank discussions, renewed at the present juncture.

I replied, that my Government would hear this determination with great satisfaction, and joined in the hope that the new effort might be productive of advantage to both countries.

I now informed his lordship, that Mr. Galatin, our minister at Paris, would take part in the negotiation, and come to London as soon as it might suit the convenience of his Majesty's Government to appoint plenipotentiaries on the side of Great Britain.

He replied, the sooner the better, saying that Mr. Robinson* and Mr. Goulburn would be appointed. He added that he himself would be obliged to set out for the Continent, in August, to attend the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that the negotiation would have to proceed in his absence ; but expressed a wish that it might open before he left town. I

* The late Earl of Ripon.

said that all our instructions had not got to hand, but we expected them daily. He asked, whether, to guard against delays incident to a general negotiation, I was prepared to agree separately to a renewal of the convention of 1815, for a term of years to be fixed. I informed him that I was in possession of a power to that effect.

From the manner in which Lord Castlereagh mentioned this subject, and it was for the third time, it was evident that the British Government strongly desired the renewal of this convention. The United States desired it not less. In the early part of the present month, by information transmitted to me, more of our vessels were in the port of Liverpool, than those of any foreign power, or even English vessels, coasters excepted. The latter fact surprised me. It may be taken as an indication that in the trade between the two countries, the United States are likely to have their equal share as carriers, as long as the charges upon the vessels of each continue equal. This is all that the United States ask. It is the offer they make to all nations. They hold it out in a permanent statute, as the basis of their code of navigation.

July 24. Dined yesterday at Sir John Sinclair's, Ormly Lodge, in the neighbourhood of Richmond. He had invited us to spend the day for the sake of an excursion upon the

Thames. Hampton Court, Pope's Villa at Twickenham, Strawberry Hill, with other places to call up historical or classic recollections, would have been within our range; but we were, for this occasion, disappointed. My interview with Lord Castlereagh had been fixed for an hour that prevented our leaving town in season, so that the pleasure of dining and passing the evening at Ormly Lodge, was all we could command.

It was the first time I had been so far into the country, since our arrival. Gardens, hedge-rows, village churches, houses and walls with ivy growing about them, met the eye in all directions. Here, were evergreens cut into shapes as in Queen Anne's time; there, the modern villa, where art was exerted to avoid all appearance of art; so that, even in this short distance, the taste of different ages might be seen. Looking on the whole, I could not avoid the thought, that the lawns so neat and fields so fertile, were the soil that the plough had gone through when the Romans were here. The more did this thought come over me, as in the United States we have what we call "*old fields*," worn out by too much use, as we think, and abandoned on that account. They are abandoned, I must remark, for new ones, more fertile; but when these in turn become "*old fields*," it seems we need be in no despair of making the former "*old fields*" fer-

tile again, any more than the latter! We drove through Richmond Park, which completed the beauty of the scene.

Arrived at Ormly Lodge, we were courteously received at the door, and soon went to dinner. Sir John and Lady Sinclair with several members of their family, Mr. and Mrs. Basil Cochrane, of Portman Square, Sir Benjamin and Lady Hobhouse, with a few others, made the party. Sentiments the most liberal were expressed towards the United States, both Sir John Sinclair and Sir Benjamin Hobhouse having an acquaintance with their concerns that belonged to inquiring minds. The latter was President of the Agricultural Society at Bath. He spoke of the agriculture of the United States. It had long been his desire, he said, that the agriculturists of the two countries should correspond, exchanging observations, and the results of their experiments. I said that those of my country could scarcely object, seeing how much they would be likely to gain. He replied that agriculturists in England would gain too, and spoke of the advantage he had himself derived from a correspondence with Mr. Peters, of Belmont, President of the Agricultural Society at Philadelphia; to whose knowledge he bore testimony, and his happy manner of imparting it. He spoke of Mr. Coke's farm at Holkham, in Norfolk; it was in the highest order in which

it seemed possible for ground to be, to illustrate productive and beautiful husbandry; he did not know that a weed could be found upon it. He called it horticulture upon a great scale. This celebrated farm consists of several thousand acres; the enclosure round the park was stated to be ten miles in extent; the whole estate in that county, to contain about forty thousand acres. Having had the gratification at a subsequent day, of visiting Mr. Coke at his Holkham estate, I am here reminded of what he told me was jocosely said when he first took possession of it; that there was but one blade of grass on the whole, for which *two half-starved rabbits were fighting!* All accounts agree that it was sterile. Skilful farming, aided by capital, had brought it, in the course of a single life, into the state Sir Benjamin Hobhouse described, and repaid, as was added, the large expenditures upon it. The remark from Brougham's colonial policy about Holland was quoted: that that country owed its rich culture to a combination of *defects* in both soil and climate, which put man upon his own efforts. What a lesson to nations as to individuals! The principle of the remark may be applied to England; who with her superabundant riches and strength, is greatly stinted in natural advantages bestowed with a profuse hand on many other nations.

Sir John Sinclair's conversation was instruc-

tive and entertaining. He had the double fund of a large mixture with the world and books to draw from. Early rising was a topic ; he thought it less conducive to health than was generally supposed, owing to the morning exhalations ; we had heard of the robustness of the old Saxons, but he doubted if they were as powerful a race, physically, as the English of the present day ; and as to their going to bed at dark and getting up with the dawn, that, he pleasantly said, was natural among a people ignorant of the art of making candles ! In the evening, further company arrived from neighbouring country seats. Of the number were the Miss Penns, descendants of the founder of Pennsylvania. Pastimes followed, promoted and shared by Sir John, whose qualities in private life do not fall behind those that have made him known to his country as a public man and author. I mentioned on a former page the Chancellor of the Exchequer's opinion of his work on the British finances ; I add that, on asking Mr. Coke what work might be consulted with most advantage on the agriculture of England, he replied, that he knew of none, by a private hand, better than Sir John Sinclair's. High testimonials !

July 27. Dined at Mr. Jeremy Bentham's. If Mr. Bentham's character be peculiar, so is his place of residence.

From my house north of Portman Square,

I was driven nearly three miles through streets for the most part long and wide, until I passed Westminster Abbey. Thereabouts things changed. The streets grew narrow. Houses seemed falling down with age. The crowds were as thick, but not as good-looking, as about Cornhill and the Poultry. In a little while I reached the purlieus of Queen Square Place. The farther I advanced, the more confined was the space. At length turning through a gateway, the passage was so narrow that I thought the wheels would have grazed. It was a kind of blind-alley, the end of which widened into a small, neat, court-yard. There, by itself, stood Mr. Bentham's house. Shrubbery graced its area, and flowers its window-sills. It was like an oasis in the desert. Its name, the Hermitage.

Entering, he received me with the simplicity of a philosopher. I should have taken him for seventy or upwards. Every thing inside of the house was orderly. The furniture seemed to have been unmoved since the days of his fathers ; for I learned that it was a patrimony. A drawing-room, library, and dining-room, made up the suite of apartments. In each was a piano, the eccentric master of the whole being fond of music as the recreation of his literary hours. It was a unique, romantic little homestead. Walking with him into his garden, I found it dark with the

shade of ancient trees. They formed a barrier against all intrusion. In one part was a high dead wall, the back of a neighbour's house. It was dark and almost mouldering with time. In that house, he informed me, Milton had lived. Perceiving that I took an interest in hearing it, he soon afterwards obtained a relic, and sent it to me. It was an old carved baluster, from the staircase, which there was reason to think the hand of the great bard had often grasped—so said the note that accompanied the relic.*

The company was small, but choice. Mr. Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Mill, author of the well-known work on India, Dumont, the learned Genevan, once the associate of Mirabeau, were all who sat down to table. Mr. Bentham did not talk much. He had a benevolence of manner, suited to the philanthropy of his mind. He seemed to be thinking only of the convenience and pleasure of his guests, not as a rule of artificial breeding, as from Chesterfield or Madame De Genlis, but from innate feeling. Bold as are his opinions in his works, here he was wholly unobtrusive of theories that might not have commanded the assent of all present.

* It was composed of four twisted columns. Many years afterwards the author had it worked into his own staircase at Sydenham, at the foot of the stairs, topped with a silver plate indicating its history, as "The Milton Balustrade." It is still preserved in the possession of the writer.

Something else was remarkable. When he did converse, it was in simple language, a contrast to his later writings, where an involved style, and the use of new or unusual words, are drawbacks upon the speculations of a genius original and profound, but with the faults of solitude. Yet some of his earlier productions are distinguished by classical terseness.

Mr. Brougham talked with rapidity and energy. There was a quickness in his bodily movements indicative of the quickness of his thoughts. He showed in conversation the universality and discipline that he exhibits in Parliament and the Courts of Law. The affairs of South America, English authors, Johnson, Pope, Swift, Milton, Dryden, Addison, (the criticisms of the last on *Paradise Lost*, he thought poor things); anecdotes of the living Judges of England; of Lord Chancellors, living and dead; the errors in Burrow's Reports, not always those of the reporter, he said; the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the Constitution of the United States—these were topics that he touched with the promptitude and power of a master. He quoted from the ancient classics, and poets of modern Italy, (the latter in the original also,) not with the ostentation of scholarship, which he is above, but as if they came out whether he would or no amidst the multi-

tude of his ideas and illustrations. He handled nothing at length, but with a happy brevity; the rarest art in conversation, when loaded with matter like his. Sometimes he despatched a subject in a parenthesis; sometimes by a word, that told like a blow. Not long after this my first meeting with him, one of his friends informed me that a gentleman whose son was about to study law, asked him what books he ought to read: "Tell him to begin with Demosthenes and Dante."—"What, to make a lawyer?" said the father.—"Yes," he replied, "and if you don't take, we won't argue about it." Mr. Mill, M. Dumont, and Sir Samuel Romilly, did their parts in keeping up the ball of conversation. Sheridan being spoken of, Sir Samuel Romilly, who had often heard him in the House of Commons, said, that "nothing could be more marked than the difference between the parts of his speeches previously written out, and the extemporaneous parts. The audience could discover in a moment when he fell into the latter. It was well known," he added, "that all the highly wrought passages in his speeches on Hastings' impeachment, were prepared beforehand and committed to memory."

After we rose from table, Mr. Bentham sought conversation with me about the United States. "Keep your salaries low," said he;

“it is one of the secrets of the success of your Government.—But what is this,” he inquired, “called a Board of Navy Commissioners that you have lately set up? I don’t understand it.” I explained it to him. “I can’t say that I like it,” he replied; “the simplicity of your public departments has heretofore been one of their recommendations, but *boards* make *screens*: if any thing goes wrong, you don’t know where to find the offender; it was the board that did it, not one of the members; always the *board*, the *board*!” I got home at a late hour, having witnessed a degree of intellectual point and strength throughout the whole evening, not easily to have been exceeded.

July 30. The French Ambassador gave a dinner to the Prince Regent. There were present all the foreign ambassadors and ministers, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Melville, Lord Stewart, Lord Binning, the Vice-Chancellor, and other official characters, the company being large. The arrangements were on the models of France; for wines, we had Burgundy, Tokay, St. Julien, Sillery Champagne, and others in esteem at such tables. The fruit course displayed the mingled fruits of France and England; from the gardens of the former, and hot-houses of the latter. In England it is only by heat so obtained, that fruit can have its full flavour; yet so numerous over all the

island are these receptacles of artificial heat, that they become as another sun to the English climate.

Beautiful as was the appearance of the table, the chief attraction did not lie there; but in the distinguished entertainers, the Marquis and Marchioness D'Osmond. French society has always been celebrated; the Sevignés, the du Deffands, the de Leviss, and a thousand others, have told us of it. The manners of the French in those days, in spite of the alloy mixed with them, command admiration. They are embalmed in the literature of the nation. Their influence survives in France; for even those who discard totally the politics of the same ages, cherish the example of personal accomplishments that gave grace and ornament to social life. The memory of them was recalled on this occasion.

But among personages of the class assembled, exterior attractions are not all that engage the thoughts. In the drawing-rooms of London as the salons of Paris, intervals are found for other topics. "What is it?" whispered to me in the course of the evening an ambassador from one of the great powers—"what is it we hear about Pensacola? are you going to have difficulty with Spain?" I replied that I hoped not. "May I hear from you the circumstances—I should be glad to inform my court what they are." I said they

were simply these. The United States were at war with the Seminole Indians, a tribe dwelling partly in Florida; Spain was bound by treaty to restrain their hostilities from within her own line, nevertheless, they crossed the line, attacked our people, and fell back into Florida; there, they recruited for new attacks, and when pursued, found shelter, it was hoped without the knowledge of Spain, in the Spanish posts of St. Mark's and Pensacola. Such were the facts on which General Jackson, commander of the United States troops, had acted. He had accordingly taken possession of those fortresses; not as an act of hostility to Spain, but in necessary prosecution of the war against the Indians, and defence of our own frontier. The ambassador said, that Europe would look with interest upon the progress of the affair. I gave the same information to one of the ministers plenipotentiary. The latter remarked, that the diplomatic corps were full of the news; for, said he, "we have had nothing of late so exciting—it smacks of war." I said that I had no belief the United States would detain the posts an hour after the necessity that led to their being taken, ceased.

Mr. Poleticca, appointed minister from Russia to the United States, was of the company. He spoke of the friendly dispositions he should carry with him to my country, by command of

his sovereign. So strongly, he said, were his instructions imbued with this spirit, that he would not scruple to read them to Mr. Adams, when he got to Washington. I learned, not from Mr. Poleticca, but otherwise, that they related in part to the United States joining the Holy Alliance. This may seem strange. It may be explained by the remark, that there was nothing objectionable in the ends proposed on the face of this alliance. Religion, peace and justice among nations, were its professed objects. It was, however, a sufficient objection to any free Government becoming party to it, that it sprang from the wills of irresponsible sovereigns, was perfected by their autograph signatures, and susceptible, from its very nature, of being interpreted and enforced to their own ends. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, first signed it. England declined; on the ground that by the forms of her constitution, no treaty or league of any kind was ever signed by the monarch in person, but by ministers responsible to the nation. A representative of one of the second-rate powers of Europe remarked to me on the mortification which such powers felt at having all their movements brought under the inspection and control of this alliance. He told in this connection the anecdote of the Dutch ambassador who was sent to make peace with Louis XIV., after his first successes

against Holland ; but who, on hearing the extravagant terms demanded by Louis, swooned away, as being of a nature never to be yielded, and which he knew not how to resist.

The Prince Regent sat on the right of the French Ambassador. The whole entertainment was sumptuous. The company remained until a late hour in the drawing-rooms, under the spell of French affability and taste.

July 31. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, by appointment at the French Ambassador's yesterday. He informed me that the Court of Madrid had made propositions to Great Britain to mediate between Spain and her colonies, and invited the European Alliance to join. The invitation was given in a note from the Spanish Ambassador in London, written early this month. He had not known of it at the time of our interview on the 16th, having then just got back from Ireland, and a convenient opportunity of noticing it had not offered when we were together afterwards. He had therefore sought this interview. He could not better unfold the subject than by putting into my hands the notes that had passed ; first, the one from the Spanish Ambassador ; next the answer of the British Government, drawn up a few days ago ; thirdly, as coupling itself with the subject, a note of the British Government of the 28th of August 1817, addressed to the Allied Powers and

made known to Spain, containing the sentiments of Great Britain as to a mediation at that time.

I read each note. The introductory matter of the Spanish Ambassador's, spoke of the rebellious nature of the war in the colonies, of the past clemency of Spain, and her continued willingness to terminate the quarrel. It then laid down the following as the basis on which a mediation was asked. 1. An amnesty to the colonies on their being *reduced*. Lord Castlereagh explained this word, which was a translation from the Spanish, by saying that Spain did not mean *conquered*, but only that her colonies must desist from hostility. 2. The King of Spain to employ in his public service in America, *qualified* Americans as well as European Spaniards. 3. The King to grant the colonies privileges of trade *adapted to the existing posture of things*. 4. The King to acquiesce in all measures the mediating powers might suggest to effect the above objects.

The British answer approved the propositions, as general ones, but called for explanations by which the meaning of some of them might be rendered more definite. It expressed an opinion that the dispute ought to be healed without taking away the political supremacy of the parent state. It declared that the trade of the colonies ought to be free to the rest of the world, the mother-country being placed

upon a footing of reasonable preference. Lastly, it made known that Great Britain would do no more than interpose friendly offices, using no compulsion should they fail.

The British note of August, 1817, related chiefly to the commercial freedom of the colonies and the non-employment of force. It was very explicit on the first point, going the length, as the United States had done, of saying that Great Britain would *accept* no privileges of trade at the hands of the colonies not open to other nations; and on the second point unequivocally disavowing all intention of forcing the colonies by arms, into any measures whatever. The proffered mediation at this period, went off on the question of the slave-trade. Britain insisting on its abolition by Spain on terms to which the latter would not then assent.

These state papers, the purport of which I give succinctly, record the opinions of Great Britain on the settlement of this contest at the epochs indicated.

When I had finished reading them, his lordship asked if I was in possession of the views of my own Government as to a basis of settlement.

I replied in the affirmative; informing him that the desire of my Government was, that the colonies should be completely emancipated from the parent state. I was also of opinion,

that the contest never would, or could, be settled otherwise.

I added, that the United States would decline taking part, if they took part at all, in any plan of pacification, except on the basis of the independence of the colonies.

This was the determination to which my Government had come on much deliberation, and I was bound to communicate it in full candour. It had hoped that the views of Great Britain would have been coincident.

Lord Castlereagh appeared to receive the communication with regret. He admitted that the United States stood in different relations to the contest, from those which Great Britain held ; as well by reason of the European engagements of the latter, as other causes. Still, he sincerely desired that our two Governments should have acted in full harmony of opinion. He perceived the extent of interest which the United States had in the whole question ; on which account their concurrence with Europe on all the grounds of mediation, although they took no part in it, would not have been without an influence in rendering it effectual. The fundamental point of difference was farther discussed between us ; but I gave his lordship no reason to suppose that the determination of the United States would undergo a change. The conversation was conducted and terminated in a spirit altogether conciliatory.

The policy of the United States on the great question of Spanish American independence, could not have been different. They owed it to the actual position of the colonies; to their future destinies; to the cause of human liberty in the new hemisphere. The determination of the United States to act upon the policy, was accelerated by the exertions of a distinguished patriot and statesman of the Republic, Mr. Clay; whose comprehensive forecast outran the doubts of others, and whose ardent, commanding eloquence, never tiring in this cause, made its impression on the legislative counsels and public opinion of the nation. It was a noble spectacle to see the United States stretch out their powerful hand to these infant communities, anticipating the freest government of Europe in announcing the decree of their independence. Mr. Canning, at a subsequent day, earned a brilliant portion of his fame, by throwing the mighty ægis of Britain over their freedom; which but enhances the fame of their American champion, who was foremost in the competition.

When we had done with this subject, his lordship asked if I had any accounts from my Government of the capture of Pensacola. I said, none that were official. I improved the opportunity, as in other cases at the French Ambassador's, of giving him an outline of the transaction. He expressed a hope that it would not lead to a breach of our peaceful

relations with Spain, adding that nothing had yet been received on the subject from the British Minister at Washington.

August 12. Called at the Foreign Office, to inform Mr. Planta, Under Secretary of State, that Mr. Gallatin would probably arrive in England in a few days by way of Dover, on the business of the negotiation. I requested that the necessary passports might be forwarded for according to him every facility in landing and coming to London ; which were promised.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—IMPRESSMENT—
CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.—MR. GALLATIN
ARRIVES IN LONDON.—PREPARATORY CONFERENCE AT
NORTH CRAY, THE SEAT OF LORD CASTLEREAGH, IN
KENT, WHERE THE NEGOTIATORS DINE AND PASS THE
NIGHT.—APPEARANCES OF THE COUNTRY.—OPENING
OF THE NEGOTIATION.—THE POINTS RECAPITULATED.
—LAST INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON
IMPRESSMENT, PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR AIX LA
CHAPELLE.

August 14, 1818. Called on Lord Castle-
reagh by his invitation.

He informed me that causes had occurred
to prevent the Congress of Sovereigns assem-
bling at Aix la Chapelle as soon as had been
expected. The time was now fixed for the
20th of September; he was the better pleased,
as it ensured him the opportunity of being
present at the commencement of the negotia-
tion. I expressed my satisfaction at the com-
munication, and in turn informed him, that the
full powers and instructions to Mr. Gallatin and

myself had arrived, and that I expected the former from Paris in a day or two.

He next surprised me agreeably by reviving the subject of Impressment. I feared that it had been expunged from our conferences. He premised, that what he was going to say, was, for the present, without the knowledge of his colleagues in the administration. He had reflected upon my late proposals; they had, it was true, been rejected, as they stood; but feeling the great importance of this subject, and willing to avoid, if possible, shutting it out from the general negotiation, it had occurred to him to offer some suggestions to me. He thought that my proposals might perhaps be rendered acceptable by some modifications important to Great Britain, without affecting, as he hoped, the primary object of the United States. The modifications were these:

1. That any treaty or convention founded on my proposals, should be limited to eight, ten, or twelve years, with liberty to each party to be absolved from its stipulations on a notice of three or six months; as in the existing arrangement between the two countries for the reciprocal dismantlement of their flotillas on the lakes.

2. That the British boarding-officer entering American ships at sea for a purpose agreed by both nations to be justifiable under the laws of nations, should be entitled to call for a list

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of the crew; and if he saw a seaman known to him, or on good grounds suspected, to be a British seaman, should have the further privilege of making a record, or *procès verbal*, of the fact, in such manner as to bring the case under the notice of the Government of the United States, but not to take the man out of the ship.

The latter regulation, his lordship observed, would operate as a further incentive to the faithful execution of our home prohibitions for excluding British subjects from our vessels; the former, guard against any irrevocable relinquishment by Great Britain of what she believed to be her right of impressment—a relinquishment which the feelings of the country might not on trial be found to bear.

To the first modification I saw no insurmountable objection. The second I viewed very differently. But as, in the progress of the negotiation, a hope might reasonably be entertained of getting rid of the second if the first were adopted, I said that, while I felt unwilling to express an opinion on the proposed modifications, apart from my colleague, whose arrival was so soon expected, I saw quite enough in the suggestion of them to bring the subject again within the pale of our discussions.

Lord Castlereagh then passed to a new subject, his manner showing the interest he felt in

it. It was the execution, by order of General Jackson, of two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister. This transaction grew out of the war against the Seminole Indians. Ambrister was taken in the field, fighting on their side against the forces of the United States. Arbuthnot was made prisoner in the Spanish fort of St. Mark's, and charged with instigating the Indians to war against our troops and people. His lordship inquired if I had any intelligence from my Government respecting these executions, saying that his Majesty's Government had none as yet from Mr. Bagot. I replied, that neither had I any from my Government. He said that he could have no complaint to make at present, the case not being officially before the British Government; but assuming the rumours to have any foundation, the execution of these men under the mere authority of the commanding general, without any reference to the Government of the United States, seemed an extreme measure. He asked if I could account for it. I replied, that I could only account for it by supposing the offences to have been extreme. This, combined with the distance of the commanding general from Washington, had probably presented the whole case to his mind, as one for his own discretion. The Indians, when waging war, destroyed their prisoners, sparing neither age nor sex, which necessarily exposed those who took

side with them to their own rules of warfare, if captured; a momentary humanity might regret this kind of retaliation; but perhaps the permanent interests of humanity would be promoted, as its tendency would be to deter others from instigating the Indians to attack our people. It was so that I spoke. Lord Castlereagh made no other commentary than to express a hope that everything would be well explained, the occurrence being of a nature to excite unusual sensibility in England. I remarked that I saw with concern the inflammatory comments of the public journals, before the occurrence could be rightly understood in England; not that the press in either country should be left to any other influence than its own will, but from the fear that it might forerun, in this instance, the real nature of the case, and raise up difficulties not intrinsic to it. He replied by disavowing all connexion on this, as on other occasions, between the Government and such of the public prints as were said to propagate its opinions; remarking that the Government formed its own views of subjects without following those of newspapers, or dictating them. He said at parting, that it was his intention to go out of town to-morrow, to be back on the 25th.

August 16. Mr. Gallatin arrives in London.

August 17. Address a note to Lord Castlereagh, informing him of Mr. Gallatin's ar-

rival, and that we were ready to open the negotiation.

August 19. Receive an answer. Lord Castlereagh being still out of town, says, that he will be happy to see us at dinner at his country residence, on the 22nd. We are asked to come early, to give time for a conference before dinner, and remain all night.

August 20. Employed to-day and yesterday in going with Mr. Gallatin to leave our cards at the houses of the members of the cabinet and diplomatic corps. As minister last arriving, he makes the first call, though only in transitory relations with this court.

August 23. We arrived at Lord Castlereagh's country seat, North Cray, Kent, sixteen miles from town, yesterday at three o'clock.

We found there, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goulburn, the two British plenipotentiaries. After a courteous welcome, we all withdrew to Lord Castlereagh's cabinet. An informal beginning was made in the negotiation. His lordship said, that this first meeting was one in which he took much interest, though its principal design was to bring the plenipotentiaries together, and fix the subjects rather than discuss them. The negotiation was important to both countries; he sincerely felt it so to Great Britain; his Majesty's Government earnestly desired that every question which had led to past misunderstandings, might be ami-

cably adjusted at this season of peace, so as to lay a foundation of stable harmony for the future ; he trusted that the aim of each country would be to advance, as far as compatible with its own rights and interests, the just rights and interests of the other. In short, let us strive, said he, so to regulate our intercourse in all respects, as that each Nation may be able to do its utmost towards making the other rich and happy. These were among his introductory remarks. Mr. Gallatin and I reciprocated their good spirit. His lordship proceeded to specify the points the negotiation was to comprehend.

Next, he spoke of Impressment. The modifications suggested to the proposals I had submitted for excluding British seamen from our service, he would, he said, repeat, for the information of Mr. Gallatin. We expressed at once our decided objection to the second ; but agreed, that the general subject should come into the negotiation. With impressment, it was also agreed that we should let in other subjects of a maritime nature ; such as, the doctrine of blockade ; the right of a neutral to trade with the colonies of an enemy in time of war ; the right of search, and list of contraband. General conversation was had under each head. The conference closed with an understanding that the plenipotentiaries should re-assemble

on the 27th, the negotiation then to open in form.

Business being over, we took a turn through the grounds. The day was fine. We walked on lawns from which sheep were separated by invisible fences, and along shady paths by the Cray side. The Cray is a narrow river, whose waters here flow through grassy banks. Close by, were hedges of sweet-briar. Such, and other rural appearances, might naturally have been anticipated at such a spot. But they were not all that we saw. There was something I had not anticipated. It was a *ménagerie*. Taste, in England, appears to take every form. In this receptacle were lions, ostriches, kangaroos, and I know not what other strange animals. Those who collect rare books and pictures, are too numerous to be computed; so, those who gather relics and curiosities from different parts of the world. Some persons are conchologists. They have the shells of all coasts arranged under scientific classification, like plants in botany. Some collect *pipes*. I hear of an individual who has laid out several thousand pounds sterling upon this taste. And now, amidst lawns and gardens; amidst all that denoted cultivation and art, I beheld wild beasts and outlandish birds, the tenants of uncivilized forests and skies, set down as if for contrast!

Getting back we were shown to our rooms to prepare for dinner, where we were afterwards joined by Lady Castlereagh and Lady Sandwich. Lord Clanwilliam, and the two Mr. Stewarts, nephews of Lord Castlereagh, were also of the guests, with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goulburn. Every thing was talked of but the negotiation. The four-footed and feathered *exotics* seen in our walk, were not forgotten. We rose from table at an early hour. The remainder of the evening went by in conversation and conversation-games. My colleague and myself felt ourselves at home. Invited for the purpose of fulfilling public duties to the house of an English minister of state, entrenched in confidence and power, we found ourselves of his domestic circle, the partakers of a hospitality as easy as delightful. At twelve we separated.

We were under the necessity of leaving this agreeable mansion after breakfast this morning. It was Sunday. Lord and Lady Castlereagh walked to the village church not far off. They were followed by their servants, by whom they are said to be beloved for their kind treatment of them. Those who oppose his lordship in politics, accord to him every merit in the relations of private life. To his uniform blandness in all official and personal intercourse, the whole diplomatic corps bear testimony.

The country between London and North

Cray was undulating, Crossing the Thames at Westminster Bridge, we left Shooter's Hill to the north. The whole way presented one universal face of cultivation. The hop is extensively grown in the county of Kent. It is relied upon as a principal crop by the *Kentish yeomen*, who are said to illustrate finely the comforts and character of the middle class of rural population in England. I was told that but for the heavy duty on the importation of foreign hops, amounting to prohibition except when the home crop fails, not a hop vine would be planted in Kent, or any part of England. The hops from several other countries, including the United States, would be preferred, as of superior strength, and far cheaper. With the corn laws of England, the commercial world is familiar. The same policy, it seems, extends not to hops only, so connected with the vast home consumption of malt liquor, and other large items of agriculture, but to the minutest products; comprehending eggs, apples, cherries, chesnuts. Watch is thus kept upon the orchards and barn-yards of France!

The old custom of *gavel-kind* still prevails in Kent. This made me look with an eye of curiosity upon the country. By this custom, on the death of a parent, his land is divided equally among all his sons, instead of going to the eldest, as in other parts of England. The latter mode of descent the English defend, as

necessary to their prosperity and power. It is doubtless necessary to their form of government. Nothing else could give stability to their aristocracy, without which the throne would not long be stable. But they say that it is necessary to their agriculture, the root of all their riches. They allege, that without the capital which it places in the hands of great landholders, farming could not be carried on to full advantage; the soil could not be improved to its utmost capability, small farmers not being able to command the means, or willing to incur the risk, of experimental agriculture on a scale to ascertain permanent results, especially in connexion with expensive and constantly improving machinery. They also say, that, in the national aggregate, agriculture is cheaper when farms are large, than when too much subdivided. The same enclosures last through ages; and stock, implements, and labour of all kinds, are more economically applied when kept together and applied under one system, than when frequently broken into small parts. It is so, and more at length that they reason. I could not see the proof of it, in the portion of this county that fell under my observation. The farms, to a rapid glance, showed thrift, neatness, and fertility. Nor did I learn from those better informed, that there was any inferiority in the modes of farming; or in general productiveness, as compared with

other counties in the kingdom. The gross product of agriculture in all England, is, indeed, amazing, when it is considered what extensive tracts of her territory are still in downs and heath ; and how much of the fertile part is in pleasure-grounds. The wonder augments when we see what large classes of her population, and of the domestic animals, consume without working. The horses in England, kept for luxury, are reckoned as fifteen to one to those in France. The very *pheasants* are consumers ; grain being raised for feeding them as they fly about the domains of the opulent.

Gavel-kind creates subdivided inheritances only when the owner of an estate dies intestate. He may, by will, prefer the eldest son ; and the general feeling in England, which is so strong in favour of keeping estates together that even younger sons acquiesce in it, exerts an influence in Kent. Some lands are specially exempt by law from the custom, though most of them are still subject to it. I estimate fully the political objections to primogeniture. I deal not with it in this light ; but the imagination feels the force of a mere rule of law that can link time present to time remote ; that can preserve, unbroken throughout centuries, outward memorials around which it is in man's nature that his moral associations should linger. It is said that Surrenden House in this county, the present residence of Sir Edward

Dering, was rebuilt, upon its old foundations, in the time of Edward III; the lineage of the proprietor being traceable by family records to a period earlier than the Norman conquest. In gazing upon these ancient, massive structures, we forget the tyranny under which they were first reared, and rude customs and superstitions of their age. These are gone. The romance of their history remains, stealing into the feelings when they are approached as seats of modern hospitality.

The interest of the whole excursion was increased to me by the companionship of Mr. Gallatin. His station as Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris has added to all his other information, much insight into the courts and cabinets of Europe. A keen observer of men, and possessing a knowledge of books, which his knowledge of the world has taught him how to read, his stores of conversation are abundant and ever at command. He did me the favour to take a seat in my carriage, and in his flow of anecdote and reflections I had an intellectual repast.

August 27. The Plenipotentiaries assembled at the office of the Board of Trade, Whitehall. The full powers on each side were exhibited, and inspected by the other. A copy of ours was handed to the British plenipotentiaries, and a copy of theirs promised at the next meeting.

We presented a paper containing a recapitulation of the subjects which, by our understanding, were to be treated of. They were as follow: 1. The Slave question under the treaty of Ghent. 2. The Fisheries. 3. Northwestern boundary line. 4. Columbia river question. 5. Renewal of the commercial convention of 1815. 6. Intercourse between the United States and British West India islands. 7. Intercourse by sea between the United States and British North American colonies. 8. Inland intercourse between same and same. 9. Impressment. 10. Blockade. 11. Colonial trade in time of war. 12. List of contraband. 13. Miscellaneous, minor, questions.

The British plenipotentiaries agreed to this recapitulation. Referring to the fifth head, they asked whether we intended to discuss the provisions of the existing convention. That instrument might not, they remarked, contain for either party all that was wished; but if opened, each would have alterations to propose, which would throw the whole at large. Under this reasoning, it was determined not to open it for discussion. We expressed a desire not to proceed immediately to the formal act of renewal, but wait a reasonable time to ascertain the progress made on other points. The desire was acceded to. The British plenipotentiaries stated, that they did not view

this convention as connected with any of the other points, alleging that they had been ready, but for our asking a pause, to proceed at once to the act of renewal. Both parties united in the propriety of its being renewed in time to let the merchants of the two countries be seasonably informed of the ground on which they were to stand. After some conversation on other points, the meeting adjourned to the 29th. It was agreed that the negotiation should be carried on by conferences and protocol, the privilege being open to either party of recording their sentiments on the protocol. *

Whitehall is one of the ancient palaces of London. The room in which we assembled, had been the chamber of the Duke of Monmouth. It was also mentioned that Gibbon had often written at the table before us, when a member of the Board of Trade.

August 29. The Plenipotentiaries met. The protocol of the last conference, as drawn up by the British Plenipotentiaries, was read, and adopted. They gave us a copy of their full powers.

Regular discussions now commenced. The question about the slaves first presented itself. During the war of 1812, great numbers of this description of population belonging to the landed proprietors of the southern States, had found their way to British ships in the Chesapeake, or other waters of the Union. A large

portion had gone on board of them, under proclamations from the British naval commanders; some without these incentives. Others had been captured during the progress of the war. Their loss was heavily felt by the owners. By the first article of the treaty of Ghent it was provided, that "*all territory, places, and possessions, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other public property, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, OR ANY SLAVES, OR OTHER PRIVATE PROPERTY.*"

Slaves came under the denomination of private property, by the highest sanction of our laws. The United States held it to be the true meaning of the foregoing clause, that the British were to carry off no slaves within our limits, and in their possession, at the time of the ratifications of the treaty, whether such slaves were on board their ships, or in forts, or other places on shore, held by their troops.

Great Britain contended for a more restricted construction. She said that those slaves only were not to be carried off, who, at the time of the exchange of the ratifications, were in the forts and places where they had been originally

taken. This was the question at issue between the two nations.

By far the greater number of the slaves of whom the proprietors had, by one means or other, been despoiled, were attached to places that the British had never reduced or taken, during the war. Very few had been in forts or places so taken, or at all events remained in them, up to the time of the ratifications of the treaty; so that, in effect, the British construction of the clause would have rendered it nearly inoperative as to any benefit to the owners of the slaves.

We unfolded the views of our Government on this subject. The British plenipotentiaries replied and stated theirs. They asked whether our claim embraced such of the slaves as had been captured at any periods during the war, carried out of our limits, and then brought back again into some bay or harbour, other than where they had been originally captured. We answered in the affirmative; assigning as one reason, that we did not consider even the original capturing of the slaves, under whatever circumstances, justified by the ordinary usages of war. The British plenipotentiaries did not accede to this doctrine.

No definite proposals of any kind resulted from this day's discussions. It was agreed that we should adjourn to Friday the 4th of September. The British plenipotentiaries hoped

to be ready by that day to submit proposals on impressment, we promising to hand in, immediately afterwards, ours on other maritime questions. We made known our intention not to discuss any maritime question, unless that of impressment was brought forward by Great Britain.

September 1. Called on Lord Castlereagh. He had sent a note requesting to see me. His travelling-carriages were at the door, preparatory to his departure for Dover on his journey to the Continent. He had delayed this interview, he remarked, as his last act of business ; but not one least in his thoughts. It was to make a communication to me on Impressment. He had reported to the Cabinet all that passed at the meeting at North Cray, making known especially our objections to the condition which went to authorize a British boarding-officer to call for a list of the crew. The British Government felt an anxious desire to accommodate this difficult subject, and had determined upon going all practicable lengths. He had therefore to inform me, that this condition would be waived. Such had been the determination of the Cabinet. He took great pleasure in apprising me of this determination, hoping I would see in it proof of the friendly feeling which prevailed in the councils of the Cabinet towards the United States.

I replied in suitable terms to his communi-

cation. Continuing his remarks he said, that the course which the Cabinet had resolved upon, would probably give a shock to public feeling in England, when known ; but its members would be prepared to meet it. He concluded by observing, that the great principle being at last settled, viz. that on our engaging not to employ British seamen, the practice of impressment from our vessels would cease, he hoped all details would be easily arranged ; their proposals, put into form, would be ready as soon as we were prepared with ours on the Fisheries and West India trade.

A few words were exchanged on other points. Speaking of the trade in time of war with the colonial ports of a belligerent, I perceived a disinclination in his mind to consider it as among the questions to be treated of. He said that the rule of :56 was one that Great Britain regarded as so well established that he did not see how we could touch it. I replied, that I had been under the belief that the question was to come into the negotiation, whatever might prove its fate ; adding, that the two Governments had been so near an adjustment of it heretofore, that there seemed no reason to despair now. At this point of the conversation, Sir William Scott was announced. The coincidence claims a passing notice. This celebrated Judge of the English Court of Admiralty, in whose decrees eloquence unites with

learning to stretch the belligerent and depress the neutral claim, was the same whose elaborate judgment in the case of the Immanuel, had done so much towards fortifying the British Government in the very rule we were talking about. Our conversation dropped. Lord Castlereagh was on the eve of departure and could not prolong it. He requested I would impart to Mr. Gallatin what had passed on Impressment, and gave me his adieu. A few minutes after I left him, he set off.

The affairs of the Foreign Office were confided, during his absence, to Earl Bathurst, who received, and corresponded with, the foreign ministers. The chief purpose of the Congress of Aix la Chapelle was, to determine whether the armies of the allied powers should be withdrawn from France this autumn, or remain two years longer. Besides other considerations galling to France in the occupation, the expense, which she was made to bear, pressed upon her. Other European topics were to engage the attention of the Congress, and the business of Spanish America was not to be passed by, as Lord Castlereagh had, on a former occasion, intimated to me.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ENGLISH IN THE AUTUMN.—INAUGURATION OF THE
LORD MAYOR.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

1818. WHILST the negotiation was going on, its business absorbed attention. Of personal occurrences during its pendency I have little to say. We dined with some of the cabinet ministers and diplomatic corps. On one occasion, a portion of the ambassadors and ministers gratified me by dining at my house, to meet Mr. Gallatin. Some of them had taken a lively interest in the progress of our negotiation. A French philosopher has said, that every day of his life formed a page of his works. I cannot claim this merit, if merit it be. It was not my habit to note down, as a daily routine, the incidents passing around me. I gave myself to the practice according to my feelings and opportunities. During the negotiation, and for the remnant of the year, I scarcely indulged in it at all. Soon after the close of our joint labours, Mr. Gallatin returned to Paris, leaving me to regret the loss of a colleague so enlightened.

In the west-end of London during the autumn, little is seen but uninhabited houses. It brings to mind the city in the Arabian Nights, where everything was dead. The roll of the carriage, the assemblage in the parks, the whole panorama of life, in circles where amusement is the business of life, stops. Pass Temple Bar, and winter and spring, summer and autumn, present the same crowds. Nothing thins them. But the depopulation of the west-end is nearly complete. The adjournment of Parliament is the first signal for desertion. You see post-chaises and travelling carriages, with their light and liveried postillions, issuing from the squares and sweeping round the corners. For awhile, this movement is constant. The gay emigrants find their country-seats all ready for their reception. Thiebault tells us, that the King of Prussia had libraries at several of his palaces, containing the same books, arranged in the same order; so that when going from one to another the train of his studies might not be broken. So the English on arriving at their seats, even if they have several, which is not unfrequently the case, find every thing they want; unlike the châteaux in the provinces of France, which are said to be ill-furnished and bare, compared with the fine hotels of Paris.

The next great egress is on the approach

of the 1st of September. That day is an era in England. Partridge-shooting begins. All who have not left town with the first flight, now follow. Ministers of state, even lord-chancellors, can hardly be kept from going a-field. When our conference of the 29th of August was finished, my colleague and I, without reflection, named the 1st of September for the next meeting. "*Spare us,*" said one of the British plenipotentiaries; "*it is the first day of partridge-shooting!*"

The families that flock into the country, generally remain until after the festivities of Christmas, which close with Twelfth-night. Some stay much longer. Cabinet ministers and the diplomatic corps, are among the few persons left in the metropolis, and these in diminished number. The latter are often of the invited guests, when the English thus exchange the hospitalities of the town for those, more prolonged and magnificent, at their country abodes. Field sports are added to them; hunting of all kinds, the fox, the hare, the stag; shooting, with I know not what else, including archery, of the days of the Plantagenets. This last, like the chase, sometimes graced by the competitions of female agility. But foreign ambassadors and ministers do not always find it convenient to profit of these invitations. If not always engaged in negotiations, a day seldom goes

by with those representing countries in large intercourse with England, unmarked by calls upon their time. Like men of business everywhere, they must be always on the spot to attend to, or watch it.* But if for the most part cut off from these rural recreations, there is one way in which they partake of the results; I mean in abundance of game for their tables. Amongst the persons to whom mine was indebted throughout the autumn, I must not forget one of the British plenipotentiaries. Let me add, that if not of the same mind with us on all official discussions, they both made us sensible in all ways of their personal courtesy.

The enthusiastic fondness of the English for the country, is the effect of their laws. Primogeniture is at the root of it. Scarcely any persons who hold a leading place in the circles of their society live in London. They have *houses* in London, in which they stay while Parliament sits, and occasionally visit at other seasons; but their *homes* are in the country. Their turreted mansions are there

* During the whole of his residence of seven years and half at the English Court, it may be safely asserted that the very rare absences of the author from his post in London, *all put together*, would not exceed *two weeks*. Two other instances might be cited of diplomatic servants of the American Government in London, who, during several successive years, were not *three days* absent from their posts, all *put together*.

with all that denotes perpetuity—heir-looms, family memorials, pictures, tombs. This spreads the ambition among other classes, and the taste for rural life, however diversified or graduated the scale, becomes widely diffused. Those who live on their estates through successive generations, not merely those who have titles, but thousands besides, acquire, if they have the proper qualities of character, an influence throughout their neighbourhood. It is not an influence always enlisted on the side of power and privilege. On the contrary, there are numerous instances in which it has for ages been strenuously used for the furtherance of popular rights. These are the feelings and objects that cause the desertion of the west-end of the town when Parliament rises. The permanent interests and affections of the most opulent classes, centre almost universally in the country. Heads of families go here to resume their stand in the midst of these feelings; and all, to partake of the pastimes of the country life, where they flourish in pomp and joy.

In other parts of London, in the vast limits between Temple Bar and the Tower, the crowds, I have said, continue the same. Even here, however, the passion for the country keeps out. Every evening when business is over, the citizens may be seen going to their cottages that skirt the wide environs towards

Highgate, Hornsey, Hackney, Stratford, Clapham, Camberwell, Greenwich, and in all directions. I heard a physician call the Parks the "*lungs of London.*" These little retreats, many of them hidden amidst foliage, and showing the neatness that seems stamped upon every thing rural in England, in like manner serve their owners as places in which to breathe, after the pent-up air of confined streets and counting-rooms. To the latter they return on the following morning to plan operations that affect the markets and wealth of the civilized world.*

On the 9th of November I dined at Guildhall. It was the day of the inauguration of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Atkins. There sat down about nine hundred persons. The giants and knights clad in steel, the band of music slowly moving round the hall, the Aldermen in their costumes, the Sheriffs with their gold chains, the Judges in their robes, the

* The preference for the country life has long prevailed among the opulent in parts of The United States, many of whom only come to the large cities for a few months in the year. The same preference has spread of late years, to other parts of The Union, where large and beautiful, it might almost be said elaborate, residences are often seen, sometimes far into the country, with ample lawns and pleasure grounds, and all else denoting taste and the means of gratifying it. The country houses are sometimes sumptuously furnished and adorned. Of the beauty and extent of the large parks in the immediate neighbourhood of some of the principal cities, too much can scarcely be said.

Lady Mayoress in her hoop, with long rows of prosperous-looking citizens, presented a novel mixture of modern things, with symbols of the ancient banquet. The lights, the decorations of the hall, and all that covered the tables, gave a high impression of municipal plenty and munificence. Some of the cabinet ministers and other official characters were among the guests.

One of the knights wore the helmet which the City of London gave to Henry the Seventh. Its weight was fourteen pounds. The other knight wore the entire armour of Henry the Fifth. It was that of a small man. Lord Sidmouth, who sat near me, remarked, that all the armour of that day and earlier, indicated the stature to be smaller than at present. I thought of what Sir John Sinclair said, at Ormly Lodge. The reasons assigned were improved agriculture, better personal habits, from the greater diffusion of comforts among the people through the increase of wealth and science; also, the disappearance of certain diseases, as leprosy and scurvy, and the advancement of medical knowledge. Mr. Vansittart said, that the remains of Roman armour had shown the Romans to be a smaller race of men than the moderns.

After the King, Prince Regent, and members of the Royal Family, had been given as toasts, the Lord Mayor did me the honour to

propose my name, that he might make it the medium of cordial sentiments towards the United States. These the company received with applause. In returning thanks I reciprocated the friendly feelings he had expressed for my country.

Before going to dinner we were in the council-room. Among the paintings was a very large one of the scene between Richard the Second and Wat Tytler. Another of that between Mary of Scots and Rizzio; one of the siege of Gibraltar, by Copley; and other pieces. But I looked with chief interest at the portraits of the naval commanders. Pausing at Nelson's, Lord Sidmouth said, that in a visit he had from him three weeks before the battle of Trafalgar, he described the plan of it with bits of paper on a table, as it was afterwards fought. When we came to Duncan's, he recited the lines, by Lord Wellesley, on the victory over the Dutch, off Camperdown. At Howe's, Mr. Vansittart said, that just before his battle with the French fleet, the sailors expressed a wish for a little more grog. Howe replied, "Let 'em wait till it's over, and we'll *all get drunk together.*" At Rodney's, some conversation took place on the manœuvre, which he first practised in his victory over De Grasse, of breaking the line. I asked, whether the success of that mode of attack did not essentially depend upon the

inferiority of your enemy, especially in gunnery. It was admitted that it did, and that Lord Nelson always so considered it. The Marlborough, Rodney's leading ship, received the successive broad-sides of twenty-three of the French ships of the line, at near distance, and had not more than half-a-dozen of her men killed. My motive to the inquiry was, a remark I once heard from Commodore Decatur of our service, that, in the event, which I trust may not occur, of English fleets and those of the United States meeting, the former would probably change their system of tactics in action, Speaking of naval science in England; Lord Sidmouth said, that it had greatly improved of late years; Lord Exmouth had told him that, when he was a young man, it was not uncommon for lieutenants to be ignorant of lunar observations, but that now no midshipman was promoted who could not take them. He intimated his belief, that naval science generally, was destined to far higher advances than it had yet reached.

After dinner we went into the ball-room, where a ball terminated the festivities.

I should not soon have done if I were to mention all the instances, of which I chanced on this occasion to hear, of riches among mechanics, artisans, and others engaged in the common walks of business in this great city.

I make a few selections. I heard of haberdashers who cleared thirty thousand pounds sterling a-year, by retail shop-keeping; of brewers, whose buildings and fixtures necessary to carry on business, cost four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; of silversmiths worth half a million; of a person in Exeter Change, who made a fortune of a hundred thousands pounds, chiefly by making and selling razors; of job-horse men, who held a hundred and forty thousand pounds in the Three per Cents; and of confectioners and woollen drapers who had funded sums still larger. Of the higher order of merchants, bankers, and capitalists of that stamp, many of whom were present, whose riches I heard of, I am unwilling to speak, lest I should seem to exaggerate. I have given enough. During the late war with France, it is said that there were once recruited in a single day in the country between Manchester and Birmingham, two thousand able-bodied working men for the British army. It is the country so remarkable for its collieries, iron mines, and blast furnaces. Its surface is desolate. A portion of it is sometimes called the fire country, from the flames that issue in rolling volumes from the lofty tops of the furnaces. Seen all around by the traveller at night, they present a sight that may be called awful. Sometimes you are told that human beings are at work in the

bowels of the earth beneath you. A member of the diplomatic corps, on hearing of the above enlistment remarked, that could Bonaparte have known that fact, and seen the whole region of country from which the men came, seen the evidences of opulence and strength in its public works, its manufacturing establishments and towns, and abundant agriculture, notwithstanding the alleged or real pauperism of some of the districts, it would of itself have induced him to give over his project of invading England.

In like manner, let any one go to a lord mayor's dinner; let him be told of the sums owned by those he will see around him and others he will hear of, not inherited from ancestors, but self-acquired by individual industry, in all ways in which the hand and mind of man can be employed, and he will be backward at predicting the ruin of England from any of her present financial difficulties. Predictions of this nature have been repeated for ages, but have not come to pass. Rich subjects make a rich nation. As the former increase, so will the means of filling the coffers of the latter. Let contemporary nations lay it to their account, that England is more powerful now than ever she was, notwithstanding her debt and taxes. This knowledge should form an element in their foreign policy. Let them assure themselves, that in-

stead of declining she is advancing; that her population increases fast; that she is constantly seeking new fields of enterprise in other parts of the globe, and adding to the improvements that already cover her island at home, new ones that promise to go beyond them in magnitude; in fine, that instead of being worn out, as at a distance is sometimes supposed, she is going a-head with the buoyant spirit and vigorous effort of youth. It is an observation of Madame de Staël, how ill England is understood on the Continent, in spite of the little distance that separates her from it. How much more likely that nations between whom and herself an ocean interposes, should fall into mistakes on the true nature of her power and prospects; should imagine their foundations to be crumbling, instead of steadily striking into more depth, and spreading into wider compass. Britain exists all over the world, in her colonies. These alone, give her the means of advancing her industry and opulence for ages to come. They are portions of her territory more valuable than if joined to her island. The sense of distance is destroyed by her command of ships; whilst that very distance serves as the feeder of her commerce and marine. Situated on every continent, lying in every latitude, these, her out-dominions, make her the centre of a trade already vast and perpetually augmenting—a

home trade and a foreign trade—for it yields the riches of both, as she controls it all at her will. They take off her redundant population, yet make her more populous; and are destined, under the policy already commenced towards them, and which in time she will far more extensively pursue, to expand vastly her empire, commercial, manufacturing, and maritime.*

On the 17th of November, died the Queen. She expired at Kew Palace, after a long illness. The last time I saw her was at an entertainment at Carlton House. There, as at the royal marriage, she had been distinguished by her affability. Going away, gentlemen attendants, and servants with lights, preceded her sedan; whilst the company gave tokens of respectful deference. Now, she had paid the common debt of nature. The event was communicated to me in a note from Lord Bathurst; a form observed towards all foreign ambassadors and ministers.

The Queen enjoyed in a high degree the respect and affection of a very large portion of the inhabitants of Great Britain. For more than half a century, her conduct upon the throne had been to the nation, satisfactory. There were periods when it was said that she

* Whatever may be said to the contrary, reflecting men will agree that time has not diminished the force of these reflections.

had interfered beyond her sphere in public affairs; but besides the obstacles to this under a constitutional government like that of England, however frequent may be the instances in arbitrary governments, there never appears to have been any sufficient evidence of the fact. Colonel Barré, the bold champion of the Colonies during the American war, eulogized her "unassuming virtues" in one of his opposition speeches. All agree, that in the relations of private life, her conduct was exemplary, and that the British court maintained in her time, a character of uniform decorum and chastened grandeur.

Her funeral was on the 2nd of December, at Windsor. The body had lain in state for the time usual. The procession moved from Kew. I went there with my sons. The multitude was so great, of carriages, persons on horseback, and foot passengers, that it might be said to form a compact mass from London to Kew, a distance of eight miles. It continued, as long as I looked, to press onward. At night, the road was lighted with torches borne by the military. These, gleaming upon the soldiers' helmets, and partially disclosing, now the hearse, then the long solemn procession, winding its slow way with its trappings of death, presented a spectacle for the pencil or the muse. The interment took place in the royal chapel of St. George. There, for

centuries, had reposed the remains of kings and queens, and there, they had mouldered to dust. Around the vault, seen by dim lights in the Gothic interior, were assembled the Prince Regent, and other members of the royal family, with a few of the personages who composed the funeral train. Canning was of the number—Canning, with sensibilities always quick to whatever in human scenes might awaken moral reflection, or lift up the tone of the imagination.

On the 3rd of December the theatres were re-opened. I went to Drury-lane. The house was crowded, and everybody in black for the Queen. Orders for a court-mourning take in only a limited class; but the streets, as the theatres, are filled with persons of all classes, who put it on. Even children wear it, and servants. Such is the usage of the country. The play was "Brutus, or the fall of Tarquin," a new tragedy, by Mr. Howard Payne, a young American. I felt anxious for an author who was my countryman, and had the gratification to witness his complete success. When the piece was announced for repetition, bursts of applause followed, and the waving of handkerchiefs.*

* American readers cannot but feel an inward gratification at the favourable verdict so often pronounced upon the efforts of their countrymen in England, and on the Continent, in fields of literature, genius and art, to say nothing of the competitions of science and skill in which they have so often

On the 22nd of the month, accidents occurred all over London, from a remarkable fog. Carriages ran against each other, and persons were knocked down by them at the crossings. The whole gang of thieves seemed to be let loose. After perpetrating their deeds, they eluded detection by darting into the fog. It was of an opaque, dingy yellow. Torches were used as guides to carriages at mid-day, but gave scarcely any light through the fog. I went out for a few minutes. It was dismal.

taken an active part on public occasions, and at public exhibitions, abroad, with results which are before the world.

CHAPTER XX.

AMERICANS ABROAD.—CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—ROYAL SPEECH BY COMMISSION.—DINNER AT MR. WELLESLEY POLE'S.—CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON.

January 1, 1819. Twelve of my countrymen dined with me. One or two were residents of London; the remainder, here on their travels. Some were going to Italy; others had been, or were going, to France, and other parts of the Continent.

It has been my habit to see my countrymen at my table as often as in my power. To-day, as generally on these occasions, we indulged in home topics. Admire as we may what we see abroad, who among us that has ever left his own country, does not feel that his warmest affections point to it as a centre? Though we cannot, in its infancy, claim for it all the monuments of science, letters, and the arts, that are the slow growth of time, we have already, under each, made rapid progress. In some, we believe that we have made improve-

ments. The prospect before us is full of hope; not resting on idle boast, but the realities of the past. A noble freedom is ours, resting on the broad basis of equal rights; a freedom fitted for producing the highest energies and refinements of civilization; yet restrained by constitutional limits; guarded also against some of the risks of that state by the habits of our people, who from their origin have been trained to its blessings, and knowing their immense value, will know for ever how to cling to them. With this, as the ground-work of national character; with political advantages, the result of geographical situation; with great agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial capabilities, to what a career of power and fame, if true to ourselves, may we not look forward! These are the sentiments that Americans, meeting in another land, delight to interchange. The heart has no higher pleasures than those which the feelings of country inspire. They are exalted by absence. An American minister abroad, must then be ever in the experience of his purest social enjoyments, when he sees around him his countrymen as guests.*

* Of late years, a great many of the Author's countrymen, not in official life, and constrained by no obligations of duty, seem to have become addicted to a *permanent residence* abroad. The writer does not presume to reflect upon such persons, who certainly are entitled to think and act for themselves,

January 7. Received a note from Lord Castlereagh requesting me to call on him to-day at four, at his private residence. It was dated last night, and indorsed "*Immediate.*" He was confined with the gout. I was shown into a room upstairs, where I found him on his couch.

It was my first interview with him since the negotiation. He expressed his satisfaction at what had been accomplished, with a regret that more had not been done. Of Impressment, he said nothing more than that it had gone off on a point unexpected.

He had sent for me on the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The British Government, he said, had received from Mr. Bagot, their minister in Washington, a copy of the proceedings of the court-martial, which had been under full deliberation at a cabinet council.

The opinion arrived at was, that the conduct of these individuals had been unjustifiable, and therefore not calling for the interference of Great Britain.

Whilst announcing this result he had also to say, that parts of the transaction were viewed as open to exception, whether as re-

but there certainly *is* such a thing as PATRIOTISM, and perhaps the foregoing reflections might be suggested to such persons with advantage, without underrating what is seen abroad in nature or art, or the agreeable intercourse often met with in foreign lands.

garded some of the operations in Florida, or the conduct of the commanding general, in ordering Ambrister to be executed after the first sentence against him was revoked. He then read me a despatch drawn up to Mr. Bagot, embracing in substance the communication made to me.

I expressed the satisfaction which I was sure my Government would feel at the principal decision, intermingling a regret at the other sentiments with which its disclosure to me had been accompanied.

Lord Castlereagh then remarked, that it was his desire to hold a conversation with me upon the views of the British Government respecting the Indians along our frontier; but that for the present he would forbear, having reason to expect a communication from me. Here he read part of a despatch from Mr. Bagot, dated the 3rd of December, in which he informs his Government that Mr. Adams had given him to understand that instructions would be sent to me to afford full explanations in relation to the case of these two British subjects.

I replied, that I had actually received such instructions; but as they had only just got to hand, I was not prepared to act upon them. I would be ready at the earliest time he would appoint; on which he named the day after tomorrow. I added, that although the decision to which his Majesty's Government had come,

might be considered as anticipating to a certain extent the object of my instructions, I had still a duty of much moment to perform ; for that I should ill satisfy the wishes of the President if I suffered the record of the court-martial, strong as it was, to be taken as a mere naked record, unaccompanied by elucidations of a nature somewhat more enlarged, that would serve, I trusted, to place the whole transaction in its right attitude.

Jan. 11. Called again on Lord Castlereagh. My call had been postponed at his instance, from Saturday until to-day. I felt that the task I had to execute was the more important, from the deep sensation which the execution of these individuals had created in England. It was not enough that the act could be technically justified by the strict laws of nations, or sheer rights of war. I felt that it ought to stand on broader grounds ; that it ought to be vindicated to humanity no less than justice.

I said to his lordship, that full justice could not be rendered to the United States, if the unhappy occurrence was looked at simply by itself. It was indispensable to consider it in connexion with principles and facts which, for a succession of years, had been interwoven with their history. That it was not my design to enter minutely into this field ; but that I should be unable to represent in their true

spirit the views, or fulfil the expectations, of my Government, if I did not go into it partially. That it seemed difficult for Europe to understand the precise relations of policy and feeling subsisting between the United States and the Indians. In many respects the misconceptions were fundamental. These Indians were savage, wandering tribes; yet very warlike. Their relations towards the United States were, indeed, so anomalous; there was such an absence of all standards of comparison in Europe, that the rights and obligations of the United States were scarcely perhaps of a nature to be accurately appreciated but by themselves. It seemed a part of their system, more than any other, local and exclusive. The original question of dispossessing the Indians of their homes, was not now for consideration. It was with nations that had gone before us. We had to take things as we found them. The policy and intentions of a nation could nowhere be better read than in its acts of legislation, and habitual conduct. Judged by both, not only would it be found that the United States pursued a just treatment towards the Indians within their territory or along their border, but anxiously sought in all ways to better their condition. They purchased lands from them, only under their own consent. They formed treaties or compacts with them, guaranteeing their rights. Their laws guarded them against the inroads

of the whites, prohibited dealings with them by which they might be aggrieved, and in every practicable way sought to diffuse among them the comforts of civilization. But all these just aims had too often failed, and through causes which the United States could not prevent, and sincerely deplored. When peace with the Indians had been interrupted, it was never by the wish of the United States. In the border strife that preceded open hostility, aggression almost necessarily came from the Indian. He lived in the forest. His attack upon the whites was under cover of night, or from his ambush by day. Whole families were surprised and cut off by him. Pursuit could hardly ever reach him, until the tardy force of Government was called out. In this manner the frontier inhabitants had been slain throughout successive generations. But, left to himself, the Indian was not always a dangerous neighbour. If when roused, he took his revenge, he was not destitute of peaceful virtues. He was, moreover, essentially the weaker party. When the Government moved its force, he was sure in the end to be overcome. Hence, if nothing else prevented his incursions, self-interest would be a check, were it not for the intermeddling of others; who, with the double guilt of real enmity to the Indians and the United States, became the party truly responsible for the fate that awaited

the former, as well as the butcheries inflicted upon the inhabitants of the latter.

And here, I said, I came to a painful, but indispensable, part of my duty. I was compelled to declare, that my Government, resting upon sufficient proofs, was satisfied, that our Indian wars generally, with the massacres on the frontier always their preludes, had originated in one and the same cause. That they had been produced by British traders, intruding themselves, with evil intentions, among the Indians. To recapitulate the proofs would not be difficult. American history contained them. A single instance might be adverted to. The events of the late war which threw the baggage of General Proctor into the hands of the Americans, had put the Government of the United States in possession of documents to show, that if not all the Indian wars which President Washington had been compelled to wage, the most formidable of them, were instigated and sustained on the side of the Indians by British traders. The enormity of such conduct was the more felt in the United States, as it was there alone its consequences were experienced. It was known how explicit had been the refusals of the Government of the United States to admit, under any pretence whatever, British traders among the Indians within their borders; from what motives, might be easily conjectured from all I was saying.

That his Majesty's Government had disowned all connexion with these agents in their work of death, was well-known. This only exhibited their crimes under a deeper dye, seeing that they persevered in perpetrating them in the name of his Majesty's Government, mocking its justice, abusing its dignity, and misleading the poor Indian but the more fatally by claiming to be invested with its high auspices and support. Here was the fountain of the evil. If any long train of outrages and sufferings along their frontier, could be supposed to affect the sensibilities of a people, it was such as I was obliged to bring into view.

It was under the recollection of them all that the Government of the United States was compelled to regard the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The necessity of reviewing proofs against them, was superseded by what had passed at our interview on the seventh instant. His Majesty's Government had acquiesced in the reality of their misdeeds, by refusing its avenging arm in their behalf. It only remained for me to strip their punishment of the features of harshness which, imperfectly understood, it might seem at first to wear. This I could not do more effectually than by declaring it to be the belief of my Government, that it was to these two individuals that the war with the Seminole Indians was to be ascribed. That without their insti-

gation it never would have taken place, any more than the massacres which preceded and provoked it ; the massacre of Mrs. Garrit and her children ; the massacre of a boat's crew, with a midshipman at their head, ascending the Appalachicola in time of peace ; the massacre, upon another occasion, of a party of more than thirty Americans, amongst whom were women and children, with other massacres alike cruel.

As to Ambrister, he had been taken in arms. He had dispensed with the necessity of evidence, by pleading guilty to the charge of leading on the Indians against American troops. And in what light did Ambrister stand ? We find him deceiving them by representations which he knew to be untrue ; striving to rouse them by artful falsifications of the treaty of Ghent, and unfounded assertions of ill-treatment from the Americans. At another time he is seen applying to the British Minister at Washington, to the British Governor at New Providence, and, indirectly, to the British Government itself, for arms and ammunition for the Indians ; drawing on the war by impressions made on their mind that they would be upheld by Britain ; and presumptuously usurping the highest official names in Britain, the better to carry on his designs. He was the patron of the Indians, the penman of their petitions, the spokesman at their coun-

cils; these were the methods by which he worked upon their passions; these the testimonials of his guilt; to which, in the eye of the Government of the United States, that of the credulous Indian, whilst perpetrating his worst enormities, was only secondary. It therefore called for the last punishment.

As connected with the general subject of Indian cruelties, I spoke of the massacres of American prisoners during the late war by the tribes associated with the British army. I brought into view those committed after the battle on the river Raisin. On that occasion, American officers, who had surrendered, were scalped and murdered in the presence of British officers, the latter declaring their inability to restrain the ferocity of the Indians. Among the victims was Captain Hart, the brother-in-law of the speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States. The public sensation under such horrors, might be easily imagined. Congress had been forced to pass a law authorizing retaliation on captive British officers, in case of their repetition; the Executive Government of the Union having previously and repeatedly proposed to Great Britain, that neither country should, under any circumstances, employ the Indians as auxiliaries in battle.

Lord Castlereagh asked, if it anywhere appeared that there had been a connection be-

tween Arbuthnot and Woodbine, the evidence before the court-martial, as far as he recollected, not disclosing that fact. Here I gave him a copy of the journal in Arbuthnot's hand-writing, kept in October and November, 1816, when he and Woodbine arrived in the vessel of the former at Suwahny, from Nassau. This document established a connexion between the two, and moreover showed that Woodbine, in Arbuthnot's presence, made promises to the Indians of support from Great Britain, which Arbuthnot knew to be unwarrantable. The latter, instead of contradicting them, became party to the deception by repeating the same promises himself.

His lordship next inquired if there was any evidence that he was apprized of the true construction of the ninth article of the treaty of Ghent.

Passing by the obvious import of the article, that it applied only to Indians with whom the United States had been actually at war, I replied, that there was also positive proof to fix upon him this knowledge; viz. a letter received by him from Mr. Culloh, written in the name of the commanding officer of Fort Gaines, in which he was expressly informed that such was its meaning. A copy of this letter, I also handed to his lordship.

I drew to a conclusion by saying, that both of these unhappy individuals had clearly drawn

upon themselves their doom. That towards those who could deliberately become the means of war and bloodshed, the extension of a lenient treatment by the United States, would be to forget what they owed to their own people. Long had they borne the evils inflicted by such guilty agents. If a necessary justice had at length, for the first time, held up to public example two of them, there was room for the hope, that, painful as was the example, it might be productive of future good to the cause of humanity. I was directed by the President to say, that whatever deep regret might belong to the occasion, there appeared to be no ground of censure. The commanding general stood high in the confidence of his country, had added to its glory, and was believed on this, as other occasions of his life, to have been animated only by a sense of the public good. It was scarcely necessary for me to add, that those who mixed themselves up with hordes whose rule of warfare subjected to destruction, with torments, all who fell into their hands, threw themselves out of the pale of those merciful protections which civilized warfare extended to captives. To have allowed these individuals a trial at all, was an indulgence.

Lord Castlereagh said that he would take into consideration what had fallen from me, as well as the fresh papers I had submitted,

before offering any thing on his part. He asked if I had any further documents to lay before him. I said none. "Will no others be laid before Congress?" he inquired. He had here in his mind the letter of Mr. Adams of the 28th of November 1818, to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Spain, containing so ample a vindication of the principal events of the Seminole war, including the execution of the two British subjects. I answered, that the President would in all probability communicate to Congress other documents than the bare proceedings of the court-martial; if so, they might be expected in England by early arrivals.

In the end he remarked, that he greatly lamented the whole occurrence. It was exciting strong sensibility in England. On this topic he dwelt with some anxiety; giving expression however, for himself, to none other than assuaging sentiments. In this spirit the interview had been conducted and terminated. It may scarcely be necessary to add, that the explanations on my side, were afforded with all the conciliation of manner practicable.

January 14. Received a note from Lord Castlereagh requesting me to call on him. On my arrival he said, that the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister were making a deep impression on the public mind; he witnessed it with concern, as he knew not what turn the

subject might take when Parliament met ; he saw nothing objectionable in the general character of my explanations ; on the contrary, that on revolving in his mind all that I said, there were parts which it was rather his desire I would repeat for his more full information. This I did, with the amplifications required. I spoke of the war with the Creek Indians in 1813, and the barbarities at Fort Mimms that provoked it. These, there was much reason for believing, had also been instigated by foreign hands. Lord Castlereagh requested I would furnish him with a copy of the treaty of peace concluded on that occasion, and a copy of the act of Congress I had mentioned, authorizing retaliation.

January 15. Furnished Lord Castlereagh with a copy of the act of Congress of the 3rd of March 1813, and a copy of the treaty of Fort Jackson, of the 9th of August 1814.

I had expected that he would say something of the views of his Majesty's Government respecting the Indians along our frontier, in pursuance of his intimation on the 9th instant ; but he did not. Nor did any further explanations or remarks of a formal nature, pass relative to these executions.

They subsequently became the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. Commentaries that might have been anticipated were made in debate ; but Ministers maintained their ground.

Out-of-doors, excitement seemed to rise higher and higher. Stocks experienced a slight fall. The newspapers kept up their fire. Little acquainted with the true character of the transaction, they gave vent to angry declamation. They fiercely denounced the Government of the United States. Tyrant, ruffian, murderer, were among the epithets applied to their commanding general. He was exhibited in placards through the streets. The journals, without distinction of party, united in these attacks. The Whig, and others in opposition, took the lead. Those in the Tory interest, although more restrained, gave them countenance. In the midst of all this passion, the ministry stood firm. Better informed, more just, they had made up their minds not to risk the peace of the two countries, on grounds so untenable. It forms an instance of the intelligence and strength of a Government, disregarding the first clamours of a powerful press, and first erroneous impulses of an almost universal public feeling. At a later day of my mission, Lord Castlereagh said to me, that a war might have been produced on this occasion, "*if the ministry had but held up a finger.*" On so slender a thread do public affairs sometimes hang. Plato says, that the complaisance which produces popularity, is the source of the greatest operations in government. The firmness of one man, is perhaps the pivot on which

great events more frequently turn. I adopted and retain the belief, that the firmness of Lord Castlereagh under this emergency, sustained by that of his colleagues in the cabinet, was the main cause of preventing a rupture between the two nations.

January 20. Lord Castlereagh gives an official dinner to-day to the members of the Cabinet and Privy Council, amounting in all to between thirty and forty. The object is, to agree finally upon the Prince Regent's speech to Parliament. It is already drawn up, and will be read by his lordship. This is the custom, my informant said, every year, the day before Parliament meets. The office of entertaining the Ministers, and reading the speech, generally devolves, he added, on the leading ministerial member in the House of Commons. It had been for many years in the hands of Lord Castlereagh.

January 21. Parliament was opened. The Prince Regent did not come in person to the House of Lords. Five Commissioners represented him, viz. the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Marquis Camden, the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Harrowby. The speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. It announced two events, and only two, in connexion with the foreign relations of the country. First, that the negotiations of Aix la Chapelle had led to

the evacuation of the French territory by the Allied armies. Secondly, that a treaty had been concluded with the United States for the renewal of the commercial convention, and "the amicable adjustment of several points of mutual importance to the interests of both nations." It stated the trade and manufactures of Great Britain to be in a most flourishing condition, and that there was a progressive improvement of the revenue in its most important branches.

January 23. Dined at Mr. Wellesley Pole's. There were at table, Mr. and Mrs. Pole, Mrs. Rush, Lady Harvey of Maryland,* Lady Georgiana Fane, Miss Caton of Maryland, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of the aids of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Felton Harvey another, young Mr. Fane, Mr. M'Tavish of Baltimore, and Mr. Bouverie.

Conversation was various. Mr. Bagot's probable return home in May, was mentioned. A frigate was to be sent for him. I spoke of the satisfaction his diplomatic career had given at Washington, and from authority, having been directed by the President to say so to Lord Castlereagh.

Paris and French society were talked of. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Fitzroy Somerset took a leading share in what was

* See ante p. 85, note.

said. Mention was made of a solemn celebration on Thursday at the chapel of the French Embassy in London, to commemorate the anniversary of the execution of Louis the Sixteenth. The priest read the will of Louis. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, in describing the good accommodations of the house in Paris in which the Duke resided when last there, said it was the same that President Monroe had occupied during his mission to France.

We heard of the exploits of one of the company during the late shooting-season. Eight hundred and twelve partridges, and three hundred and thirty pheasants, were the fruits of his marksmanship. Other exploits of the same nature were spoken of; some that exceeded them. A gentleman was named on whose estate, at the preceding season, three thousand hares were shot by himself and friends; all explained, I might add, by the game monopoly. Something remarkable for numbers in another way, happened to be stated; that Colonel Vivian was one of twenty-six children, and the Bishop of Norwich the youngest of thirty.

Painting became a topic. The collections in France, Spain, and the Low Countries, were familiar to some of the company. My attention was most excited by what was said of a picture of the Black Prince, lately picked up for a few francs at a sale on the Continent.

Mr. Pole said there were good grounds for believing it to be an original, formerly of the royal collection in England. The account given was, that James II. took it with him to France when he abdicated, since which it had been lost sight of, until traced by chance at this sale. Lord Westmoreland had his doubts, from the circumstances under which James left England. Mr. Pole saw no incompatibility. This turned the conversation to the personal fortunes of that monarch. The picture afterwards gave it a turn to the Plantagenets. Touching upon this part of English history, it was remarked, that the Duke of Wellington had won a battle in Spain on the ground where the Black Prince gained one; that both had fought in the cause of the crown of Spain, one for the restoration of Peter of Castile, the other for that of Ferdinand the Seventh; each Spanish monarch having been ejected by the French. These were close parallels. Another was probably in the thoughts of the company—the fields of Poitiers and Waterloo. All, I believe, would have destined the picture, if genuine, to the ownership of the Duke, as a companion to the colossal statue of Napoleon at Apsley House.

Sir Felton Harvey and Lord Fitzroy Somerset had each lost an arm in the battles of the Duke. The Duke himself had never been wounded. Others of his military suite had

been maimed or killed by his side. Sir Felton had been with him in most of his campaigns in the Peninsula. He said to me, speaking of the Duke after dinner, that his self-possession enabled him to sleep soundly on the brink of danger. Often when lying down, under his usual order to be awake if necessary, he had known him called up repeatedly within a few hours, by the arrival of expresses, and if no movement were required, drop asleep again in a moment. It was such conversation and more, that the evening brought with it.*

Of Sir Felton Harvey I subsequently learned an anecdote. It may be in print, but I have not seen it. During one of the battles in Spain, the Duke gave him an order to convey to another part of the field. Half across it, a French officer was seen galloping towards him. Sir Felton had no sword. It was his right arm he had lost; the other held the bridle.

* Among the endless anecdotes of the Duke and Waterloo, it is related, that one morning, either at Strathfieldsaye or elsewhere, the Duke came down rather late to breakfast, and found some of the company still lingering at table. Approaching the fire, he stood for an instant in the act of rubbing his hands together, and then turned round, when one of the ladies present remarked, "Duke, we've just been talking about you." "Ah, ah, indeed," said the Duke, "and what have you been saying?" "We've rather come to the conclusion that Bonaparte ought to have defeated you." "Indeed," said the Duke, again rubbing his hands together, "then why did'nt he?"

But he faced the foe, looking him defiance. As they swiftly drew near, the Frenchman raised himself in his stirrups, his sword uplifted. Discovering his adversary to be defenceless, he brought down his weapon in the form of a salute, and rapidly passed on. Such acts give to war touches of moral beauty, in spite of its evils. After the battle, the restless courtesy of Harvey sought in vain for the chivalrous Gaul. There was too much reason to think he fell. He had made no boast of sparing life, but gave his salute in silence.

January 26. Mr. * * * * * called on me. He had applied for an interview, stating himself to be ———. It was his purpose to ask information relative to the navy boards of the United States, and other matters pertaining to the civil organization of our marine. He talked a good deal. Sometimes his remarks were more full than the mere desire for information seemed to call for. A foolish rumour was in town of Bonaparte's escape from St. Helena, the rumour adding that a fast-sailing American schooner had been in the plot. This led him to speak of the exploits of the American navy. He touched upon them with sufficient complaisance, but wound up with an allusion to the action between the Chesapeake and Shannon. That, on the whole, ought to be considered, he thought, the fairest trial of the naval prowess of the two countries, frigate to

frigate. I did not argue with him. He soon left me, after the somewhat singular topics it had been his pleasure to indulge in. I am bound to add that it is the first and only time it had been my lot to hear any broached in England not suited to the good feelings of conversation.

The Chesapeake, it is true, was captured. The English commander sought the battle with a noble, daring spirit, and won his prize gallantly.* Let no American gainsay this, for is it for Americans to rob valour of its renown? We heard how the achievement was hailed in England; the more, as it first broke the spell of an uninterrupted series of naval encounters between the two countries terminating differently. But with whatever satisfaction received there, whatever joy it may have created in England, I cannot think that it equalled, nay, I am sure that it did not, the opposite feeling in the United

* Captain Brooke, of the British frigate "Shannon." The writer was afterwards at school with his son, the school first referred to, ante page 237. It may be taken for granted that this celebrated naval engagement was not unknown in the school, the period being then not remote. Sometimes it became a topic, an animated one, perhaps all the more so, from the presence of the Hero's son, and the sons of the American Minister. If the discussions, growing out of it, were not always characterized by the restraints of riper years, or the strictest adherence to the *το πρεπον*, they were at least conducted with the genuine heartiness, not to say *abandon*, of that "happiest stage of life."

States. I remember, who among us can forget, the first rumour of it. I remember the startling sensation. I remember, at first, the universal incredulity. I remember how the post-offices were thronged, for successive days, by anxious inquiring thousands, under the disheartening reports that successively reached the Capital; and then how collections of people rode out for miles upon the highway, to catch something by anticipation as the mail came in. At last, when hope gave way, and the certainty of her capture no longer remained in doubt, I remember the universal gloom. Funeral orations, badges of mourning, testified it. "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!" the dying words of Lawrence, slain by the first broadside, were on every tongue. Wrapped in his Flag as a winding sheet, his remains were conveyed by the victors to Halifax, and there interred with the honours due to a brave foe. But not long did they lie there. When peace came, a vessel fitted out by the prompt, affectionate patriotism of twelve New England sea-captains, and by them exclusively manned, bore them back to his country, the country he so loved, the country he so nobly died for. There they repose, under the laurel as the cypress; for he too, in his turn, had formerly triumphed, ship to ship, over the world-renowned Flag of England. Others may augur the naval destinies of the United States from their repeated and splendid

victories, even in the very infancy of the Republic; I—from the grief that followed this *defeat*. It illustrated the intensity of feeling prevailing among a People where each one identified himself with the Nation, and seemed as sorely struck down by a public calamity, as if it had been a personal blow. What may not be hoped from such a People in the achievements of War; what, in all that may contribute to their triumphant advancement in the arts of Peace, and to their social, as their political, progress, if true to themselves, and their happy and powerful UNION.

The writer feels most reluctant to add anything of his own to the above concluding passage of this portion of the present volume, yet, concluding as it does with a tribute to the value of The Union, he cannot forbear here expressing, as his belief, how the author's soul would have swelled with patriotic emotion, could he have lived to witness the final triumph of the great cause of The Union over four dreadful years of armed domestic insurrection.

Sincerely attached, as the author was, to the brave People who thus, in an evil hour, suffered themselves to rise against the authority of the General Government, and attempt the violent disruption of The Union of The States; estimating, as he always did, in a very high degree, their attractive and noble qualities; closely connected with the South by the ties of marriage; two of the three Administrations of which he was successively a member, having each at their head a great Virginia statesman, President Madison and President Monroe, whereby he was brought, for a series of years, into the closest official and personal intercourse with dis-

tinguished Southern men ; imbibing from those two pure and illustrious Chief Magistrates, as he has himself left on record, "lessons of wisdom fit to be ever remembered ;" he yet never permitted his affection for his native State, to outweigh his superior allegiance to that greater UNION, which he saw had alone made, and could alone preserve, us, a powerful, prosperous, and happy People. Denouncing, on a memorable occasion, the attempt of a single State in 1831, to set aside a law of Congress, which signally failed under the prompt and resolute measures of President Jackson, he thus concluded a letter, which attracted attention, to a leading Journal at the seat of Government :—

"I write from, and am a Citizen of, Pennsylvania, but am more proud to subscribe myself a Citizen of the United States."

APPENDIX

CONTAINING

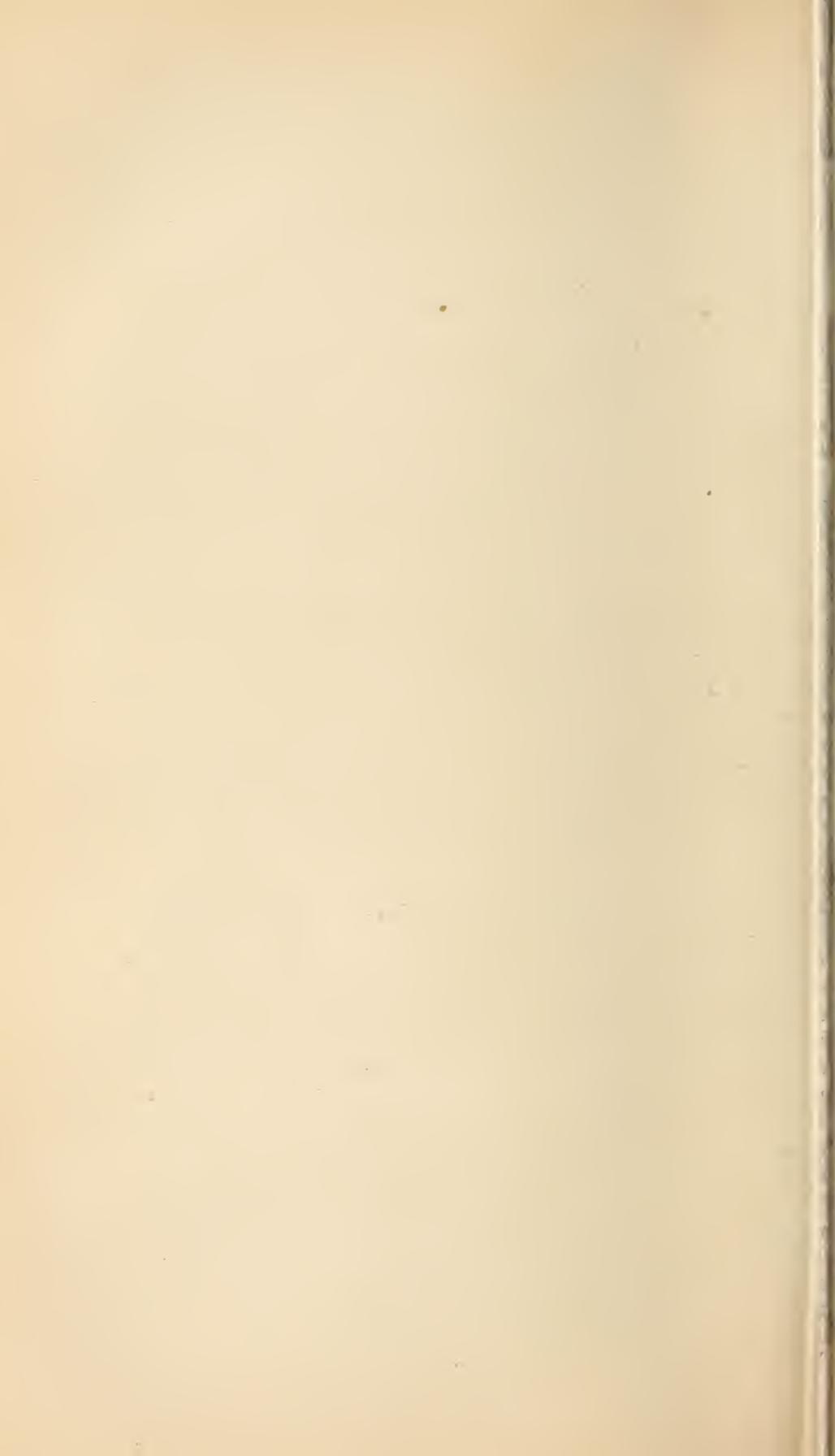
A RECAPITULATION OF THE QUESTIONS

ARRANGED BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES,

BY THE NEGOTIATION OF 1818,

WITH A STATEMENT OF THOSE LEFT UNADJUSTED.



APPENDIX.

PART I.

PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATION.—A CONVENTION CONCLUDED ;
QUESTIONS ARRANGED BY IT, VIZ. : THAT OF THE FISHERIES—
NORTH-WESTERN BOUNDARY LINE—COLUMBIA RIVER AND
TERRITORY WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—COMMERCIAL
CONVENTION.—SLAVES CARRIED OFF CONTRARY TO THE TREATY
OF GHENT.

1818. Sept.—Oct. THE Plenipotentiaries assembled again
at Whitehall, according to appointment.

Having given an account of the first stages of the negotia-
tion in the order of dates, it is no longer my design to
proceed in that way. It has been seen that the subjects
were multifarious. All demanded attention ; some, copious
discussions. These, with the documents at large, the proto-
cols, the projets and counter-projets, debated and modified
by the scrutiny of each side, would present a mass of matter
through which the diplomatist or politician might perhaps
wade ; but be little attractive to any one else. My endeavour
will be to present an intelligible history of the negotiation
by giving results rather than details. The latter are deposited
in the archives of the two Governments. I will draw upon
them to no greater extent than may be necessary to illustrate
principles upon which the negotiation turned in its success or
failure. Some of these principles are important to both
nations. To record them with impartiality, is the aim I
propose to myself.

Throughout September and October, meetings were as
constant as was compatible with maturing in a proper manner
the various subjects. By the 20th of October all appeared
to have been fully discussed. The points were ascertained
on which there could be agreement, as well as those on which
it was hopeless, in the existing disposition of the two Govern-
ments, to continue the negotiation longer. Accordingly, on
that day, a convention was signed which comprehended the
following subjects :

I. That of the FISHERIES. This, although not first in the

order of discussion, came first in the convention. The points of misunderstanding had not risen to much height practically; but it is scarcely going too far to say, that they menaced the peace of the two countries. They therefore merit special notice.

By the third article of the treaty of September 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, the people of the former had the *right* to take fish on the Grand Bank, and all other banks of Newfoundland; in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries had been used to fish before; and the *liberty* to fish on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen used, (but not to dry or cure fish there) and on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other British dominions in America. American fishermen had also the liberty to dry and cure fish in any unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador; but as soon as any of them were settled, this liberty was to cease, unless continued by agreement with the inhabitants.

These were rights and liberties of great magnitude to the United States. Besides affording profitable fields of commerce, they fostered a race of seamen, conducive to the national riches in peace, as to defence and glory in war. After the peace of Ghent, the fishing-vessels of the Union proceeded as formerly to fish off the British coasts, and use the unsettled shores for curing and drying, according to the stipulations of the above treaty. They were immediately ordered off by the British naval forces. Some were captured. The ground alleged was, that the treaty was no longer in existence. The Government of the United States obtained a suspension of these apparently hostile orders and proceedings, until the two Governments could make efforts for adjusting a question of so much moment.

The British doctrine was, that the treaty of 1783, not being re-enacted or confirmed by the treaty of Ghent, was annulled by the war of 1812.

The United States wholly dissented from this doctrine. They did not deny the general rule of public law on which Britain relied; that a war puts an end to previous treaties; but they insisted that the rule was not applicable to the treaty of 1783. That treaty, was peculiar in its nature and objects. It had no analogy to common treaties, and was not to be judged by their rules. It was a treaty by which Great Britain had acknowledged the Independence of the United States after a seven years' contest in arms. It made two Empires out of one. It was a treaty of separation. The

rights of each party were laid down as primary and fundamental, in the act of dismemberment which the treaty established. So much of territory and incidental rights in America were allotted to one, so much to the other. The entire instrument implied permanence. Hence, all the fishing rights secured under it to the United States, were placed by Great Britain upon the same foundation with their independence itself. Was her acknowledgment of the latter revoked by the war of 1812? or were the boundaries of the United States as fixed by the treaty of 1783, annulled by that war? So far was this from being the case, that the treaty of Ghent, in making provision for ascertaining with further accuracy some parts of the boundary line, constantly referred to the treaty of 1783; thus manifesting a tacit conviction on each side, that this treaty was regarded as the fundamental law of the relations between the two countries. By what rule then was the war to destroy the treaty in some parts, and leave it whole in others? The use of the word *right* in one place, and *liberty* in another, could make no difference. A liberty of unlimited duration, secured by so elementary and solemn a deed, was as much a right as if stipulated by any other term. In speaking of rights and liberties in a national sense, both terms were alike efficacious. Liberty might have seemed the more appropriate term where an enjoyment was guaranteed to one party, of a *thing* adjoining territory allotted to the other; but it took nothing from the permanence of the allotment. In point of principle, the United States were pre-eminently entitled to all these fisheries; and in point of fact they had enjoyed more of them than any other portion of the British Empire, before the separation. The people of New England, from their proximity, had been earlier led to the discovery and improvement of the best fishing-grounds, and had also, with other parts of the Union, contributed amply in blood and treasure towards winning from France provinces, on the coast of which some of the fisheries were situated. Apart from the question of right, the claim of the United States had high sanctions. These fisheries afforded subsistence to a numerous class of their inhabitants. By the usages of nations, fishermen were a portion of human society whose occupations, contributing to the general welfare of the species, were always regarded with favour. Sometimes they were even exempt from the effects of war whilst it raged; as when England herself allowed the Dutch to fish upon her coasts at such seasons. The foregoing is a synopsis of some of the material arguments by which the claim of the United States

was defended. Whatever could shed light upon it, had been urged by Mr. Adams when in the English mission, with an ability and fulness that left little to be said after him.

The claim was resisted by Great Britain in a manner to give proof of her equal sincerity in opposite doctrine. She denied that the treaty of 1783 had anything in its nature to exempt it from abrogation by a war. She knew of no exception to this rule of international law; and could not consent to give to her diplomatic relations with one State, a different degree of permanence from that on which her connexion with all other States depended. She did not admit that this treaty was to be regarded as in force because the treaty of Ghent had referred to it on the subject of boundaries. One object of the latter treaty was, the mutual restoration of territory taken by either party from the other during the war. As a necessary consequence of such a stipulation, each party reverted to their boundaries as before the war; and the treaty of 1783 having fixed these, the treaty of Ghent had referred to them as *facts*, nothing more. She contended that it was not unusual for treaties containing recognitions and acknowledgments of perpetual obligation, to contain likewise grants of privileges liable to be revoked. The treaty of 1783 contained provisions of different characters; some in perpetuity, others, from their nature, temporary. If it were inferred that because some of the advantages specified, would not terminate by a war, therefore all were designed to be permanent, it ought first to be shown that the advantages themselves were the same, or of similar character. But what necessary connexion was there between a right to national independence, and a liberty to fish within British jurisdiction, or use British territory? Liberties within British limits were as capable of being exercised by a dependent, as an independent State; they could not, therefore, be the necessary consequence of independence. The independence of a nation was that which could not be correctly said to be granted by a treaty, but to be acknowledged by one. In the treaty of 1783, the independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain, as it had already been by the powers of Europe; and by Britain herself, in her previous consent in November 1782 to enter into provisional articles. Their independence might have been acknowledged without either the treaty or provisional articles; but by whatever mode acknowledged, the acknowledgment was, in its nature, irrevocable. A power of revoking or even modifying it, would be destructive of the thing itself, and was therefore necessarily renounced when the acknowledgment was made.

She urged as corroborative of her reasoning, notwithstanding the explanations suggested by the American Plenipotentiaries, the use of the word *right* when the United States were to take fish on the banks, and other places from which Great Britain could not pretend to exclude any independent nation, and *liberty* when they were to cure and dry within British territory. The latter was also made to depend on agreements with the proprietors of the soil, whenever the territory might become settled. As to the origin of the fishing-privileges in point of fact, she admitted that whilst the United States made part of the British dominions, their inhabitants had the enjoyment of them in common with other British subjects; but they had at the same time, like British subjects everywhere, duties to perform. When therefore the United States, by their separation from Great Britain, became released from the duties, they became excluded also from the privileges of British subjects. The above is a summary of the reasoning in its chief parts against our claim. It was embodied in a paper by Lord Bathurst in October 1815, prepared with the force and zeal that the subject demanded. The views of each party on the question, had not been left out of sight in negotiating the treaty of Ghent.

To the distinction so much insisted on by Great Britain between liberty and right it was replied for the United States, that the former, if construed to imply limitation of time or precariousness of tenure, would defeat the whole meaning of the article as gathered from the context. The restriction itself at the close of the article, stamped permanence upon it. The intention was, that the people of the United States should continue to enjoy all the benefit they had formerly enjoyed from the fisheries, with the exception of drying and curing on the shores of *Newfoundland*; but when *other* shores on which they were to have this liberty, became settled, *then* its exercise was to be conciliated with the proprietary rights of the owners of the freehold. This was precisely the restriction to which British fishermen would be liable. Whence it followed that the argument against permanence on account of the word liberty being used, if applicable to the inhabitants of the United States, would also be applicable to the subjects of Britain. The principles of municipal law in England, which were the same in the United States, corroborated the interpretation for which the latter contended. By these, the property of a fishery was not necessarily in the owner of the soil. The right to the soil might be exclusive; the fishery free, or in common. Thus, whilst in this partition of the national possessions in America, the *jurisdiction over the*

shores where the fisheries were situated was reserved to Great Britain, the fisheries themselves and accommodations essential to their prosecution and enjoyment, were, by the mutual compact, agreed to be in common. How different the course in the treaty of Utrecht on a similar point. By the twelfth article of that treaty, Nova Scotia was ceded to Britain; yet the subjects of France were expressly excluded from fishing within thirty leagues of the coast. This prohibition was renewed in the fifth article of the treaty of Paris of 1763. By the eighteenth article of the same treaty, the subjects of Spain were excluded from all fishing-rights in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland. The treaty of 1783 was therefore, it was again insisted, altogether unlike common treaties. It contemplated a permanent division of co-equal rights, not a transient grant of mere privileges. The acknowledgment of independence, the establishment of boundaries, and the guarantee of the fisheries, each rested upon the same immutable footing.

Neither side yielded its convictions to the reasoning of the other. This being exhausted, there was no resource left with nations disposed to peace, but a compromise. Great Britain grew willing to give up something. The United States consented to take less than the whole. After various proposals by the former which the latter rejected as inadequate, we at length, as their Plenipotentiaries, acceded to the following: viz.

That the United States should have, for ever, in common with British subjects, the liberty to fish on the southern coast of Newfoundland from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands; and from that cape to the Quirpon Islands on the western and northern coasts; and on the shores of the Magdalen Islands; and on the coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, through the Straits of Belleisle, and thence indefinitely along the coast, northwardly; but without prejudice to any exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. Also the liberty, for ever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern coast of Newfoundland, as above described; and of the coast of Labrador; subject, after settlement, to agreement with the proprietors of the soil. In consequence of the above stipulations, the United States renounced for ever the liberty of fishing within three miles of any other part of the British coasts in America, or of curing or drying on them. But American fishermen were to be permitted to enter bays or harbours on the prohibited coasts for shelter, repairing damages, and obtaining wood and water, subject to restrictions necessary to prevent abuses.

Such was the article finally agreed upon. The most difficult part of our task, was on the question of permanence. Britain would not consent to an express clause that a future war was not to abrogate the rights secured to us. We inserted the words *for ever*, and drew up a paper to be of record in the negotiation, purporting that if the convention should from any cause be vacated, all anterior rights were to revive. The insertion of any words of perpetuity, was strenuously resisted by the British plenipotentiaries. They said that in case of war, the only effect of their omission would be, the necessity of providing in the treaty of peace, for the renewal of the right. We replied, that we could agree to no article on the subject, unless the words *for ever* were retained; or if any counter record was made on the protocol impairing its effect.

It was by *our* act that the United States *renounced* the right to the fisheries not guaranteed to them by the convention. That clause did not find a place in the British counter projet. We deemed it proper under a threefold view; 1, to exclude the implication of the fisheries secured to us being a new grant; 2, to place the rights secured and renounced, on the same footing of permanence; 3, that it might expressly appear, that our renunciation was limited to three miles from the coasts. This last point we deemed of the more consequence from our fishermen having assured us, that the whole fishing-ground on the coast of Nova Scotia extended to a greater distance than three miles from land; whereas along the coast of Labrador it was almost universally close in with the shore. To the saving of the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, we did not object. The charter of that Company had been granted in 1670, and the people of the United States had never enjoyed rights in that bay that could trench upon those of the Company. Finally, it is to be remarked, that the liberty of drying and curing on certain parts of the coast of Newfoundland, as secured in the article, had not been allotted to the United States even under the old treaty of 1783.

When the convention was made public, it underwent criticism in Britain as too favourable, throughout, to the United States. But this article on the fisheries was assailed with peculiar force. The leading presses of London opened upon it. The claims of the United States were described as of alarming magnitude; the concessions, as of a character corresponding. Important maritime interests of the British empire were said to have been sacrificed. Complaints poured in from the colonies. The legislative assembly and council of

Nova Scotia sent forward remonstrances, with which were mixed up, not unsparingly, denunciations of American ambition and encroachment. The tide of complaint was swelled by the recollection of similar alleged sacrifices under the treaty of Paris of 1814. Britain by that treaty, said the journals, had given back, and this when she was at the height of influence and power, to France, her great European rival, the enjoyment of the Newfoundland fisheries, from which twenty years of victorious warfare upon the ocean had totally driven her; and now the calamity was to be doubled, by a like gift to her rival in the other hemisphere!

British statesmen, more calm, thought and acted otherwise. They had not been deterred by the anticipation of clamour from entering into the article. They felt that, if they had a duty to fulfil by guarding British interests, they were not released from the obligation of looking to the just rights of an independent nation. It was in this spirit that a formidable cause of collision was removed, without impairing the honour, or, as is believed, the essential interests of either country.*

II. The second article related to the BOUNDARY LINE, FROM THE LAKE OF THE WOODS. This line had been originally laid down in the treaty of 1783. It proved defective, and further provision was made for running it, in the treaty of 1794. Several attempts for effecting this provision came to nothing. The cession of Louisiana by France in 1803, gave to the United States new and extensive territory west of the Mississippi. This altered the relative position of Great Britain and the United States in this quarter, and the hitherto unsettled boundary was now arranged. It was provided, that a line drawn from the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth degree of latitude, due west, should be the line of demarcation, forming the southern boundary of the British territories and the northern boundary of the United States, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. In case such a line would not run along the forty-ninth degree, but fall above or below it, then the line was to be traced by first drawing one from the same

* In the posthumous work entitled "Occasional Productions Political, Diplomatic and Miscellaneous," by the same Author, published by his Executors in Philadelphia, 1860, the construction placed by the American negotiators of the Convention of 1818, upon this article in relation to the Newfoundland Fisheries, is fully set forth in a letter from the Author to the Secretary of State of the United States, (then Mr. Marcy) dated "Sydenham, July 1853," preceded by an explanatory Letter on the subject from the Author to his Executors. The article itself, in relation to the Fisheries, is also inserted, p. 297 of that Work.

point, north or south as the case might be, until it struck forty-nine; from which point of intersection the western line was to begin. Thus it was definitively settled.

An attempt was made by the British plenipotentiaries to connect with this article, a clause securing to Great Britain access to the Mississippi, and right to its navigation. They made a similar claim at Ghent, but withdrew it. We said that we could consent to no clause of that nature. Its omission having, in the end, been agreed to, that subject was also put at rest. Britain, under the treaty of 1783, had the right of navigating the Mississippi. It was then the western boundary of the United States. Their northern boundary, by the same treaty, was to have been a line running due west from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. It was afterwards ascertained that a line so drawn, would not strike the Mississippi; its head waters not being within British limits as first supposed. Hence all reason for Britain to claim the right of navigating a river which touched no part of her dominions, ceased. The United States have claimed in a subsequent negotiation, the right of navigating the St. Lawrence, from its sources to its mouth. The essential difference in the two cases, is, that the upper waters of the St. Lawrence flow through territory belonging to both countries, and form a natural outlet to the ocean for the inhabitants of several states of the American Union.

III. The third article effected a temporary arrangement of CLAIMS BEYOND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND TO COLUMBIA RIVER. I have related what passed relative to the settlement at the mouth of this river, in my interview with Lord Castlereagh in February. That settlement, called Astoria, made by Americans, was broken up by the British during the war, but fell back to the United States by the treaty of Ghent, on the principle of *status ante bellum*. The British plenipotentiaries manifested a strong desire to connect this subject with that of the boundary line. They appeared unwilling, except under such a connexion, to agree to the line in any shape. We proposed its extension to the Pacific Ocean. The treaty of Utrecht had fixed the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the line between the possessions of Britain and France, including Louisiana since ceded to the United States. If, therefore, the United States and Britain arranged their claims westward, the same line, carried on to the Pacific, seemed the natural one. We contended that, as far as prior discovery could give the right to territory, ours was complete to the whole, on the waters of the Columbia. It derived its

name from the American ship that first entered its mouth. It was first explored from its inland sources under the express authority of the Government of the United States. The British traveller, Mackensie, had mistaken another river for a branch of the Columbia; the American travellers, Lewis and Clarke, as was now fully ascertained, having been the first to trace the Columbia from the interior to the ocean. Astoria had, as incontestably, been the first permanent settlement at its mouth.

The British plenipotentiaries asserted that earlier voyages of English navigators, amongst them Cook's, gave to Britain the rights of prior discovery on this coast. They spoke also of purchases of territory from the natives south of this river before the American revolution. They made no formal proposal of a boundary in these regions, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient, and said they could agree to none that did not give them the harbour as its mouth in common with the United States. To this we could not assent, but were willing to leave things west of the mountains, at large for future settlement. To this they objected, and made in turn propositions objectionable in our eyes. Finally it was agreed, that the country on the north-west coast of America westward of the Rocky Mountains, claimed by either nation, should be open to the inhabitants of both, for ten years, for purposes of trade; with the equal right of navigating all its rivers.

This whole subject was discussed more fully by both nations in a separate negotiation that it fell to my lot to conduct on behalf of the United States, in 1824. Their rights on the north-west coast had been materially enlarged by the treaty of the 22nd of February 1819 with Spain. By that treaty the Floridas were transferred to the United States, and a surrender made to them of all the rights of Spain on that coast, above the forty-second degree of north latitude.

Under this branch of the discussion, might be seen power seeking its own augmentation. How strong the case for this reflection! A nation whose dominions in Europe, established her in the front rank of power; whose fleets predominated on the ocean; who had subjects in Asia too numerous to be counted; whose flag was planted at the Cape of Good Hope and other posts in Africa: who had Gibraltar and Malta, and Heligoland, enabling her to watch the Mediterranean and Baltic; who had an empire in the West Indies as the East; and, added to all, vast continental colonies in America—this nation was anxiously contending for territorial rights in deep forests beyond the Rocky Mountains, and on the solitary

shores of the northern Pacific! In the time of Queen Mary, when the communication with Muscovy was first opened by the discovery of a passage to Archangel, the English ventured farther into those countries than any Europeans had done before. They transported their goods along the Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed up the stream to Wologda. Thence they carried their commodities a long journey over-land, and down the Volga to Astracan. Here they built ships, crossed the Caspian sea, and introduced their manufactures into Persia. It makes a parallel passage in their history, to see them at the present day pressing forward to supply with rifles and blankets savage hordes who roam through the woods, and paddle their canoes over the waters of this farthest and wildest portion of the American continent.

IV. The fourth article prolonged for ten years the existing COMMERCIAL CONVENTION. By its provisions a reciprocal liberty of commerce is established between the United States and the British dominions in Europe. Importations and exportations into or from either nation, are to be the same as permitted to other nations, and chargeable with no higher duties. The vessels of each nation, pay equal tonnage duties in each other's ports; and duties upon merchandize imported into, or exported from, either, are the same, whether conveyed in vessels of the one nation, or the other. Other clauses give to vessels of the United States the right of trading with the principal British settlements in the East Indies, viz. Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island; but it is only the direct trade between these settlements and the United States, that is opened. The vessels of the United States pursuing this trade, or going to China, may also touch for refreshment at the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, or other possessions of Great Britain in the African or Indian seas. These are the principal enactments of this Commercial Convention. It was originally negotiated in the summer of 1815, by three of the public men of the United States long signalized in the home and foreign service, Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, Mr. Gallatin. Between the time of its signature in London, and exchange of ratifications at Washington, an event occurred to modify one of its provisions. It was determined by the Allied Powers, that Napoleon, whose reign and dynasty closed at Waterloo, should end his days at St. Helena. As a consequence, the ratifications were exchanged with an exception of the right of touching there, the sentence against the deposed Emperor containing a clause that neither British nor any other vessels should stop at that island, whilst his prison.

The parts of this Convention which establish an equality of duties, are liberal and wise. That the interest of Nations is best promoted by discarding jealousies, is a truth which, in the abstract, few will question. But they should be discarded reciprocally, without any of the reservations for which favourite interests will always plead. Whether such reciprocity will ever be found compatible with the separate existence of communities, and all their separate rivalries, is the problem. The doctrine hitherto has been known but little in the practice of the world. The United States, as one of the family of nations, did their part, at the commencement of their history, towards giving it currency; not always however with the success that attended this convention. Its provisions seemed to serve as a model. Within short periods after it went into operation, Denmark, Prussia, the Netherlands, Hanover, Sweden, and the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, formed treaties with Britain, adopting wholly, or in part, its regulations. In some of the instances, I have reason to know that it was specially consulted as the guide. France too, always slow to enter into compacts of this nature with Britain, at last consented to a similar arrangement. Such appears to have been the influence of its example. The United States, have long desired to place their intercourse with the colonies of Britain, on the basis which this Convention establishes with her dominions in Europe; but as yet ineffectually.

V. The fifth article related to the SLAVES. I stated in the last chapter, the nature of this question. All attempts to settle it by discussion proved fruitless. It was no question of international law, but of sheer grammar. In the end, we came to an agreement which this article embodied, to refer it to the umpirage of a friendly sovereign.

The Emperor Alexander was chosen. It will be proper to state the issue. The case was submitted to him in full form. His decision was:—

That the United States were entitled to claim from Great Britain a just indemnification for all slaves that the British forces had carried away from places and territories of which the treaty stipulated the restitution; and that the United States were entitled to consider as having been so carried away, all slaves who had been transported from the above-mentioned territories to British ships within their waters, and who for that reason might not have been restored.

This was the construction for which the United States had contended. The Emperor caused it to be officially made known, that he had devoted "*all his attention to the exami-*

nation of the grammatical question," and that his decision was founded "*on the signification of the words in the text of the article.*"

The broad principle of right under the treaty of Ghent, was thus settled in our favour ; but much remained to be done. The number of slaves carried away, their value, and the rightful claimants in every case, were to be ascertained. To effect these objects a convention was entered into at St. Petersburg between the United States and Great Britain, Russia lending her mediation. By this instrument various provisions were adopted for settling, through commissioners and other fit tribunals, the above and all other matters necessary to be adjudged. The tribunals were organized at Washington, and proceeded to the execution of their duties. Difficulties and delays arose. To get rid of all, another convention was concluded at London between the United States and Great Britain, by which the latter agreed to pay twelve hundred thousand dollars in lieu of all further demands. This sum was accordingly paid into the Treasury of the United States, thence to be distributed among the claimants ; Great Britain being absolved from all further responsibility. In this manner the dispute was finally and satisfactorily closed.

VI. The sixth and last article was merely one of form, with the usual stipulations for the exchange of ratifications.

Looking at the Convention as a whole, it must be judged by the nature, rather than number, of its articles. In settling the controversy about the Fisheries, the calamity of a war was probably warded off. In fixing a Boundary line long uncertain, the seed of future disputes was extinguished at that point. In the temporary arrangement of conflicting claims beyond the Rocky Mountains, something was gained. In regard to those interests in the remote west, time is, for the United States, the best negotiator. They are not unaware how they bear upon their fur trade ; their fisheries and commerce in the Pacific ; their prospective relation with new foreign states in this hemisphere ; and their intercourse with numerous tribes of the aborigines. In the renewal for ten years of the Commercial Convention, limited at first to four, a further and more encouraging example was set of liberal terms of navigation between the two greatest navigating Powers of the world. It may be hoped that it will ripen into permanence as between themselves, and continue to shed its influence more and more upon other states. Already it has been prolonged for another term of years. Lastly, in the article about the Slaves, a foundation was laid for the indemnification awarded to the citizens of our southern states for heavy losses they had suffered.

PART II.

SUBJECTS WHICH THE NEGOTIATION LEFT UNADJUSTED, PARTICULARLY THE WEST INDIA TRADE AND IMPRESSMENT.

1818. Having giving the subjects which the negotiation arranged, the task, scarcely secondary, remains to state those that were not.

I. FIRST, AS TO THE WEST INDIA TRADE. Ample discussions were had on this head. I will endeavour to make it intelligible within as short a compass as its nature will allow. The general question must be borne in mind as explained in the fourth chapter of this work. Details will be pursued no farther than is indispensable.

It was a cardinal purpose under our instructions, that entire reciprocity should be the basis of any regulations by treaty, for opening this trade. We offered the following proposals as essential to the groundwork of our plan:—That the vessels of the United States be permitted to import into the principal ports of the British West Indies, which we enumerated, and into British ports on the continent of South America, naval stores, live stock, provisions of all kinds, tobacco, lumber, and other productions of the United States, the importation of which was allowed from other places. And also that they be permitted to bring back cargoes of sugar, coffee, molasses, rum, salt, and other productions of the foregoing ports or islands, the exportation of which was allowed to other places. The vessels of Great Britain to be confined to the same articles of trade, so that they might have no advantage over those of the United States. The tonnage duties on the vessels of each nation, to be the same; and each to be allowed to touch during the voyage, at one or more ports of the other, to dispose of inward, or ship outward, cargoes. Duties of import and export to be the same on all cargoes, whether carried in American or British vessels, and neither party to charge higher duties upon the productions of the other, than were charged on similar productions in their trade with other places. Regarding the colonies of Britain in North America, we proposed that both American and British vessels be allowed to import into them from the United States, the same productions as allowed above, and bring back any productions of those colonies admitted into the United States from other places. Tonnage duties upon the vessels of each nation, to be equal here also; and the duties on all cargoes to be the same, whether carried in the vessels of the one nation or the other.

The British plenipotentiaries, on receiving these proposals, declared them to be inadmissible. They amounted, they said, to a much greater departure from the colonial system of Britain, than she was prepared to sanction. They alleged the impossibility of breaking down the system, favoured as it still was by public opinion, and leagued in with various interests, national and individual. The trade of their North American colonies in salted fish and lumber, the export trade in beef, pork, and flour, from Ireland, the British shipping interest, and the interests of non-resident West India planters, were among those to which they referred. They were willing to admit reciprocity in the trade between the United States and West Indies, to a certain extent; as far, indeed, as the trade was opened. But our plan opened it too far. They were willing to open, for example, all the ports we had enumerated, (Bermuda being of the number,) except St. Christopher's, St. Lucia, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; the exception of the three last growing out of their engagements with Holland. But if they admitted a specified number of articles in the direct trade with the Islands, they thought that we ought to consent to a larger list in the trade with Halifax and St. John's on the North American continent; and also with Bermuda. We ought not to ask that the trade be confined to the same articles with all their possessions, insular and continental. They claimed also a right for their vessels coming from Great Britain, to touch at any port of the United States and take cargoes for the West Indies; alleging that, without this right, the proximity of the United States to the Islands would give our vessels an advantage. They would agree to a provision that our vessels should have the same right; a provision, however, the reciprocity of which would have only been nominal. In the end they remarked, that one of our proposals went the length of restraining Great Britain from laying higher duties upon articles imported into her Islands from the United States, than on similar articles coming from her own possessions in North America. To this they decidedly objected. They spoke of the natural right of Great Britain to resort to discriminating duties for the purpose of favouring the productions, agricultural or otherwise, of any part of her own dominions.

We did not pretend to deny this last principle; but remarked, that truth in abstract propositions did not always bear enforcement internationally. We contended that the application of this principle to the trade in question, would prove altogether unjust to the United States. Britain made

a distinction, which of course she had the right to do, in her commercial intercourse between her home dominions and colonies. She even drew a distinction in the regulations of trade between her North American colonies, and West India Islands. The United States were therefore, in a commercial view, obliged to consider each of these portions of her empire, as so many distinct countries. To the United States, they were distinct, as well by geographical situation, and nature of their productions, as by this policy of the parent country. This was not mere theory. In the business of trade, it led to positive results. The United States made an offer to lay no higher duties on productions imported into their ports from British Islands, than on similar productions from other foreign countries. Britain met this by *apparent*, but owing to the division of her dependencies into separate countries for commercial purposes, not *real* justice. She offered to lay no higher duties on productions imported from the United States into her Islands, than were charged on similar ones from other *foreign* countries. The offer would be reciprocal in words only, unless it went farther; it ought to add, upon similar productions from *any other place*. The reason was obvious. The British Islands were supplied with similar productions from no other foreign country than the United States. The only similar ones, in amount deserving to be mentioned, would go from the North American colonies of Britain. The only competition in the supply would therefore be, between these latter colonies and the United States; whereas, there would be a real foreign competition on the productions imported into the United States from the British Islands; similar ones being imported from the Islands or colonies of other foreign powers. Hence the clause would be operative for Great Britain, and nominal for the United States. It was plain that the former could turn it to her own account. Her vessels might come to the United States from her Islands, with the productions of the Islands; whilst the vessels of the United States would find little encouragement in going to the Islands with the productions of the United States, because the same kind would get there in British vessels from Halifax, St. John's, or *Bermuda*, under duties sufficiently low to vanquish American competition. Such was our answer to this objection. At first sight the objection wore a fair appearance. It seemed unreasonable to say that Britain must not be left at liberty to foster, by high duties, as she saw fit, the productions of any part of her own dominions. But unless the United States took this

ground, they could secure no substantial reciprocity to their own vessels in carrying on the trade to be arranged.

We alleged also the inexpediency of consenting to a limited number of articles as the objects of a direct trade between our ports and the Islands, and allowing an indefinite or even larger list to go circuitously. The effect of this would in like manner be, what the United States aimed at preventing—a disproportionate employment of British tonnage. The articles not allowed to go to the Islands directly, would be sent through Halifax, St. John's, or Bermuda. To these ports, it is true, they might go in American vessels; but, arrived there, they would be transferred to British vessels, and carried to the Islands exclusively in the latter. It was a main point with the United States to guard their shipping from this source of danger.

It was so that we reasoned. Nevertheless, it was our duty to pay a just regard to the considerations which Great Britain had presented. We expressed a desire to listen to any specific proposals she would make. We asked for a scale of duties that would exhibit the maximum of those intended for the protection of the produce of her own dominions; but no such document was prepared for our consideration. In further reply to this British doctrine about duties, we naturally remarked, that, if enforced against the United States, the latter ought certainly to retain the option of laying higher duties on the productions of the British Islands, than on those of countries where their productions were, or might be, received on better terms than in her Islands. We also declared that we could agree to no proposals for regulating the intercourse with Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, unconnected with the Islands.

After these and other particulars had been fully canvassed, it became evident that the parties were too wide asunder to give hope of meeting on ground that would satisfy both. The British plenipotentiaries candidly expressed themselves to this effect. But as we invited proposals, they gave them. Their proposals adhered to the principle of protecting the productions of their North American colonies, by levying higher duties on similar productions from the United States. They also claimed the right for British vessels from her European dominions, to touch at ports of the United States to take in cargoes for the West Indies. In other respects, as these *nominally*, they admitted the principle of reciprocity, as far as the trade was to be open. But they restricted it in a way to be little acceptable to the United States. Neither sugar, nor coffee, was allowed to be among the direct exports to the United States from the Islands, although we would have

consented to a limited amount of each. Nor were salted provisions of any kind, including fish, nor lumber generally, for under the last head there were slight exceptions, to be allowed among the imports into the Islands from the United States. Yet it was proposed, that not only sugar and coffee, but all articles of the produce or manufacture of any of the British dominions, and even East India articles, should be admitted into the United States through the circuitous channels of Bermuda, Halifax, and St. John's. It was also asked, that, in the whole trade, Britain, by all the regulations of the United States, should stand upon as good a footing in their ports, as any other foreign nation. Such were the principal features of their proposals.

Britain would agree to no arrangement of the intercourse by land, or inland navigation, with her possessions bordering on the United States, different from the one rejected with the four articles submitted by Lord Castlereagh. Nor would she let us take our produce down the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, or down the Chambly as far as the St. Lawrence.

On referring her proposals to our Government with all the views elicited from her Plenipotentiaries, they were rejected. In progress of time renewed negotiations were held between the two Governments, some whilst I remained at the British Court, some afterwards. Each Government gave up some of the ground taken in this negotiation; but no arrangement by treaty has ever yet been made upon the subject. The trade stands upon regulations adopted by the statutes of each nation, which each is at liberty to modify or recall. Until opened by these regulations, the prohibitory laws of the Union would not allow supplies from the British West Indies to come directly to the United States, or go directly from the United States to the Islands, in the vessels of either Power. The reason was, that as Britain would not allow them to come and go in this direct manner on terms that the United States deemed of equal advantage to their vessels, they preferred that the direct intercourse should cease altogether. It is obvious that the dispute was about *tonnage*, not the productions or merchandize of either party. These were still permitted to be consumed in the territories of each; but it was necessary to import them in roundabout ways into each. On a Spanish ambassador representing to Cromwell that the Inquisition, and Colonial Trade, were his master's two eyes, Cromwell replied, "Then I must trouble your master to put out his two eyes." We cannot address England in that style; but we may remark, that to whatever extent she enforces her colonial system in her intercourse with other nations, the

latter will, so far, lose the advantage of full and equal competition as respects their tonnage.

II. I come, secondly, to IMPRESSMENT. Faithful as were our labours on this subject, disappointment was their portion. A recapitulation of the causes has claims to the attention of both nations

It will be remembered that I delivered to Lord Castlereagh two propositions, which, taken together, embodied an offer by the United States to exclude, by all the means in their power, British seamen, native born, as naturalized, from their service. As an equivalent, they demanded that impressment from their vessels should be totally relinquished. The stipulation for excluding seamen, was to be reciprocal. The United States agreeing not to employ British seamen, it was no more than just that Britain should agree not to employ American seamen. The exclusion was to extend to the public and private marine of both nations.

It cannot escape remark, that the United States, by such an offer, overlooked the estimate of pecuniary advantage to their merchants, for the prospect of durable harmony with Great Britain. Wages were higher in their merchant-service, than the British. To exclude British seamen from it, would be likely to raise them still higher. On the other hand, the stipulation of Britain would have been remote in its practical operation. It was necessarily contingent upon the event of a maritime war with other powers, as she does not impress from American vessels in time of peace. Hence, the onerous part of the engagement would have been to us, immediate; the benefit, distant.

Our offer of exclusion, it will also be remembered, was at first rejected. It was afterwards agreed that it should be considered. Two conditions were annexed to it by Lord Castlereagh. One, that any treaty containing the mutual stipulations, should be revocable on short notice by either party. This would serve, he thought, to pacify persons in England who would otherwise be disposed to think the arrangement derogatory to the rights of England; whilst the treaty, as he hoped, would be sliding into permanence. The other condition was, that the British boarding-officer entering American vessels at sea for purposes agreed to be lawful in time of war, and finding British seamen, or men suspected to be such, should be allowed to make a *procès verbal* of the fact, to be presented to the notice of the American Government; but the officer to be prohibited taking away the men.

This latter condition seemed to imply distrust of America. It breathed suspicion, that the regulations for excluding

British seamen, would not be fully executed. If objectionable on this ground, it was more so on others. It did not ask, in terms, that the boarding-officer calling for a list of the crew, should have the power of mustering them; but the mere view of the paper would be useless without that power. The men must have been inspected for the purpose of comparison with the list. Such inspections had been found among the most insupportable aggravations of impressment. Their tendency, in every instance, was to produce altercation between the foreign officer and the master of the American vessel. If the officer made a record of his suspicions, the master, and seaman, must have the privilege of making a counter record. Where then would be the end, or what the good, of these tribunals of the deck? We did not desire the first condition, but were willing to come into it. To the second, we declared our utter repugnance and unequivocal dissent. It will be farther remembered, that Lord Castlereagh withdrew the second; which brings me to the footing on which the subject was taken up in the negotiation.

Repeated advances having been made by the United States, the understanding was, that Britain should now bring the subject forward in a shape matured for discussion. The leading principles seemed to have been settled. It remained, as we thought, only to settle details. At the third conference, the British plenipotentiaries submitted a projet of six articles designed for the regulation, by a separate treaty, of the whole subject. I have abstained almost wholly from presenting documents of the negotiation at large, supposing that I could cause their essential matter to be sufficiently understood by description. But the interest attaching to this question, renders it proper to set forth the British projet in its precise terms; a course the more proper as I inserted in the same way the American propositions. It here follows:—

“ His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the President of the United States of America, being animated with an equal desire to remove, by amicable regulations, the inconveniences which have arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between the subjects and citizens of the two powers respectively, have determined to proceed, without prejudice to the rights of either power, to frame such conventional arrangements as may obviate the evils which might hereafter again result from the circumstances above stated, to the public service, the commerce, or the subjects or citizens of either of the contracting parties. In pursuance of so desirable an object, his said Majesty and the President of the United States have nomi-

nated Plenipotentiaries to discuss and sign a treaty to this effect. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has nominated the Right Honourable Frederick John Robinson, and Henry Goulburn, Esquire, and the President of the United States has nominated Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush, Esquires, who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and true form, have agreed upon the following articles.

“1. The high contracting parties engage and bind themselves to adopt without delay, and in the manner that may best correspond with their respective laws, such measures as may be most effectual for excluding the natural-born subjects and citizens of either party from serving in the public or private marine of the other: Provided always, that nothing contained in this article shall be understood to apply to such natural-born subjects or citizens of either power as may have been naturalized by their respective laws, previous to the signature of the present treaty. And such measures, when adopted, shall be immediately communicated to each party respectively.

“2. For the better ascertaining the number of persons on either side that may fall within the exception contained in the preceding article, the high contracting parties, engage to deliver, each to the other, within twelve months from the ratification of the present treaty, a list of all persons falling within the said exception, specifying the places of their birth, with the date of their becoming naturalized. And it is further agreed, that none other than the persons whose names shall be included in the lists, shall be deemed to fall within the said exception.

“3. The high contracting parties, however, reserve to themselves the power to authorize and permit, by proclamation, their respective subjects or citizens, to serve in the public or private marine of the other country. And it is hereby expressly understood, that, as long as such permission shall remain in force, it shall be competent for the Government of the other power, notwithstanding the engagement set forth in the first article of this treaty, to admit the performance of the said service. *Provided always*, that, whenever the power so granting permission to the said subjects or citizens to serve in the marine of the other, shall withdraw the same, notification thereof shall forthwith be made to the other contracting party, and, on receipt of such notification, the power receiving the same shall forthwith notify it in the most public and official manner, and shall use its utmost endeavours to restrain the said subjects or citizens of the

other party from further serving in its public or private marine, and shall enforce the exclusion of such of the said subjects or citizens of the other power as may then be in its service, as if no such permission had been promulgated.

“4. In consideration of the stipulations contained in the preceding articles, it is agreed by the high contracting parties that, during the continuance of the present treaty, neither power shall impress or forcibly withdraw, or cause to be impressed or forcibly withdrawn, any person or persons from the vessels of the other power, when met upon the high seas, on any plea or pretext whatsoever. *Provided always*, that nothing contained in this article shall be construed to apply to the vessels of either power which may be within the ports, or within the maritime jurisdiction of the other, and also provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or affect the established right of search as authorized in time of war by the law of nations.

“5. The high contracting parties have agreed to extend the duration of the present treaty to ten years, and they reserve to themselves to concert, as to its renewal, at such convenient period, previous to its expiration, as may ensure to their respective subjects and citizens, the uninterrupted benefit which they expect from its provisions: *Provided always*, that either power may, if it deem it expedient, upon giving six months previous notice to the other, wholly abrogate and annul the present treaty.

“6. It is agreed that nothing contained in the preceding articles shall be understood to affect the rights and principles on which the high contracting parties have heretofore acted, in respect to any of the matters to which these stipulations refer, except so far as the same shall have been modified, restrained, or suspended, by the said articles. And, whenever the present treaty shall cease to be in operation, either by the expiration of the term for which it is enacted, without any renewal of the same, or by the abrogation thereof by either of the high contracting parties, as hereinbefore provided, or, (which God forbid!) by any war between them, each of the said high contracting parties shall stand, with respect to the other, as to its said rights and principles, as if no such treaty had ever been made.”

In submitting these articles, the British plenipotentiaries expressed upon the protocol their conviction, that, under all the difficulties that surrounded the question, they would be sufficient to satisfy us of the earnest disposition of Great Britain to go every practicable length in a joint effort for their removal, so as to connect the two countries in the

firmest ties of harmony. It was with this solemnity that the subject was presented to our consideration.

It received from us a deliberate and anxious attention. We brought to the task an unaffected desire to smooth down every obstacle. It was not to be supposed that a subject that had divided the two nations for five-and-twenty years, and been the principal cause of a war, could be definitively arranged by the first projet of a treaty drawn up by one of the parties. But we hailed the entire plan as the harbinger of adjustment, believing that we saw in its spirit and outline the sure hope of success. Taking an interval for advisement we said, that the proposal heretofore made by the United States could leave no doubt of their constant desire to settle this question, and declared our readiness to agree, with some amendments, to the plan submitted. We added our full expectation that, founded as it was in mutual confidence, it could not fail to have a happy effect towards rendering durable the relations of amity so happily subsisting between the two countries. These sentiments we, too, recorded on the protocol.

Several of our amendments were only verbal. We did not think that the recital in the preamble met the whole case on both sides, and offered alterations, some of which were approved. To the clause under which there might have been a claim to continue impressment in the narrow seas, we objected, and it was, in effect, withdrawn. Nor did we like the particular mode, or place, in which Britain reserved the right of search at the close of the fourth article. We suggested in lieu of it, that the words should go to a different article, and provide that neither party should be affected by the treaty "*in any of their belligerent or neutral rights as acknowledged by the law of nations, except so far as modified, restricted, or suspended by the treaty.*" It becomes unnecessary, however, to dwell on these and other points as to which the parties did not agree at first, since they might have agreed ultimately, had it not been for two that proved fatal to the plan. To the explanation of these I confine myself.

The second article, with a view to ascertain the persons who were to be excepted from those intended to be excluded from the sea-service of either nation, provides, that each shall furnish the other with a list of their names. This list was to specify the place of their birth, and dates of their naturalization; and none but persons whose names were upon it, were to fall within the exception. To this provision we were obliged to object, our laws not enabling us to meet all that it required. As a substitute, we proposed that "no natural-

“ born subject or citizen of either power, whose name should not be included in the list, should be deemed to fall within the exception, UNLESS HE PRODUCED PROOF OF HIS HAVING BEEN DULY NATURALIZED PRIOR TO THE EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS OF THE TREATY.”

Reasons must be given why the United States could not comply with the British article as it stood. Anterior to 1789, aliens were naturalized according to the laws of the several States composing the Union. Under this system, the forms varied and were often very loose. The latter was especially the case when they were drawn up by justices of the peace, as sometimes happened. Since that epoch, the forms have been uniform, and are only permitted before such courts of record as are designated by the laws of the United States. But the designation includes not only courts of the United States, properly so called, but courts of the several States. Minor children also of naturalized persons, if the former be within the limits of the Union, become, *ipso facto*, naturalized. It must be added, that, for several years, no discrimination as to the birth-place of aliens was recorded. If attempts were made to procure the lists required, a first objection might have been, that the courts of the several States were not bound to obey, in this respect, a call from the general Government. But granting that all obeyed, the lists would have exhibited nothing more than the names of British natural-born subjects, naturalized during a period of nearly thirty years. They would not designate seamen, the law not having required a record of the occupation; nor would they embrace minor children, their names never having been directed to be registered. There was but one other source from which lists could have been derived, and here only partially. By a law of 1796, collectors of customs were required to keep books in which the names of seamen, citizens of the United States, were, on their own application, to be entered. Under this law, as may be inferred from its terms, the entry of names was not full; nor did the law draw a distinction between native citizens and naturalized.

From this summary it is manifest, that a compliance with the British article would have been impracticable. The unavoidable consequence of consenting to it would have been, that aliens naturalized before the treaty, and entitled by our laws to all the rights of citizens, would, by an *ex post facto* and therefore unconstitutional measure, have found themselves excluded from following the seas.

All these obstacles we presented to the British plenipotentiaries. They were plainly such as we could not remove,

whatever our desire. But we urged, that the condition required of us, appeared unnecessary. By the substitute proposed, every native-born subject of Britain claiming the right of serving in our vessels, and not being able to show his name upon the lists, would have to adduce other proof of his naturalization. This other proof must have been, either the original certificate of naturalization, or an authentic copy. It could have been on no better proof, that any names would have been returned in the lists. If minors claimed the benefit of the exception, legal proof must have been given of their identity; to which must have been subjoined, proof of the naturalization of their fathers. We urged also the right reserved to either party of annulling the treaty at will, as affording a security. It was a reservation, not of our choice, but acquiesced in, to avoid objection, and supersede the necessity of details too complicated. It gave Britain a remedy in her own hands against deviations from the true spirit of the compact, whenever she believed any were committed.

But we could not prevail upon the British plenipotentiaries to recede from their ground. They appeared to have taken up an impression, which we were unable to expel, that great numbers of their seamen intended by the treaty to be excluded, would, but for the condition annexed, find their way into our service.

An error insensibly prevailing in Britain, seems to lie at the root of the evil. It consists in supposing that the United States cannot obtain seamen of their own, but must depend upon Britain. Why, any more than on Britons to till their farms, seems strange! I will give an instance of this error. When the Franklin anchored off Cowes, visitors came on board. Her decks were filled with her seamen. To be sure, they looked like English seamen, and spoke the same language. Soon the rumour went, that many were English. All rumours grow; so this. In a fortnight I read in the London prints, that one-third of the whole were native-born British subjects! The news passed from journal to journal, fixing itself, no doubt, in the belief of many an honest Englishman. The commentary upon it is, that Commodore Stewart informed me, that out of his crew, of seven hundred men, twenty-five would include all of foreign birth. Of these half were from parts of Europe other than Britain. I would not be guilty of supposing that errors so gross as the one I mention, could ever be committed by persons having better opportunities of information; but it points to the popular misconception. I fully believe, and this not as an unexamined opinion, that the proportion of native American seamen

on board American ships-of-war, will always be found greater than of native British seamen on board British ships-of-war. The relative size of the two navies considered, it is demonstrable indeed, that the United States are far better able to man their's with native American, than the British their's with native British.

The other part of the projet that produced fatal diversity, was in the first article, It ran thus; "Provided always that "nothing contained in this article shall be understood to "apply to such natural-born subjects or citizens of either "power as may have been naturalized by their respective laws "previous to the SIGNATURE of the the present treaty." In place of SIGNATURE, we proposed "EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS." To the former, we could not consent. It would have brought with it the same consequence; that of violating our Constitution. The obligations of a treaty are not complete until exchange of ratifications. To exclude from our service, subjects naturalized prior to that date, would have involved the objection of *ex post facto*. The British plenipotentiaries would not agree to drop their word. Here too was manifested what, to us, seemed needless apprehension. As by the laws of the United States a residence of five years is one of the pre-requisites to naturalization, the number of British seamen who could have come in between the two dates, must have been extremely small; not worth consideration, as we supposed, in a national point of view. But we could not succeed in making the British plenipotentiaries think so. The subject was debated until the closing hours of the negotiation, and then fell to the ground. It put the seal to the failure of our efforts. We had offered all that was possible under our laws. We could go no farther.

I pause a moment on the above narrative. I look back, with unfeigned regret, on the failure it records. Perhaps I may be wrong, for I speak from no authority, but am not able to divest myself of an impression that, had Lord Castle-reagh been in London, there would not have been a failure. I am aware that he was kept informed of the progress of the negotiation. We had reason to believe that the documents were regularly sent on for his inspection. Still, he could not share in the full spirit of all that passed. He had the European relations of Britain in his hands. Impressment, although in truth a primary concern, could not, at such a season, have commanded all his thoughts. But I know how anxiously he entered into it, before his departure for Aix-la-Chapelle. He saw that the great principle of adjustment had at last been settled; and I can scarcely think that he

would have allowed it to be foiled, by carrying too much rigour into details. It is no part of my present purpose to draw the character of Lord Castlereagh in his connection with England, or Europe; but there was this in him, which his opponents did not deny, and history will award—an entire fearlessness. He knew that a treaty relinquishing impressment, no matter what the terms, would excite clamour in England, come when it would.* But having made up his mind to the justice and policy of such a treaty, he would have faced the clamour. I believe that he set a high value upon a good understanding with the United States; and if, in the particular instance assumed, my conjecture be not ill-founded, who will say that his wisdom would not have been attested? Seamen, as a race, are short-lived. Had the arrangement been perfected, the lapse of a very few years would have swept away the stock of naturalized British seamen in the United States; whilst the treaty would have remained, a monument of the statesmanship of the minister under whose auspices it would have been concluded.

This subject falling through, others of a maritime nature were withdrawn. It had been agreed that none were to be proceeded with, if we failed on Impressment. We offered articles on blockade, contraband, trading with the colonies of a belligerent, for the regulation of proceedings in prize cases, and the conduct of privateers and letters of marque. Britain had joined in offers on most of them, omitting the third. Their discussion was carried on to some extent, but given over when discovered that we could not arrange the point on which all depended.

The failure to accommodate this fruitful source of strife, is only postponed, not defeated. If removed in no other way, it will cease, ultimately, through the cessation of the practice as a home measure in England. It cannot endure much longer. Englishmen will get awake to its true nature. It is the remark of a sagacious historian, that nations long after their ideas begin to enlarge and their manners to refine, adhere to systems of superstition founded on the crude conceptions of early years. It is the same with public abuses. The English part reluctantly with those sanctioned by time. But, at length, public scrutiny and the moral sense of the

* Perhaps a striking opinion by General ———, the same English Officer, already referred to, p. 239, may here be given. It was also found in a pencil note at the foot of this same page of the volume from which this is a reprint, on this great question of Impressment; “*There would have been small, if any clamour.*” The officer in question was an enlightened sagacious man, of extensive information, and bold independent views.

nation, fasten upon them as in the case of the slave-trade. Reason emerges, as from a cloud. The abuses fall, and reprobation succeeds to the long tolerance that kept them up. Indications are not wanting of this coming change as to impressment. I could refer to some, derived from private intercourse; but for this I should have no warrant, and will take other and public demonstrations. Perhaps no association of men in the kingdom are more likely to form sound opinions on this subject, than the shipowners of London. This body, at a meeting in September 1818, deliberately condemned the practice. The report of their committee dwells upon its evils, and suggests measures for its entire abolition. There is something if possible more strong. Sir Murray Maxwell, a distinguished officer in the British navy, when a candidate to represent the great commercial interests of Westminster in the House of Commons, made an appeal too remarkable to be forgotten. Addressing himself to assembled thousands round the hustings, he said, that if his opponent could show that he had been "for fifteen years engaged in promoting a political scheme of such national importance as the one that he (Sir Murray) had been labouring at, he would withdraw from the contest; he meant, *the efforts he had made, in concert with many of his brother officers, to do away the practice of impressment.*" Need I go farther? If the conviction of the impolicy and enormity of this violation of the rights of the subject, this stain upon British humanity, has found its way into the circle of shipowners and naval officers, is it conceivable that the conviction will stop there? No; it will spread, until echoed by the voice of all Britain.

In conclusion, I must superadd my testimony to that of every other American, that the United States cannot again permit the exercise, by any foreign power, of impressment on board their vessels. After the facts mentioned in the twelfth chapter, they would be untrue to themselves, and the race they spring from, if they did.

I have gone through the topics of the Negotiation. I have given succinctly, but I trust accurately, those comprised in the Convention. I have set forth, I hope intelligibly, the causes of disappointment as to others. May the day soon arrive when the adjustment of at least that of Impressment, may cement by yet closer ties two nations that ought to feel and act like friends, instead of pouring out their blood in combat.

A G L A N C E

AT

THE COURT AND GOVERNMENT

OF

LOUIS PHILIPPE,

AND

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 :

WHILE THE AUTHOR RESIDED

AS

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY

OF THE UNITED STATES

AT PARIS,

FROM 1847 TO 1849.

[*Now first published in Europe.*]

“A Glance at the Court and Government of Louis Philippe, and the French Revolution which followed. Detached incidents, political, diplomatic, and social, the last brief and infrequent, of the Mission to France in 1848, and portions of 1847 and 1849, from occasional notes during the Mission, put into their present form after my return, to show the prominent events of the Revolution of February, 1848, which drove Louis Philippe from the throne, and what followed that expulsion. Of the general business of the Mission, these notes do not design to present more than the smallest part. Conscious of deficiencies and imperfections in the parts they even aim at explaining, I yet leave them for publication after my death.”

RICHARD RUSH.

PHILADELPHIA,
June, 1859.

A GLANCE

AT THE

COURT AND GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE
AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848.

ON the 12th of June, 1847, I embarked at New York for France as Minister from the United States, under the appointment of President Polk, and the approbation of the Senate. Mr. Buchanan was Secretary of State, with whose well-prepared instructions I was charged. The post was as unexpected as unsought, which made me the more sensible to the confidence of the government in putting it into my hands when there were others better qualified for it. I arrived at Havre on the 8th of July. Two of my daughters accompanied me, a third remaining at home with her Mother, who was in impaired health. I had also an attaché to the mission, in young Mr. Stanton, of New York, son of Colonel Stanton of the army. These, with our servants, made up my family.

Staying two days at Havre, we left it on the 10th for Paris by railway, but stopped again at Rouen, further to recruit after the voyage. On the 15th we reached Paris. At the railway station we found the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Martin; Mr. Irwin, late chargé d'affaires of the United States at Copenhagen, and Mr. Corbin, of Virginia, to

welcome us on first arriving. Others were there, whose names I cannot recall. We went to the Hotel Windsor, Rue de Rivoli, opposite the gardens of the Tuileries, where apartments had been taken for us. Our front rooms looked out into those beautiful gardens.

July 21. My baggage gets to Paris to-day. It comes by the Roulage, a slow conveyance. It was promised in four or five days. This is the ninth. It was left in charge of our acting consul at Havre, who forwarded it, the necessary orders having been transmitted by the French government for passing it free at the Havre custom-house.

July 21. On this same day I have my first interview with M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council. I hand him a copy of my letter of credence from the President to the King, asking when I may hope for the honour of delivering the original to His Majesty in person. The minister replies that he will take the King's orders and inform me. I express a hope that the King is well. The minister says his health is very good, and that he speaks with interest of the time he spent in the United States. He represents his memory as remarkably retentive of what he saw there; sometimes he went into details, and was not backward on those occasions in mentioning the straits to which he was put at periods when his remittances were stopped, or did not reach him punctually. He told him that during such times he had lived on two shillings a day.

July 30. A note from the "Aide-de-Camp de Service près du Roi" of this date, from the Palace "de Neuilly," informs me that the King will receive me at that Palace to-morrow at one o'clock.

July 31. Go to Neuilly, attended by the Secretary of Legation. On entering the Palace, I was conducted by an Aide into the room where the King was to receive me. In a few minutes the King entered. He was attended by three of his Aides-de-Camp, and dressed in military uniform, as were the Aides. I wore the diplomatic costume of my country. The Secretary of Legation was also present. Approaching the King, I said that I felt honoured in presenting to His Majesty, a letter from the President of the United States, which constituted me their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at his Majesty's Court. I felt this honour the more, as France was the great ally of the United States at an early day after the declaration of our Independence. To fulfil my instructions in doing everything in my power during my residence towards strengthening the friendship and good understanding between France and the United States would naturally yield me the highest satisfaction ; and I added that if, in performing these duties, I should be fortunate enough to perform them in a manner acceptable to His Majesty, the measure of my gratification would be full.

Here I might have stopped. But the fêtes in Paris in celebration of the three days of Revolution in July, 1830, having just terminated, that subject was still fresh ; and I went on, in conclusion, to say, that I could not but consider myself fortunate in arriving in France during the celebration of the anniversary which had placed His Majesty upon the throne. And that he might witness many returns of it, continuing to behold Europe enjoying the peace which he had done so much towards securing, and live surrounded by the affections of his august consort and family,

was, I felt sure, the wish of the President; and I hoped His Majesty would permit me to say it was mine also.

The King, on receiving the letter of credence, said, in reply, that he had listened with interest to the sentiments I expressed. He begged I would assure the President that he reciprocated them fully. The President could not estimate more highly than he did the value of friendly relations between the United States and France; great and mutual benefits hung upon them, and it would be his constant desire to secure them as far as possible; he remembered the ancient ties between the two countries, and always recurred to them with pleasure; new motives and duties prompted to the continuance of their friendship, and nothing on his part should ever be wanting towards confirming it. Of all this he requested I would make the President sensible, and I could not do it in a manner too strong to convey his wishes to see the two countries promoting in all ways each other's welfare. He concluded with a kind word in reply to what I said on my own part.

The King spoke with cordiality and emphasis. He spoke in English, with perfect command of the language. His prime minister, M. Guizot, when I talked with him, seemed equally master of it, though his pronunciation was not as thoroughly English as the King's.

The ceremony of reception over, the King asked me to return and dine at the Palace at half-past six. Honoured by the invitation, I did not fail to accept it. He would then have an opportunity, he said, of introducing me to the Queen and others of his family. He included the Secretary of Legation in the invita-

tion, and said, familiarly, as we came away, "And we will all take off our official costumes before meeting at dinner."

I arrived at half-past six. We assembled in one of the beautiful rooms of the Palace, which, although not a large one, strikes favourably upon the eye in every part I saw; as do the grounds in driving up to it. On entering, I was presented to the Queen by the King; then to the King and Queen of Belgium, the latter his daughter, now on a visit to her father with her royal consort. Afterwards he introduced me to Madame Adelaide, his sister; then to the Dukes de Nemours, d'Aumale and Montpensier, his sons, the last having married the beautiful young lady of the royal house of Spain; then to the Duchess of Orleans, relict of the King's eldest son, who lost his life by a melancholy accident near Neuilly. Other persons were assembled, making perhaps eighteen or twenty in all, the gentlemen all in plain dinner dress like the King.

In going into dinner I took on my arm the Duchess of Montpensier; an honour doubled by that of sitting next to the Queen and on her right. The King of Belgium sat on her left. In the middle of the table, opposite to the Queen, was the King. The Queen of Belgium sat next to him. I do not remember how the rest of the company entered or were placed, only that all were soon seated. The array of the company; the flowers, porcelain, and silver on the table; the homestead where all were seen, might well call to recollection the phrase which embodies so much — *la Belle France*.

My position at table was fortunate. The topics, intonations, the dignified form, of the Queen; her

bland words and manner to the representative just arrived from a distant and friendly Power, are still fresh in my memory. She hoped I would like France—hoped I had found good apartments—she too remembered the ancient ties between France and my Country—the King often spoke of the kindness he received there when a wanderer in early life—kindness he was fond of calling up and never could forget. Conversation like this with Her Majesty as the dinner continued, was at moments varied by the exchange of a few words with the King of Belgium, whose hospitality I had experienced, as Minister of the United States, at Marlborough House, in London, where he then lived as Prince Leopold, survivor of the Princess Charlotte, heiress apparent to the British throne.

The dinner over, all returned to the drawing-room in the order we left it. The servants began to hand coffee; when the King, with some of the ladies, walked out upon the lawn through windows opening to the floor. Others did the same, whom I accompanied. Here the grounds had a rural beauty the more striking from being simple. The servants followed with the coffee, serving it as we stood. The King came up to converse with me, but after a few words, invited me to a seat with him under a tree near us, where he said we could finish our coffee. I sat there with him half an hour in the long twilight of this summer evening. While we were conversing, some of the company returned to the Palace; some took other rural seats; some were moving about the grounds. The King dwelt with interest on his visit to the United States, more than half a century ago; mentioned places where he had been, some of which

were known to me; spoke of our rivers, our mountains, our cataracts; and now and then would touch upon incidents personal to himself, or his brothers, during their travels through our towns, hamlets, and forests. He seemed to derive pleasure from recurring to these scenes of his early and eventful life. Before separating, he inquired what part of my family had come with me. I told him two daughters. He said I must bring them to Neuilly on Wednesday evening, that he might introduce them to the Queen. It was not until twilight was departing that my carriage was announced, and I left the attractive scene which, inside of the Palace or outside, had thus marked my first official and social day in France.

August 1. Go to Mr. Corbin's, at Versailles, his present country residence, where he entertains several of our countrymen at dinner. Before dinner we walked in the gardens of the Palace and saw the fountains play. This great Palace, with its fountains and gardens, took my fancy less than the simple beauties at Neuilly; or, if I am not carrying heresy still farther, than Warwick Castle and its grounds in England,—to bring together things so dissimilar. In the latter, though relatively small, and baronial in structure, Nature stands out grandly by the side of Art. At Versailles, Nature seems hidden by Art.

August 2. Devote the day to making visits of ceremony to members of the Royal family, Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, and other functionaries connected with the Government and Court, upon whom it is usual for Foreign Ministers to call after being officially received by the King.

August 3. Nearly all on whom I called yesterday,

call on me to-day. The rest send cards. M. Guizot sits fifteen or twenty minutes. I refer to his speech in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday, in which he alluded to Washington; always a grateful theme to Americans, and which M. Guizot knows how to touch. The Spanish ambassador, General Narvaez, is of those who call in person. The Marquis of Normanby, English ambassador, not calling to-day, I receive a note from him expressing regret at his inability to call, from being out of town.

August 4. This evening I take my daughters to the Palace at Neuilly, according to the King's request, and introduce them to His Majesty. They are presented also to the Queen, who receives them kindly, as she receives all. The company was not large. The Queen sat at a circular table, where ladies of the Royal family were also sitting, some with fine embroidery-work before them.

August 7. We pass the evening at Mr. Walsh's, our consul at Paris, now staying with his family at St. Germain's. Hear from Mr. Walsh things that may prove useful in my mission.

August 10. We dine and spend the day at Mr. Moulton's, an American gentleman, settled in Paris; the day made the more agreeable by Mrs. Moulton and the attractions of his chateau, twelve miles off, where they are for the summer. We ramble through the garden and grounds before going to dinner. M. and Madame Hottingeur are of the company.

August 12. We are at the marriage of Miss Green to Mr. Vendenbrock, of Holland; the bride a daughter of the eminent American banker. The marriage ceremony takes place in the first instance before the Mayor of the arrondissement of Paris, in

which Mr. Green resides, and is repeated at the French Protestant Church, of which M. Coquerel is the eminent rector. The scene winds up with a *déjeuner à la fourchette* suited to the festive occasion, given at the mansion of the bride's father, where many guests assemble in honour of it.

August 19. We dine at Mr. Montgomery's, Rue de Matignon, a gentleman of Louisiana, where he spends part of the year and rejoins his family, living in Paris during the other parts. Here, in a house which tradition says was formerly a royal residence in miniature, he dispenses, with Mrs. Montgomery, a kind hospitality, in which we shared.

August 23. Dine at the Swedish Minister's, Count de Lowenhielm, who entertains the Diplomatic Corps, most of whom are present. A topic at table was M. Guizot's defence of the Ministry against the eloquent Montalembert's attack, just before the Chambers rose. A pithy sentence was repeated from it,—that it was pleasant for the minister to hear the government reproached by the noble peer for governing too much, when it was so often accused of not governing at all. I sat next to the Prussian Minister, Count d'Arnim, to whose conversation I listened with benefit.

Another topic came up, which all Paris talks about just now—the murder of the Duchess de Praslin. It took place a few nights ago, in her own bed, at Hotel Sebastiani, not far from where we were dining. Screams from her maid awoke the men servants, who hastened to the door of her mistress's chamber, which was locked; but they got in through a window by the garden, and found her body bruised and gashed, as if she had been struggling for her life. What makes the matter worse is, that her husband is under

suspicion of being the murderer. They slept in different chambers; and one of the servants swore that he saw the Duke, as he supposed, though it was midnight, leave her chamber through the door, as he entered by the window. These were circumstances mentioned. The parties were known to some of the company; he about forty, she younger, and daughter of General Sebastiani, Marshal of France. They have children, and had just returned from his country estate near Melun, on the mansion and grounds of which, it was said, he had expended large sums to adorn still more its ancient beauties. What makes more talk about the murder is, the coupling of the name of a governess with it who was sent out of the family on suspicion of improper conduct; to whom, nevertheless, the Duchess granted a pension for life. So it was stated.

Our entertainer had long enjoyed the confidence of his Sovereign, and been many years in the diplomatic service of Sweden. He was full of sprightliness, and enlivened us with anecdotes—some of the past, others of present things in Paris.

September 1. Go to the King's at his Palace, St. Cloud. It was reception-night. The Diplomatic Corps were nearly all there, a few of the Cabinet, and others of the Court circle.

The King asks me what my accounts are from the United States. I tell him that I think our army has entered Mexico, though we have no official accounts of it. He asks for my daughters, and hopes they like Paris. It could not be otherwise, I reply. He hopes they will like it better as they know it more. He introduces me to the Prince de Joinville, his naval son, much a favourite with the French, whom I had not seen before.

September 2. Leave Hotel Windsor and go to Versailles. We find good apartments at the Hotel du Reservoir, near the gardens of the Palace, to which we have convenient access from the hotel.

September 4. The feeling of horror at the murder of the Duchess de Praslin is not lessened by the fact, which the papers mention, that the Duke has taken arsenic and died by his own hand; thus turning the suspicion of his having been the murderer of his wife, into belief. Letters to him from her, published since her death, show a mind of the highest culture, with sensibilities tender and affectionate, agonized by the temper and conduct of her husband; towards whom she appears to have been forgiving to the last. So ends this remarkable tragedy in domestic life, half romantic in its horrors.

September 13. Go this evening from Versailles to the King's, at St. Cloud. The Diplomatic Corps are there. We offer our congratulations on the birth of a daughter to the Duke d'Aumale; and on the escape of the Duke de Nemours from being shot by the Prince de Joinville, when they were out shooting together yesterday. It appeared, however, that he received a slight wound on the cheek.

The King honored me with some conversation. The subject of it was the tone of the English press on the Spanish marriage question. General Narvaez, lately the Spanish Ambassador here, had returned to Madrid, and some of his movements there had, it seems, roused the English press anew, as His Majesty said. He then expressed himself much to this effect; that having refused for one of his sons (the Duke de Nemours) the crowns of Belgium and Greece, and having long resisted a marriage with the Queen of

Spain, pressed upon the Duke d'Aumale until his refusal had become hardly respectful, he was now to be called to account because another of his sons (the Duke de Montpensier) had married the sister of the Queen. He spoke of Lord Palmerston in a few words not necessary to repeat, it being well known that the King's preferences were for Lord Aberdeen, as England's Foreign Secretary, rather than Lord Palmerston, and that the former held M. Guizot in high esteem. I listened to His Majesty's remarks with attention, the topic being a prominent one. It was not for me to comment on the question of two crowns, or titles to them, concentrating in one Royal House; and as he only alluded to the English press, I confined myself to remarking on its unrestrained tone at all times and on all subjects. In that characteristic of it, I said, might be found the errors it so often falls into in regard to my country. The King replied that he knew the nature of the English press, as Europe did; it would say anything, and stop at nothing. Yes, Sir, I rejoined, we know this on our side of the Atlantic; but the press will have its say in free countries. It runs riot in ours; and strong countries can bear it. His Majesty wound up by saying that its clamor would not alter his purposes; it did him injustice as to his course towards Italy, Switzerland, and Spain, but he would be true to his policy, which was to respect the rights of other states, and be glad as the condition of each grew better, as all would reap the benefit, France among the rest.

September 29. Return to Paris after a month of delightful weather spent at Versailles. Our visits to the Palace, whenever inclination led us to see its memorials of art in painting, statuary, and every

thing; our walks through the gardens and grounds, sometimes extending them to the Grand and Petit Trianon, will make this month memorable in our recollections of France. Troops passed in front of our windows every morning, to music from mounted bands; but among incidents less usual, and therefore less to be forgotten, were the working-men in blouses we would so often see in the gilded rooms of the Palace, silently looking at the pictures, or wandering about in the gardens. Not a picture, not a flower, did they touch. They seemed trained to decorum. It was the condition on which they seemed glad to be there to derive pleasure, if not imbibe thoughts to bear good fruit. Whole parties from the provinces would also come to see the Palace and grounds, all France appearing to have a pride in them. They were open to all, free of expense, the humble as well as the high. Artists of both sexes might be seen there every day in the week in fine weather, sitting on portable chairs, copying any picture they chose, from the vast collection in the rooms, or taking landscape views from the gardens and grounds.

I went daily to Paris by railway in case I had been wanted at the Legation, returning to dinner by five or six o'clock, though the Secretary of Legation was always there. It was the "dead season" for diplomatic men in Paris, the King not being there, and the members of the Cabinet partly out of town.

October 1. Again in Paris, I establish my residence at 63, Rue de Lille, Faubourg St. Germain. We are fortunate in having part of an excellent hotel, well situated. A few paces from the concierge, bring you to Quai d'Orsay, from which opens a view of the gardens and Palace of the Tuileries; as we had

both before us from another point of sight, when first at the Hotel Windsor, Rue de Rivoli.

October 5. Visit Princess Lieven, at her apartment, Rue St. Florentine, in the hotel once occupied by Talleyrand. She invites me to her receptions, and calls on my daughters. I had the honour of knowing her in London when Minister there, while her distinguished husband, then Count Lieven, was Russian Ambassador in London, and had much agreeable intercourse at their house. We spoke of those days. I learn that she holds the place in Parisian society to have been expected from her talents and accomplishments, which were appreciated in London.

October 6. To-day the King enters his seventy-fourth year. I hear that it is not expected of the Diplomatic Corps to go to the Palace or leave cards there, in compliment to the occasion—a form usual in England on the King's birthday.

October 9. At M. Guizot's last night. It was reception night. Many gentlemen were there, and the Diplomatic Corps in part. One of them told me there was great satisfaction on the part of the King and Cabinet at the new ministry in Spain, from Narvaez being at its head.

In one of the rooms hung portraits of Louis Philippe and the Queen, with a very few others. Prominent among the few was General Washington's; and there was also one of Alexander Hamilton. In conversation with M. Guizot about the latter, the "Federalist" was spoken of; that great production of three of the eminent men of our Revolutionary period, to which Hamilton and Madison contributed so largely, and which purports to propound, by the lights of history and reason, the mixed principles in which the Consti-

tution of the United States is founded. Of this production M. Guizot thus expressed himself: he said, that "in the application of elementary principles of government to practical administration, *it was the greatest work known to him.*" I make a note of this well-expressed eulogy of the "Federalist," as M. Guizot, besides being Prime Minister of France, and dealing with the practical affairs of a great nation, is also deeply read in the science of government, ancient and modern. His words are therefore the more to be valued and remembered.

October 18. I was last night at Princess Lieven's, by her invitation. She introduces me to Count d'Appony, the Austrian Ambassador, and the Countess d'Appony; also to the Marquis Brignoli, Ambassador from Sardinia, and the Marchioness Brignoli. Other persons of distinction are there; amongst them, M. Guizot.

A gentleman enters the rooms, towards whom many eyes turn. He is advanced in life. Insignia of merit and honor are seen on his person. As he advances towards Princess Lieven, her manner at once indicates how cordially he is welcomed. She extends her hand, which, with a grace not to be exceeded, he raises to his lips. It was Baron Humboldt, the philosopher, the man of genius, the votary of science; possessing knowledge so universal, with worth and modesty so great, that all respect him—all desire to do him honor. The Prussian Minister, Count d'Arnim, introduced me to him. I was gratified at his remembering that he dined at my Father's, in Philadelphia, long years ago, when on his way to enter upon his travels in Mexico and South America, with Montufan and Bonpland. And I can remember that his conversation on that occasion,

showed an acquaintance with English literature which made its impression on all at table. He spoke to me of Mr. Prescott, our historian, in the highest terms; saying that his fame was higher perhaps in Germany than in England, justly as he was appreciated in England. I understood that this illustrious philosopher was near his eightieth year. He is now in Paris, to attend the sittings of the National Institute, and receives the most distinguished attentions.

October —. Dine at the Marquis Brignoli's, Sardinian Ambassador. A large and brilliant dinner. The Pope's tendency towards reforms in government, is spoken of. At ten o'clock go to the soirée of Countess d'Appony, where a good portion of the dinner company also go.

October 21. Dine with our American friend, Dr. Daniel, of Georgia, at the Trois Frères, Palais Royal. He crossed the sea with us from New York, with a son and daughter; the latter winning the esteem of my daughters, as of all who knew her; the son full of intellectual promise, but lost to his family by having fallen in a duel in Georgia after he returned from France.

October 28. At the King's reception last night at St. Cloud. His Majesty talked to me about our affairs in Mexico. He began by asking what were my accounts from the United States. Good, I said, as to the success of our army in Mexico. Yes: that I perceive, he said: it is nothing so far but glory for your arms; but what of peace? I am thinking of that. When will you have peace? that is my wish. I wish it as the friend of the United States. Your Majesty cannot wish it more than we do, I replied; but we must have it on just terms. War, he rejoined, was always bad, and Nations did not get from it what

they expected, but only injured each other, as you and Mexico are doing. But, I remarked, when one Nation has been aggrieved by another, as we think we have been by Mexico, and can get no redress, what is to be done? War with her, he again said, could do us no good, and reiterated his opinion on the utility of wars. I remarked, that Mexico had struck the first blow in this war, and asked his Majesty if he would permit me to express frank opinions. Certainly, he said; it was what he was doing, and in the most friendly manner. I then said that our error had been in submitting too long to indignities from Mexico, and that had my country acted, as France acted ten years ago, when his gallant son, the Prince de Joinville, was sent with Admiral Baudin to Vera Cruz to obtain redress at the cannon's mouth, for fewer affronts, as we believed, than the United States had received, we would probably have had no war at all with her. The King's comment upon this was, that France did not get what she sought by it, after all. He went into no particulars, but passed to the peculiarities of the Spanish race, as seen in history, and seen very memorably when Bonaparte overran Spain. He beat the Spaniards in the field; trampled on them; but like grass under the foot, it rose up again when you took your foot off. Two hundred thousand Frenchmen found graves in Spain at his bidding. I said I was sure His Majesty did not mean to identify the conduct of the United States with Bonaparte's in Spain, who made little scruple of avowing his project of sheer conquest against the known will of the Spaniards. By no means, he said, but only that he thought we should find the Mexicans as hard to deal with, as Bonaparte found the Spaniards. I dissented, with all deference, as our cause was wholly

different, and because we had not yet sufficiently used our strength against Mexico; that hitherto, after every victory, our army had paused to hold out the olive-branch; for all which we got no other returns than defiance. To this effect were my remarks. The King still dwelt upon peace. It was the topic constantly coming back to him. I had no aim to change his opinions, my only aim being to do justice to my country; the King's feelings towards which were constantly expressed.

Count Walewski, late Minister from France to La Plata, having returned to Paris on the raising of the blockade by England in those waters, through the interposition of the British Minister, Lord Howden, and there being rumors that the Count had come back under a hope that France would send a considerable force to that country,—six thousand troops, the rumor said,—my conversation with the King seemed to present the opportunity of alluding to this subject. The spirit of His Majesty's remarks about Mexico, pointed to the improbability that such a body of French troops would be sent there by France; and so I ventured to intimate. You are right, was his reply: I shall not send six thousand men there, nor six hundred, nor one man. I said I was glad to hear it, and would let my Government know it; and hoped I might be able to add that the blockade would be raised on the side of France, as it had been by England, the commerce of the United States being interested in its complete removal. The King was not so definite on this point; the subject, he said, was *sub judice* between the Governments of France and England.

October 30. I receive a letter from Mr. Prescott,

which states that for some years he has been collecting manuscripts from the different capitals of Europe, to illustrate the history of Philip the Second of Spain. He has ascertained, it also states, that the papers of Cardinal Granville, comprising an important mass of documents bearing upon his investigations, are at Besançon; and that he has, under this information, sent an agent there to examine the archives. His agent learns that the papers have been removed to Paris, and are in course of publication by the French Government, but will not be on sale. Under these circumstances, Mr. Prescott goes on to state, that a friend of his in Paris, Count de Circourt, having encouraged him to believe that an application by me to the French Government for a copy of the papers might be favourably received, I consent at once to make the application; and accordingly I address a note to the Minister of Public Instruction on the subject. Almost on the next day I receive an answer from the minister, M. Salvandy, complying with my request, accompanied by six quarto volumes, comprising the whole collection of Cardinal Granville's papers. I cause the volumes to be forwarded to Mr. Prescott, in Boston, appreciating this prompt homage to letters on the part of the King's Government, under my official application, and I inform our Government of the fact.

November 5. Dine with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was my first dinner there, and first at the house of any member of the French Cabinet. The company was very large, perhaps forty or more, all gentlemen, and nearly all official persons, consisting of the home ministers, foreign ministers, and others. The venerable Humboldt appeared to be the only per-

son present not official. The official persons were all announced by the servants under their titles of office. This is not done in England, or was not in my day, in regard to the home ministers. These, when of the nobility, are announced by their titles; when not, by their names simply. The difference may arise from different national customs in small matters as in great; or it may be that the English prefer to be designated by the family patent of dignity, as more durable than titles of office—so apt to be fleeting.

In going in to dinner, M. Guizot led the way. I did not perceive under what other observances a company so large entered; nor is it material. All probably went in and were arranged under forms known to all, an attention to which prevents confusion. The porcelain and silver appeared to be marked with the official stamp of the Foreign Office. At night the drawing-rooms were fully attended, ladies coming in large numbers as well as gentlemen.

Before going in to dinner, the company being a good while in assembling, I had conversation with Baron Humboldt. He hoped we would soon make peace with Mexico; we were the stronger party, and could afford to stop; he felt for Mexico; he remembered his early visit to that fine country, so rich in nature's gifts. I said we should hardly stop, I thought, until we got California, as due to the expenses the war had put us to, and our provocations to it, as we viewed the subject. The venerable Baron said he was not acquainted with the merits of the dispute, but it struck him that England seemed careless under our advances in that region; to which my reply was that, as regarded the future commerce of the Pacific, we sought no more than our just share with England and other nations.

November 8. We dine at Mr. Ridgway's, a fellow-townsmen and friend from Philadelphia, who has come to Paris and taken a hotel in Rue de Varennes, Faub. St. Germain, where, with Mrs. Ridgway, as the graceful head of his house, they give their attractive entertainments. After dinner we go to the grand French Opera, where we see Cerito.

November 13. We were at M. Guizot's reception last night. The rooms were full; the Diplomatic Corps and members of the Cabinet largely attending, with many others. The mother of the minister was present, and his two daughters. One of them presented strangers to their venerable grandmother, who did not rise from her chair, appearing to be much advanced in years; and I could not avoid observing in M. Guizot's manner towards her a courteous, I had almost said pious, reverence. To me this was touching, in a son whose own talents, with few other aids, had raised him to the premiership of this great nation; a sphere in which he was daily encountering the ablest men of France in debate, in the Chambers, with consummate ability. From this reception we go to the British Embassy, where there is a large assemblage. The Princess Lieven is there. I hear whispers that she resides in Paris, at the instance of the Emperor Nicholas, as an informal ambassadress, (*sub rosa*), having succeeded to much of the confidence her husband enjoyed at the hands of the Emperor Alexander, whilst Russian Ambassador in London; but the whispers are faint as I catch them. Appearances at her establishment, Rue St. Florentine, would seem to indicate no more than eminent private life.

November 15. I was last night at the King's, at St. Cloud, and held conversation with His Majesty,

somewhat more full than usual, about Mexico and other things, he, of course, inviting it.

Authentic details being known here of the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec, which ended in General Scott's entry into Mexico, the King began by asking, "What news of peace, Mr. Minister?" I answered that I feared it was farther off than when I last had the honor of talking with His Majesty on the subject; that the Mexicans not only rejected our offers of peace, but violated an armistice, granted by General Scott when on the eve of entering their city; they had turned the interval of suspended hostilities to their own account, by strengthening the city with fresh troops and otherwise, while our army, reduced still lower by the killed and wounded in these sharp battles, received no increase whatever; thereby causing a further and needless effusion of blood on our side before the American banner was planted in their capital; that such conduct had not only prostrated once more the hopes of peace, but created a feeling in the United States for carrying on the war more effectively.

The King's first words were those of Polonius:—

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

I thanked His Majesty for these words from the great poet of our language: they applied in all things to my country just now. I would not forget them. We had been slow to go to war with Mexico; we desired to avoid it; but the time had come when there would probably be an exertion of force on our side which would be likely to warn her for the future. The King replied that this might be burdensome, if not

exhausting, to us. I thought not; nothing would be considered burdensome while vindicating our rights. But what of your finances? They are ample, I rejoined; they had not been much drawn upon as yet, although all the supplies of our army since entering the territories of Mexico had been fully paid for in cash from our own army-chest; but henceforth, perhaps, the enemy might be made to bear some of the cost, in the hope that an appeal in that form might operate in favour of peace. Although His Majesty commenced with the apt quotation I give, he soon reverted to his favourite theme of peace. Whatever might be our power, he devoutly wished for peace, as the friend of the United States; not that he was the foe of the other party; that was not his feeling; it was not for him to decide on the grounds of dispute between us; in all wars each side thought itself in the right. Might we not, he asked, by drawing out our military power, get too fond of war, and keep up large standing armies to retain conquests if we made them? though it was not for him to predict results of any kind, nor did he. I said there was little fear of our keeping up large standing armies; our institutions were against them, as well as the nature of our population, which would be always likely to yield volunteer forces. Our distance also from the great Powers of the Old World, made large standing armies unnecessary. But, as wars would happen, and as Mexico had forced this upon us, as we believed, I asked the King whether the prospects at present did not suggest ultimate views, bearing favourably upon French interests, which His Majesty could judge of better than I could. In the commerce of the North Pacific, the United States or England, I remarked, seemed destined to predominate;

at present we were ahead in the whale fishery, and other branches of a growing trade in those regions; and the blindness of Mexico was throwing upon us the obvious necessity of consolidating our interests on the shores of the Pacific from California to Oregon. I spoke in no wrong spirit towards England, with whom our interests inculcated relations of the most friendly good will at all times, and such I had always inculcated, but was only glancing at a future that might be before us.

His Majesty gave no opinion as to the future predominance of England or the United States in those seas, though rather expressed a belief that our *commercial* flag would prevail there; he remembered how we laid the foundations of early success by our activity in the carrying trade during the wars of the French Revolution; as to France, she deprived herself of benefits she might obtain in commerce, by being too restrictive; but what were to be all the results of the English policy, which had latterly gone so far the other way, seemed uncertain as yet; he did not defend monopolies; free trade, with some regulation, being the best. It was to this effect he expressed himself.

The Mexican war was lost sight of in what the King had been saying on commercial policy; and as it was among my instructions to get better terms in trade with France than existed, she still keeping up heavy duties on our productions, while we have been reducing ours on hers, I improved the opportunity of alluding to this subject. Bringing up one item, I expressed a hope that the tobacco monopoly might be made to give way for the sake of our Southern States, in some of which that commodity had always been grown, and

could be produced in much larger quantity. Considering the present consumption of tobacco in France, I could not avoid the conclusion that if our tobacco were admitted into the country under a moderate duty, its increased consumption would so augment importation as in the end to make amends to France even in revenue for the loss of the monopoly. It was so I spoke; but His Majesty did not acquiesce. The monopoly yielded more than a hundred millions of francs, he said, in annual value, and he was not prepared to say what would be the effect of a change. Besides, even were he disposed to think well of it, *that* would make no difference; *his* was but "a voice in the wilderness," and a public conviction long entertained in France on matters of trade was not to be easily changed.

My hopes for our tobacco were in some degree damped by these remarks from this source. I did not, however, consider the subject as put to rest, meaning to return to it again with the King's Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose enlightened mind I knew; but I dropped the conversation about it at the Palace. It would have been out of place in me to originate this part of the conversation; but the King opened the way to it, and I was aware of the business mind and habits of His Majesty; knew that he was industrious; looked into every branch of the public administration; informed himself of every thing, seeking out details as well as principles; and therefore naturally inferred that his experience and knowledge, gained throughout the vicissitudes of an eventful life in various countries, would predispose him but the more to seek truth upon the throne. The King beckoned me to the chair next to him when he began the conversation; this memorandum of which will come under the notice of my

Government. Generally he stands while in conversation with the foreign ministers.

In mine with him this evening relating to Mexico, I was led to infer, but it was only an inference, that he silently desires our success, now that he thinks the war is sure to go on; but that he is distrustful of our power to command success to the extent we suppose.

November 16. Dined yesterday at M. Rumpft's, chargé d'affaires of the Hanse towns, who entertained the Diplomatic Corps. He married an American lady, which seems a link to my country. If this may have led to the commencement of friendly relations between us in Paris, his own worth strengthens them. After dinner I go to Mr. Walsh's.

November 19. We dine at M. Hottinguer's, the eminent banker, long known in Paris for his friendly hospitality to Americans, and his just estimate of our country. In conversation in the course of the evening on the state of public opinion in France, outside of partisan circles, it was stated, as a good omen of the financial condition of the country, that the large loan of upwards of three hundred millions of francs, authorized by the Chambers at the close of the session, had gone off well, notwithstanding the manner in which opposition papers assailed the terms. The fact was mentioned as showing public confidence in the Government, and as auspicious to the further prosperity of the country, the loan being for the benefit of the public works. It was said that the terms were thought fair by first-class business men who had taken no part of the loan.

November 26. At St. Cloud last night, with my daughters. All who were there were specially invited. It was not a very large assemblage. It was given in honour of the anniversary of the marriage of the King and Queen, though not so announced in the invitation.

Arriving at the Palace, we ascended the grand staircase and moved about in the rooms where the company were assembling. In one were seen Gobelins tapestry, representing paintings with such perfect skill that they might readily have been taken for the originals. The Royal Family were all present. The Duchess of Orleans had by her side her two children, the Count de Paris and Duke de Chartres, the former heir apparent of the French Throne. The Diplomatic Corps were nearly all present; the King's Ministers, and others connected with the court. The King and Queen spoke to all present with their usual cordiality, the latter using words to my daughters of kindly import. Soon the King and Queen advanced, the King with the Queen on his arm, into a verdant passage or avenue, called the orangerie, somewhat serpentine, which opened from one of the rooms, and led I knew not whither, at first. They were followed by the Royal Family and the rest of the company, the ladies walking together two and two, preceded by those of the Royal Family—the gentlemen all following in the same order. The Duchess of Orleans and her young sons remained in the rooms we left. The orangerie was partially lighted up. Roses, jessamine, flowering shrubs and orange-trees, were ranged on each side as we walked through the middle. Its termination brought us into a theatre annexed to the palace. This was brilliantly lighted up. The company took their seats in the boxes, the King, Queen, and Royal Family going into the large box in front of the stage. The parterre was already filled with military officers, or appearing to be such, in full uniform. Music welcomed all as we entered the theatre through the avenue of flowers and sweets. The play was "Le Bouquet de l'Infanta," a comic

opera in three acts, followed by the "Hungarian Dancers," as an after piece. Between the two pieces, the servants of the Palace, in their rich liveries, handed refreshments to the company in the boxes. Good humour prevailed, as if Thalia had suddenly descended among us on her wings. The King seemed to forget public solitudes in an occasional smile which the Queen shared. Others of the Royal Family joined with the company in mirth more audible, as the actors drew it out. The decorations of the theatre were of crimson and gold, and the whole scene was beautiful. It was quite late before we got home.

November 29. We go to-night to the reception at St. Cloud. A large company, the Royal Family, Diplomatic Corps, and others. The beautiful play we had seen here a few nights ago was fresh in our memories. The Queen receives all with the gentleness and dignity ever belonging to her.

November 30. Attend the funeral of Mr. Tschann, the Diplomatic Representative of Switzerland. The Diplomatic Corps attend; also M. Guizot and some of the King's Ministers. Two of the royal carriages were there, and other attentions had been shown by the King, grateful to the friends of the deceased. The funeral proceeded from the domicile of Mr. Rumpft, chargé d'affaires from the Hanse towns, and friend of the deceased.

December 21. Last night we were at Mr. Walsh's. The party was large. Among those present were the venerable Humboldt; both the Dupins; M. de Tocqueville; a grandson of Lafayette, in the person of M. Oscar Lafayette; some of the De Kalb family, whose French ancestors rendered gallant services in our revolution; and others of note in French society. Many of our own country, including ladies, were there.

The whole evening went off well: the animated courtesy of our consul, and kind attentions of the ladies of his family to all present, making it agreeable to all. There was much intellectual conversation, and much that was sprightly, with music at intervals.

December 23. The King held a reception at the Tuileries last night, having left St. Cloud for the season. I took Mr. Bancroft, United States Minister in London, here at present on a visit. The King did not appear, having a bad cold. The Queen received everybody, making apologies for the King with her accustomed grace. All were in black, under a court mourning for the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma and widow of Napoleon.

December 25. At M. Guizot's last night, happy to take Mr. Bancroft with me. Baron Humboldt was there, most of the Diplomatic Corps and others. Among the English present was Dr. Huet, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to whom I was introduced; a person of high repute for learning and ability. He spoke very highly of the works of our Mr. Wheaton and Judge Story in the fields of jurisprudence and public law, seeming familiar with them.

December 26. The near close of the year may be a suitable time for noting down a few thoughts on the state of parties, and condition of France, since my arrival in the summer.

I had hardly been a day at Havre before I heard of the unpopularity of the King and his government. When I got to Paris I found complaints against both greatly increased. In official circles, and those in intercourse with them, I received indeed, other impressions; but out of these, discontent and crimination were more or less heard. The press was pouring

forth its daily fire upon all public measures. One paper, and only one of account that I could at first hear of, gave the ministers support. This was the *Journal des Débats*. The general fault-finding appeared to be coupled with distrust of the King. He was accused of being selfish, hypocritical, crafty; forgetting his promises, forgetting his duties to the nation, in exclusive devotedness to the interests of his family, and perpetuation of his dynasty. The Republicans said he had deceived them, and the Legitimists continued to be his foes. The Bonapartists had no sympathies with him, though the remains of the Emperor had been brought from St. Helena in a frigate commanded by the Prince de Joinville, and his statue replaced on the column in the Place Vendome, equally by his orders; for those things were imputed to selfish promptings. The Bonapartists, however, were few. They did not exist as a party by any external symbols, and if alive anywhere were necessarily against him. All combined their voices to render Louis Philippe unpopular, and draw down upon him suspicion and hatred. At a great reform banquet held at the Chateau Rouge, near Paris, where more than a thousand persons were said to be at the tables, and among them many members of the Chamber of Deputies, the acts of the Government since 1830 were sweepingly condemned, and every unfavourable implication was embodied against the King that ingenuity could work up or party inflame. I heard of affiliated societies throughout the country, simultaneous movements in which were to take place on his death as the signal; for it seemed admitted that his own reign was not to be disturbed. At his death the movement was to come on; none professing to know what was to follow.

or who be uppermost. I heard of a society in Paris holding nocturnal meetings, where the sons of peers might be seen, and denunciations heard against the king and whole policy of his government, sometimes in terms polished but significant; at others in the French vernacular.

Seeking for the causes of all this, I was brought to a stand. Were they real? If so, where should I find the proofs of so many and such grave accusations? It was not for me to take sides with any of the parties in France. I was only a looker-on. I desired to make my inquiries in that spirit. Was France going down? was her prosperity undermined? was taxation weighing ruinously or heavily upon her? had her poor increased? where was I to look for signs of depression and misery? Or was the King a tyrant, or trained in a school of idleness or vice, or goaded on by a guilty ambition because looking to the continuance of his dynasty? Were the laws neglected, or the people tongue-tied? On the contrary, the King and his Ministers were governing through the laws. The press was abundantly free, as witnessed by the unsparing attacks upon the King, his Ministers, and measures. If I looked to the country, instead of the newspapers, or speeches at political banquets, I should have thought I had come to a country abounding in prosperity of every kind and full of contentment. France appeared as well off as could be expected of any country where opulence, prosperity and power, existing on a large scale, must have drawbacks. None seemed to doubt that her agriculture had improved, and perhaps never was as good as at present; that her manufactures flourished and were flourishing; and it was shown, by statistical returns, that her

foreign commerce and internal trade had been advancing more rapidly during the present reign, than for half a century anterior. Production was everywhere increasing, and tranquillity everywhere prevailed. If alleged that a large army kept her tranquil by being ready to enforce the laws, though of their effective execution otherwise I heard no complaints, the army she maintained was not larger in proportion than that of other great continental Powers, upon whom she had to keep watch, as they kept watch on her. If taxes were heavier than sometimes when Napoleon was in his glory, they derived no aid, as then, from the contributions of conquered states to his military chest and other wants of his Imperial Treasury ; besides that taxes in this King's time have been augmented by calls for great public works, which when completed, will add to the permanent riches and strength of France ; as the fortifications round Paris, recently constructed at heavy cost, will add to its security. The loan of three hundred and fifty millions of francs raised to make good the Government's portion of the money to be applied towards the public works, had shown the pecuniary ability of the country, in the fact that more than a thousand millions of francs were supplied by individual subscription and payments.

The increase of Paris had been great and striking during his reign. All agreed to this. Entire new streets and avenues were built up. Ancient gardens had given place to rows of lofty houses. The Champs Elysées, rural in appearance a few years ago, were fast becoming part of the city. Other parts, old or unsightly, had been renovated and improved ; so that, with all that Napoleon did for Paris, this King, it was said, had done more, except in setting up trophies of

war. He had asked for no new Palace. He had, in effect, divested himself of them all. He no longer used Versailles as a residence for himself, or any of his family; but had converted it, partly at his own expense, into a grand museum, where memorials of the history of France, her statesmen, warriors, kings, philosophers, authors, poets, her names of renown in all fields, from the earliest times to the present, may be seen and their examples studied.

Her electoral law is very bad. It is a contrast to much else indicating advancement and liberality. Two hundred thousand voters for choosing the whole representative body of a nation so populous, spirited and free, was a mockery upon representation. Yet it is not very long since free England chose her House of Commons by voters not greatly exceeding these in number; and if the meliorations brought about in France of late, formed any rule for the future, it might not unreasonably be inferred that the number of her electors would in good time be adequately enlarged, to meet the new age she was in and her own wishes for a better electoral law. England petitioned and clamored for parliamentary reform, and continued to abuse her rulers for not granting it, more than half a century before getting what she now has.

The King is beset with complications and dangers. This must be the case with any King of France. It is difficult to be king and republican on the same throne. The French are not the people they were. They have made large steps forward in political freedom; the ultimate fruits of the old revolution, and of the constitutional governments or charters under which they have lived since the revolution. They are bold and impulsive. They will find fault with their rulers,

when there is cause and when there is not. Thus does England forever. Take any period of her prosperity ; and the opposition, in Parliament and out of Parliament, stoutly deny it all. They make out that she is oppressed, ground down by taxation and debt, with ruin staring her in the face, from which nothing can save her but turning out the ministers. So act the United States under party spirit. You can always prove any amount of corruption, folly, and every thing bad in government, if you adopt the outcry of the opposition. If Louis Philippe desires to perpetuate his dynasty, what King would not ? What did Napoleon do for his family ? or rather what was it that he did *not* do for all of them ? And if Louis Philippe aims at continuing one of his sons on the throne, by striving to make the country prosperous by a pacific policy, after the exhausting wars France has gone through, is that wrong ? His sons are not drones. They have been well educated, are said to be intelligent, and known to be brave. One charge against the King is, that he appointed the Duke d'Aumale Governor of Algeria, because he was his son ; forgetting that among his qualifications is the gallantry he conspicuously displayed, in fighting against the fierce and warlike natives of that land.

I cannot close without a glance at the Spanish marriage question as mingling with French politics since I have been here. Some think war may grow out of it between France and England, involving half the world before it ends, the United States with the rest ; for to that it might come in case of war. I am not of this way of thinking. France would not begin it ; and is it to be imagined that England would stir up a war for such a cause ; excite its flames because

an ancient treaty* interdicted such a marriage; when, since that day, France and England have so changed places in America, Asia, throughout the globe and upon the ocean, as hardly to recognise each other, from the preponderating gains of England? That the latter, with her sagacity, would provoke war for such a phantom, seems incredible. The bare idea of it may well excuse sensibility in Louis Philippe.

The foregoing thoughts are hazarded with all distrust, but in all sincerity. The substance of them has been distinctly imparted to my government; more extended on some points, less so on others.

December 28. Yesterday the King opened both the Chambers in person by a speech, which he read. I witnessed the ceremony from the box allotted to the foreign ministers. Official persons, civil and military, in great number, the appearance of the national guard and troops, with other pageantry, made up an imposing array; and good order prevailed. When the Queen entered the chamber, she was greeted with exclamations of *Vive la Reine! Vive la Reine!* The King when he came ascended a platform, richly carpeted to receive him. As he approached his chair, under a canopy facing the peers and deputies, they all rose, as did all within the chamber. *Vive le Roi!* broke from all parts of the assemblage. When he acknowledged this by bowing, the same exclamations were renewed. He then proceeded to read the speech. It was not long, but comprehensive. Scarcity of food no longer affected the country; France had not felt, as severely as some other States, the late commercial shocks; the great public works were advancing, and, with the co-operation of the Chambers, would go

* Treaty of Utrecht, A.D. 1713.

on, and in their completion, open new sources of prosperity to the whole kingdom; the receipts would cover the expenditures under all the ordinary heads; the duty on salt would be reduced, and the postage on letters lessened; the relations of France with foreign Powers inspired a confidence that the peace of the world would not be interrupted,—these were among the things announced. He said, the more he advanced in life, the more did he feel it his duty to consecrate to the service of his country all the energy still left to him; in the midst of agitation and blind passion, he was supported by the conviction that France possessed, in her constitutional monarchy, the means of surmounting all obstacles, and satisfying all the material and moral interests of her people; and he concluded with exhorting all to join in maintaining social order and public liberty as guaranteed by the charter.

1848.

January 8. Attended M. Guizot's reception last night. One of the ministers told me that the famous Arab chieftain, Abd-el-Kader, who so long stood out against the French arms in Algeria, was about to come to Paris, under permission from the French Government; but that it would not allow him to go to Egypt, which was his desire.

The late letter of the Duke of Wellington, on the little difficulty the French would have in landing an army on the shores of England with the aid of steam, was spoken of in the rooms. I talked about it with two Englishmen who were present, who both regretted its publication. It was addressed to a general in the British service, Sir John Burgoyne, written with no view to publication; but by some mischance got into print. The veteran warrior unbosoms himself to his

military friend, and seems to do it with a comprehensive eye. Something, perhaps, is to be set down to the account of the duke's uneasy feeling at seeing his country less prepared than he thinks she ought to be. Yet one of the Englishmen drew hope from what the duke himself says in the letter: namely, that if the army were increased by as much as half a million would pay for, and militia organized and trained to the number of 150,000, he would himself, with all the modern facilities for transporting and concentrating troops, be willing to engage for the defence of England on her own ground.

January —. Yesterday we dined at Mrs. Haight's, of New York, now residing in Paris; a dinner kindly given to us. The company, Americans, French and English; so well composed as to make the whole evening pass off very agreeably.

January 9. This evening I dined at the Duke de Cazes' Grand Referendary of France. The dinner very large, consisting chiefly of official persons. English gentlemen were there, the Duke having formerly been French Ambassador in London.

M. Guizot was of the company. I spoke to him on the case of Brown, a seaman from Boston, confined in jail in Paris on a heavy criminal charge, on whose behalf I had already written an official note to the French Government. I intercede for him informally by a few words before going into dinner. I admit that appearances are against him; but that, on examining the particulars of his case, I found extenuating circumstances, as they struck me; and I plead for mercy. The minister says he will consider the case.

January 16. Dined yesterday at the Prussian Minister's, Baron D'Arnim. The Diplomatic Corps in

large number, nearly all the French Ministers, and other persons of prominence, made up the distinguished company.

In the drawing-room I had conversation aside with two official persons, which had reference to some of the public men here. Want of time alone would prevent a memorandum of it. It was very piquant; and these things had often better not be written down. Our host, besides being distinguished as a diplomatist and otherwise, was so obligingly courteous to me, in my early intercourse with the Diplomatic Corps here, that I cannot forbear this mention of it.

January 20. Last night we were at M. Guizot's reception. Next we went to the Countess of Sandwich's, and afterwards to the Turkish Ambassador's. M. Guizot told me that Brown, the Boston seaman, would be liberated. "He is a bad fellow, we fear," he said; "but, from the report of the case to me, there are some extenuating circumstances; and we desire to give every consideration to your wishes." I thanked him; and so ends that case.

January 27. At the Tuileries last night. King, Queen, and royal family present; the assemblage a very large one—peers, deputies, and many others, attending in full number. All were in black, except military officers and others in official costume, under a court mourning for Madame Adelaide, the King's sister, who died the last of December. When this event took place, cards were already out from the King for a grand dinner to the Diplomatic Corps and high officers of State, as is usual at the Tuileries at the beginning of the year. But the dinner was immediately given up by countermanding notices to us all.

Last night was the first occasion of our reassem-

bling at the Palace since this death occurred. The King having spoken to me, as to others of the Diplomatic Corps, I afterwards passed on into another room, preparatory to going home. While talking with a gentleman there, a message came to me by the Duke de Rochefoucault, one of the aides of the King, informing me that the King wished to see me. I returned with the duke to the room where he still was. His Majesty at once opened a conversation about our affairs in Mexico. "How do you go on with Mexico now, Mr. Rush?" the King asked. I took the grounds I had formerly taken, reinforcing them under new points presented in the President's message to Congress since my last conversation with His Majesty. In this conversation, the King seemed to be awake, for the first time, to the success of our arms. He said nothing of our inability to take and hold the country, which I said we should probably do, until the altered tone of Mexico would justify us in relaxing our hold. The King heard my remarks without making any comment; but did not swerve from his doctrines of moderation and peace. He brought the conversation to a close by reiterating his confidence in the wisdom and policy of that course for all nations in the present improving state of the world.

January 29. We were at a musical party last night at Mme. Hottinguer's, where Castellan sings. We went afterwards to a similar party at the Countess of Sandwich's, where we heard Alboni and Persiani, two other fashionable singers.

January 30. Dined yesterday at the Turkish Ambassador's. The dinner immense—sixty probably at table, if not more; the whole French Cabinet, as far as I could observe; the whole Diplomatic Corps, with

other official persons, and persons not official, but prominent otherwise. The Ambassador and his suite received the company, as all were successively announced, with a dignity and grace very striking. The whole arrangements of the dinner were according to European forms; and no dinner of the same size could have gone off better.

February 2. We were last night at the reception of Count and Countess de Circourt; he known to high public and scientific men in Paris, and the friend and correspondent of our Prescott; the Countess's conversation and accomplishments contributing to draw the best intercourse to their rooms. We were often there, and derived pleasure otherwise from their society; and I, advantage also, from his familiarity with French affairs, and his kindly manner of imparting his knowledge of them.

February 9. We were last night at a ball at the Austrian Ambassador's, Count d'Appony; the rooms brilliantly filled, the Countess d'Appony doing the honours of the night most graciously; the supper and whole entertainment very distingué.

February 12. And last night we had a similar entertainment at the British Embassy, the domicile being even larger. A thousand or twelve hundred were in the rooms, it was supposed. Dancing continued until a late hour. The ample arrangements for the supper and refreshments accommodated all; and the Marchioness of Normanby seemed not to tire in her attentions to all.

February 14. We were this evening at M. Jolivet's, a member of the Chamber of Deputies; the apartments small, but fitted up beautifully. Nowhere that we go in Paris do we see rooms alike. All differ

in appearance and decorations ; yet all please the eye. Mr. Walsh was one of the company. I talk with him on French affairs. He thinks the Ministry in danger. I listen the more to him, from his knowledge of France and some of her chief public men. He is full of information, derived from a long residence here.

February —. Dined with the Minister of Marine, the Duke de Montebello. The company large and official. The members of the French Cabinet were announced by their titles of office, as at the dinner of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Napoleon's career makes known to us the origin of our entertainer's hereditary title, which he wears so becomingly. He is established in a fine hotel. The same may be said of all the residences of the French Cabinet—the Government providing them.

After dinner, I go to the reception of the Minister of Finance ; after that, to M. Guizot's.

February 18. Dined yesterday at M. Sauzet's, the President of the Chamber of Deputies ; a large official dinner, at which the Foreign and Home Ministers were all, I believe, present, with many others.

I sat next to M. Guizot, and was led to speak of our prospects in the Pacific since our successes in Mexico. I alluded to the Mediterranean as a "French Lake," according to Napoleon's term, and to Selden's "Mare Clausum," as doctrine the English liked. The Minister said little under these heads, but what he did say harmonized with the King's policy ;—peace, and no aggression.

February 20. At the Tuileries last night, where there was a large assemblage. Many persons of rank and power were distinguishable in the rooms.

Amidst the restraints usual at the Palace, it was, nevertheless, observable that conversation seeming to be earnest, in subdued tones, was going on in little groups, where Cabinet Ministers and military officers might be recognised. The King, not far from whom I was standing, advanced to me, and alluding to the approaching banquet in Paris, expressed himself thus : " Order will be maintained. The Government has taken every precaution, and we are under no apprehension."

Leaving that subject, and referring to the rumour that General Scott was under arrest and suspended from his command in Mexico, the King remarked that he knew nothing of the causes for this step; but that his military operations appeared to have been skilful, and certainly the results must earn him glory with his country as achievements of war.

February 21. At a reception of M. Thiers's last night. It was small, but full of interest from the topics we had, and the character and conversation of this remarkable Deputy, Financier, Parliamentary debater, and Historian.

February 22. We were last night at an invited party at the Duchess de Rochefoucault's. The Diplomatic Corps were there, and others. The party not large, but very agreeable. The Reform banquet, so close at hand, was spoken of; but no one seemed under any uneasiness.

From this party we go to a large ball at the Prince de Ligne's, the Belgian Ambassador. The whole Parisian world of fashion seemed to be there. Not the Arab chief himself, Abd-el-Kader, but one of his train, was seen among the circles, richly dressed in the costume of his native land. He was pallid and silent;

but a wounded restless spirit was discernible in his dark eye. The glitter of a European ball was evidently lost upon him. The banquet was talked of in intermissions of the dance, but in no feeling of apprehension, and I continue to hear that the Government feels confident that order will be maintained.

February 23. A Revolution has come like a thunder-clap. All Paris in consternation; barricades, troops, cannon, mobs, cavalry in quick movement, some in full gallop, wheeling into one street and issuing from another; numerous heads looking out from upper windows in amazement.

I went to the office of the Legation, Rue de Matignon, at one o'clock. Crossed the bridge by the Tuileries, the one at Place de la Concorde being blocked up by the military. Soldiers and crowds of people all along the streets. Stay half an hour at the office. Leave it to go home, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Martin, accompanying me. First send Mr. Stanton to my house the shortest way he can get there, to tell my daughters not to go out in the carriage. As we turn into Rue St. Honoré, increasing crowds are seen, and more troops. Some of the people were breaking lamps. As the troops press towards the crowd to keep it back, they cry out *Vive la Ligne!* the crowd wanting to propitiate the troops by this cry. The distance was considerable to my house; and as we had the river to cross, we could only get along slowly. Sometimes the crowd obstructed our way entirely. At length we reached the archways leading to the bridge by the Tuileries. Here we found all closed and guarded by troops.

Mr. Martin makes known that I am the Minister of the United States, and desire to get to my house. The officer replies that his orders are positive to allow no one to pass. It was no time to seek a permit from the Government. I try a bridge further on, and in that way reach home. Evening was now approaching. Mr. Martin left me before I got home to return quickly to the office, in case of danger to the papers of the Legation, for all was uproar, and none could say what was coming.

At ten at night I get a note from the Marchioness of Wellesley, written under anxiety to know if I thought she was safe in Paris.

Thursday, the 24th. Here at my residence, Rue de Lille, we heard the noise of cavalry through the night. Throughout the day (yesterday) our servants were bringing in rumours of firing and bloodshed on the other side of the river. All is rumour and uncertainty. People seem stunned. The fighting is said to be in the direction of the Boulevards and Montmartre. Mr. George Sumner, of Boston, came in to see us, and gave graphic accounts of what was going on. He said the municipal guards were in great odium. This corps fights for the King and Ministers. At five o'clock I walked over to Hotel Brighton, Rue de Rivoli, to see the Marchioness of Wellesley, (originally) of Annapolis, Maryland, and grand-daughter of Mr. Carroll. I found it hard to get there. Place de la Concorde was lined with cavalry and the municipal guards; the latter mounted. Cannon was also placed in range. I told the Marchioness I thought it might be best to leave Paris, unless she had strong reasons for remaining; but that, if she remained, I would be ready to afford her the shelter of my Legation if desired. I caught

a rumour, while out, that the Ministers had all resigned, M. Guizot alone remaining until a new ministry could be got together. The Banquet was forbidden at the last moment. Hence the suddenness with which the bolt fell. At ten at night I drove over to the office of the Legation. Crossed the bridge of the Invalides, and met with no obstruction in that quarter. Found all safe at the office.

February 25. The revolutionary movement advances with inconceivable rapidity. Fighting, bloodshed, dismay, everywhere. Constant fighting all last night. All manner of reports. No coming at facts—except that the Ministers have certainly resigned. Another report is, that the King sent for Count Molé yesterday to form a new Ministry; but that would not do, he not being an oppositionist, and the troops of the line having shown reluctance to fire upon the people; some refusing altogether. The national guards would not go against the people. In this emergency the reports say that General Lamoricière rode through the streets with his aides, declaring in the King's name, that Odillon Barrot (prominent in opposition) was to form a new ministry, and that M. Thiers would join him. Another report is, that the Duchess of Orleans had entreated the King to let her accompany, on horseback, Odillon Barrot and M. Thiers through the streets, and appeal in person to the people; but the King would not consent.

Friday, the 25th. The belief seems to be that a complete Revolution has been effected, the people having the upper hand everywhere, and none of the troops or national guards acting any longer against them. They are in possession of the Tuileries, made a bonfire of the King's carriages, the King, Queen and Royal Family

escaping through the gardens. I go to Quai d'Orsay, in front of my house; see the people looking out of the Palace windows; see them throwing furniture out of the windows; see them pass by the place where I stood. They shout out, with guns and sabres in their hands; they display trophies brought from the Palace, such as patés, cooked meats, bread, and other eatables. Also caps, artificial flowers, and other finery. Soldiers mix in with the people and shout too. Some of the soldiers stick loaves of bread on the points of their bayonets, holding them up exultingly. Anxious to know how things are at the Legation, I leave my stand at Quai d'Orsay and attempt to go there by the bridge of the Invalides, it being impossible to cross any other. I go on foot. Arriving at this bridge, I see an immense crowd on the other side, women, as well as men, all hallooing, singing, dancing, and shouting. Some are rolling empty wine-casks along the ground—so says my servant George, who is with me. Others hold them over their heads with uplifted arms, sending forth louder shouts and playing off antics, as if inflamed with drink. I do not cross the bridge. On this side, broken squads of the municipal guard are to be seen riding here and there, and detachments of horse artillery hurrying, I know not where. All is wild disorganization. I return to my house, after being baffled in this attempt to reach the office, fatigued and glad to get home.

At home once more, Mr. Martin comes in with the first assurance that every thing is safe at the office of the Legation. He had been out the whole morning, seeking information. His report is, that the Revolution is over; that the King signed an abdication reluctantly, in favour of the Count de Paris, the Duchess

of Orleans to be Regent; that she had gone to the Chamber with the Count de Paris and her other young son, the Duke de Nemours, accompanying her; that on her way she was surrounded by the people, who did not ill treat her; that when she first entered the Chamber, things seemed somewhat encouraging to her, but that soon afterwards all was dismay and terror. Odillon Barrot made a short speech in her favour, or attempted it, but in vain; the people, with muskets and sabres, broke in tumultuously, said it was too late, got into the seats of the members, threatened them, pointed muskets at them, and drove them out; Ledru Rollin spoke, and Lamartine, but could hardly be heard amidst the uproar. That the members fled in different directions, some of the opposition members going off with the people to the Hotel de Ville, where they set up a Provisional Government, proclaiming it to be Republican, and calling out the names of the persons to form it. That the Duchess of Orleans, with her children and the Duke de Nemours, escaped with difficulty, but were safe; and that the King and Queen were supposed to have gone to St. Cloud, in the first hackney-coach they could find, or gone off by railway to Rouen, wishing to reach the coast, and cross to England. The rest of the Royal Family had gone, nobody knew where. Mr. Martin went on to state that all accounts seemed to agree in things having gone favourably for the King as soon as the people learned that Odillon Barrot and Thiers were ministers; that they considered this the triumph of their cause; they had carried their point over King and ministers, and were rejoicing; but that afterwards, when the regular troops fired upon the people from the garden of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, the tide turned; that this firing was not from any

orders of the Government, but through some mistake; but it killed a good many of the people in that wide street, exasperated all, and swelled their numbers ten-fold. They flew to arms from all quarters; they neither would, nor could, hear explanations when musketry and cannon were roaring; fighting was renewed with double fury; the Tuileries came near to being sacked before the inmates could escape, and the Monarchy fell to pieces.

I almost ask myself, Can this be a reality? Only on the night of the twentieth I was at the Tuileries, the King, Queen, and Royal family feeling secure in fancied strength. Every thing brilliant around them; ladies to have graced the highest, or any spheres; functionaries of state, and military officers; all the patronage, all the honours, of a great monarchy in their hands,—its army in their service. So it was a week ago. Now the King and Queen are outcasts; destitute for the present, and uncertain of their fate. The others, all scattered and gone.

Many Americans call on us to-day under these astounding events. We talk them over. Some stay to dine with us, Mr. Martin among them; and we have Mr. and Mrs. Coppinger, of Boston. At table the topics are renewed. We compare notes of the marvelous rapidity of the movement and its results. Before going to dinner, Mrs. Coppinger had assisted in making a Flag of the United States for the Legation. I express a hope that no necessity to use it would arise. I had never used one, and had none. No outrages on private property had as yet been committed, that I had heard of, much less on the houses of Foreign Ministers, during the raging of this tempest. On the contrary, it was stated that some of the fighting bands among

the people, on hearing that thieves had broken into a shop to rob it, shot them on the spot.

February 26. The Revolution, it would seem, is all over. A Provisional Government was proclaimed yesterday, late in the day, declared to be Republican, and its members are announced in the morning papers, as follows: viz. Dupont (*de l'Eure*), Lamartine, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Marie; these forming the Executive Head.

Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Albert, to be Secretaries.

The Provisional Government by decree appoint Dupont (*de l'Eure*) President of the Council, without portfolio; Lamartine, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Crémieux, Minister of Justice; Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior; General Bedeau, Minister of War; Goudchaux, Minister of Commerce; Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction; Marie, Minister of Public Works; General Cavaignac, Governor of Algeria; Garnier Pagès, Mayor of Paris; Flotard, Secretary-General; Colonel de Courtais, to be Chief in Command of the National Guard. These appointments to be provisional; but the persons filling them empowered to act in all things needful.

Of the foregoing names, some were widely and favourably known by their writings or otherwise; and I obtain through one of my countrymen, long a resident in Paris, information as to others as yet less known.

The Provisional Government proceeds to perform as many of the functions cast upon it as circumstances will permit. It obtains the allegiance of the Army and Navy; secures for itself the existing agencies of the late Government in Paris and throughout the departments; and does other things to impart immediate effi-

ciency to its operations. The conduct of Lamartine commands admiration from all. Already he has told the people, from the front of the Hotel de Ville, disregarding a thousand muskets levelled at him, that they should not have the red flag (for which they clamoured) as the symbol of the new Republic; but the tri-colour, which had made the tour of the World with glory, while the red flag had only made the tour of the Champs de Mars, trailed through torrents of blood. This made the muskets drop, saved Paris from horrors, and inspires hope.

Admiral Baudin accepts the command of the fleet. The war stores of all kinds at the École Militaire have been secured by the new Government; and courts of law recognize its authority.

The Bank of France has accepted bills drawn upon it, promising their payment in cash at maturity. Shops are re-opening in Paris; and to-day it is stated that Baron Rothschild is prepared to fulfil all his engagements towards the heavy loan effected by the late Government.

Saturday, the 26th. On this same day Major Poussin calls upon me. He makes an earnest appeal to me to recognise the new Republic in my capacity as Minister of the United States, and says it will be of unspeakable service. He believes this,—believes it fully; and knows, is sure, that my appearance at the Hotel de Ville to make the recognition in that capacity, will be very acceptable to the Provisional Government. He entreats me to take the step: to-day, possible; if not, to-morrow.

It may be supposed that I was little prepared for this call. The Revolution had been sudden in the extreme. Hardly could we believe our eyes in seeing

Republic, where a Monarchy stood firm, apparently, a week ago; and which was only first attacked by force five days ago. Were the barricades yet removed? Frenchmen might think the Republic stood firm; but could the world believe it?

I so expressed myself. Major Poussin tried to obviate these objections; putting forward as one ground, that my taking the step, would add immediate strength from abroad to France in her new position. Would I withhold my aid to Republicanism? Did I not wish well to that cause? Yes: he was sure I did.

I did, was my answer; but that was not the point between us. Other considerations must be weighed. I had no notice, as Minister of the United States even of the existence of the Provisional Government. Without that notice, to say no more, could I in my official capacity take any step?

He thought forms might be overlooked in a case of such magnitude, giving some of his reasons; and, in connection with them, told me that the members of the Provisional Government had been agreed upon the night preceding the day they were announced at the Hotel de Ville, viz., last Wednesday night. I need not repeat all he said on that head.

Our interview closed by my telling him I would reflect on the subject, and that he should hear from me. In the course of the interview, he mentioned new facts, to show the energy with which the Provisional Government was acting, and how fast all classes were giving in their adhesion to it.

The subject of Major Poussin's visit was not new to my thoughts, though his visit was unexpected. My surmise was, that he had not come without the know-

ledge of the Provisional Government, but for obvious reasons, had no authority to say so. I reflected on the situation I was placed in. I had previously known Major Poussin as an honourable Frenchman. When a young man, then in the French army, he accompanied General Bernard to the United States, soon after Napoleon's downfall. The fame and abilities of General Bernard, as a high officer in the engineer branch of Napoleon's service commended him to my Government, for the superintendence and construction of works belonging to our national defences; and Major, then Captain, Poussin was his young assistant in those important operations. He then became a naturalized citizen of the United States; and I knew him then. He was on all accounts entitled to my esteem; and I was in the best personal relations with him in Paris, before the Revolutionary tornado which brought him to me on this anxious errand for his country. Still, my own judgment was to guide my steps. The responsibilities of my public station were upon me. What would my Country expect from me? and what did I owe to my Country under this emergency? These were the questions I was to deal with.

I did not view the King's Government, just overthrown, as did the opposition to it among the French. I was aloof from their party conflicts. To have mingled in them would have been improper. I was as a neutral. I desired to think well of the late Government, rather than ill. I aimed at conciliating it in all just ways, as befitting the diplomatic trust, and as tending to shed a good influence on my steps as Minister, when seeking to serve in France my Country and countrymen. As long as the King was on the throne, I felt the propriety of this course, and pursued it. But the French

people were themselves the arbiters of the conduct of their Government, and the sole judges of what form of Government they would have. Whether a majority of them could have had opportunities of expressing a preference for a Republic, in the first moments after the Monarchy fell, was not an inquiry for me to propound. The United States were a Republic. It was their rule, in all their foreign intercourse, to acknowledge every new Government abroad, when seen to exist *de facto*, without inquiring by what means it was set up or what its form. I might be thought hasty in inferring the new Government of France to be a Government *de facto*, so very soon; yet it was apparent to me, as to all, that it was exercising the actual powers of Government, in ways the most telling, with none to thwart it. No party, no class, was moving against it. All seemed to acquiesce, silently, if not share the enthusiasm that was rallying all to its support. Would it be right or expedient in me to wait for instructions before recognising it? A month, or more, must elapse before instructions could reach me. Was it for me to be backward, when France appeared to be looking to us? The Nation whose blood flowed with ours in our Revolution, and whose sympathies in our cause were still a tradition, ever ready to excite our sympathies for her? Most especially would these spring into life, when she announced herself to the world as a Republic. I could not be blind to the satisfaction with which our People would regard her great name as enlisted on the side of Republicanism. True, I looked anxiously on so great a Republican experiment. Yet I was unwilling to scrutinize too closely, at first, the considerations which might seem at war with the hope of its full success. I therefore felt it my

duty, after weighing every consideration, to lend my Representative name towards cheering it on. I believed I should have the approbation of the Government and people of the United States by anticipating instructions. The old feeling of good will towards France was still so much in the American heart, that the formularies of diplomacy, founded in good sense for the most part, would be grudgingly accepted as an excuse for lukewarmness in their Minister when France had started up before his eyes as a Republic. They would hail its first birth, and hope for the best afterwards. With the more reason would they do this, when so much of the high intellect, so many of the good names and a portion of the great names, of France, were seen to go with the Republic from the beginning.

Thoughts like these decided me to act, not instantly but promptly. Before the dinner-hour, I walked over to the office of the Legation. The Secretary of Legation was there, and two of my countrymen: one, Mr. Corbin, of Virginia; the other, my friend and fellow-townsmen from Philadelphia, Mr. Ridgway. I imparted to them my decision, with a summary of the reasons; adding, that I would forbear recognition until hearing from M. Lamartine that he is the organ of the new Government with foreign Powers. From the office of Legation I go to Major Poussin, Mr. Corbin accompanying me. I inform him of my determination, and that the time will have arrived for acting upon it when I am informed that M. Lamartine represents the Provisional Government in its intercourse with other nations. Major Poussin is unable to give me any present assurance on this point, but supposes there will be no difficulty. We talk about it, he zealously urging the great importance of the step; I

remarking on the propriety of what I have said about M. de Lamartine.

Sunday, February 27. Appreciating the enlightened mind of our consul, Mr. Walsh, I communicate to him, in a personal interview, the course I am about to take. He concurs with me in the propriety of the step.

Unwilling to take it without the knowledge of the Diplomatic Corps, not one of whom had I seen since the Revolutionary whirlwind, I determine to inform the English Ambassador, and, after my interview with Mr. Walsh, I call on the Marquis of Normanby. Meeting Mr. Martin on the way, I invite him to go with me. His well-trained judgment, concurring with that of Mr. Walsh in the propriety of the course I had resolved on, gives me the united voice of my Legation in its favour.

I found Lord Normanby at home. On the first intimation of my object, he mentioned what the morning papers had announced, but what I had not seen; namely, that I had already acknowledged the Provisional Government. I told him it was not the case, but that I was about to do so; perhaps to-morrow. It was not agreeable to me, I said, to separate myself from my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps on this occasion, even temporarily, as would probably be the case; but I would not place myself in that situation without giving them information, and trusted to their liberal estimate of my position for rightly viewing the step I was about to take. I was too far off from my country to wait for instructions.* Before they could arrive, events here might show that I had

* There were no Atlantic Telegraphs in those days.

fallen into undue delay. The Provisional Government proclaimed a Republic as the Government of France. France was our early friend and ally, when we were struggling for admission into the family of nations. She had now proclaimed a Government like ours; and my belief was that my Government would expect me to be prompt in acknowledging it. These were the considerations appealing to me in the present exigency. It was to this general effect I made known my intention; adding, that I came to him first, from the great intercourse between our two countries, as well as from my personal relations with himself.

It was plain that the English Ambassador had not expected such a communication from me. He asked if I designed it merely as a communication of my intention, and nothing more; or whether I wished the expression of any opinions from him. I said I should be happy to hear any opinions he would express. He then said, that as to my distance, it was indeed peculiar to my case; neither upon that, or the other considerations so which I had adverted, was it for him to offer any opinion; it was for me alone to attach to them whatever weight I thought fit. But otherwise my course, he must say, struck him as unusual. What was the Provisional Government? Had I yet received any information from itself of its own existence? He had not, and presumed that not one of the Diplomatic Corps had. Would I, under such circumstances, separate myself from them? Would it not be better that we should act in concert; see our senior, the Marquis Brignoli, confer with him and others, that we might know each others' views? Where would I go to make my acknowledgment? To whom address myself, in the absence of all noti-

fication from the true and proper organ of communication between the new Government and foreign Powers?

The foregoing embraces the substance of his remarks; which were enlarged upon and urged, as decidedly as an amicable manner and tone would allow. Our interview closed by my saying that what had fallen from him had not escaped my thoughts, and was reasonable in itself; and that I did not design to take the step until receiving a suitable communication from the Provisional Government of its own existence.

From the English Embassy I go to our own office of Legation. While there, Mr. Martin, who went in another direction on first leaving the English Embassy with me, comes in, and says he hears that M. de Lamartine is now preparing an official note, announcing to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers the existence of the new Government, and that he is now the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I request Mr. Martin to write a line in my name to Major Poussin, telling him what he has heard. Before the day closes, the official note to me from M. de Lamartine arrives at my house corroborating the above. Its date is Sunday, the 27th.

This seems a fit occasion for saying, that an esteemed colleague of the Corps from South America, called on me as soon as the Provisional Government was formed, to learn my intentions as to recognising the new Republic. I told him it was my intention to recognise it at a period as early as I could properly see my way to that course. His motive in inquiring was, that he might prepare himself for following my example; and this, he presumed, would be the case (though he did not speak for them) with the other

Diplomatic Representatives from South America accredited to the Government just overthrown.

Tuesday, February 29th. The official communication from M. de Lamartine having given me the authentic document I desired, I yesterday proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, to perform the duty I had resolved upon. I wore my diplomatic dress, and requested the Secretary of Legation, whom I took with me, to wear his. I also invited Major Pôussin to a seat in my carriage, as a naturalized citizen of the United States, as well as Frenchman, possessing, as I believed, the confidence of the Provisional Government. I arrived at the Hotel de Ville at two o'clock. Persons were inside, waiting receptions, or business otherwise to be transacted with the Provisional Government. These came to a pause when I was announced.

Conducted into the room where the Provisional Government was sitting, I addressed myself to its President and Members, by saying; that, too distant from my Country to wait instructions, I sought the first opportunity of offering my felicitations to the Provisional Government, believing that my own Government would transmit to me its sanction of the early step I was taking; that the remembrance of the ancient friendship and alliance which once joined together France and the United States, was still strong among us; that the cry would be loud and universal in my Country for the prosperity and greatness of France under the new institutions she had proclaimed, subject to ratification by the national will; that, under similar institutions, the United States had enjoyed a long course of prosperity; that their institutions had been stable; and while they left to all other countries the choice of their own forms of

government, they would naturally rejoice to see this great nation flourish under forms like their own, which had been found to unite social order with public liberty. I concluded with a repetition of the hope General Washington expressed to the French Minister, Adet, at Philadelphia, in 1796 :—that the “friendship of the two Republics might be commensurate with their existence.”

M. Arago, on the part of the Provisional Government, replied, that its members received without surprise, but with lively pleasure, the assurance of the sentiments I expressed ; France expected them from an ally to whom she now drew so close by the proclamation of a Republic ; he thanked me, in the name of the Provisional Government, for the wishes I had expressed for the prosperity and greatness of France, and concluded by responding to the words I had recalled of the great founder of our Republic.

The venerable Dupont de l'Eure, official head of the Government, and eighty years of age, then approached me. Taking me by the hand, he said, “Permit me, in thus taking you by the hand, to assure you that the French people grasp that of the American nation.”

The ceremony here ended. Three members of the Provisional Government accompanied me to the outside door of the Hotel de Ville. The guard presented arms. Loud cries of *Vive la République des Etats-Unis!* were heard. The building is one of the largest in Paris. Crowds were in front and all around it when I drove up. These had not diminished as I was coming away, and their renewed shouts of *Vive la République des Etats-Unis!* went up freely.

March 1. My address to the Provisional Government appeared in the French newspapers of yesterday. It was not for me to publish it. I was only to transmit it to my own Government. My answer to M. de Lamartine's official communication of the 27th of February, which informed me of his being charged with the duties of the Foreign Office, has also appeared in the newspapers, equally without my instrumentality.

This being reception-day at my house, large numbers of our countrymen and others call upon us. Among the latter, Count de Circourt. He gives me the whole account of de Lamartine's triumph over the votaries of the red flag at the Hotel de Ville. He called it a critical and noble triumph. A savant; a man of letters; a patriot full of anxious hopes for his country, his words and manner were impressive. He gave details of the revolution which I had not heard before. All pointed to favourable changes in the French people, from the frenzies and cruelty of their old Revolution, when Queens were killed with frantic joy; religion tumbled down to enthrone a Goddess of Reason; cart-loads of victims daily sent to the guillotine; or tied back to back and thrown with horrid profanations into the Seine. My own entries of facts occurring during the days and nights of the Revolution, as derived from the Secretary of Legation, and my own opportunities of observation, were not contradicted by his details. I let them remain, therefore, as noted down, with only verbal corrections and no amplification, it being no part of my intention to write a full history of this Revolution, and willing to hope that it may disclose, in its further progress, as much improvement over the old

one in rational liberty, as it has thus far shown in humanity.*

* In recognizing the French Republic, in the manner he did, under the novel circumstances then existing, the Author acted, as he should have done, under a high sense of duty, as Representative of his Country, whatever may have been his individual judgment in reference to the great convulsion then going on. It was not long before he had heavy misgivings as to the result ; as the writer of this well remembers, and events soon justified them.

In connection with this, the following extract from a Pamphlet by the Author, published in Philadelphia not long afterwards, entitled "Character of Mr. Calhoun," (Vice-President of the U.S. who died in 1850), may not be without interest now, in 1872, with the fresh remembrance of another Revolution in France, and in the existing condition of French politics. The Pamphlet forms part of his "Occasional Productions, Political, Diplomatic, and Miscellaneous," referred to in the Addendum to the Preface to this Volume :—

"Of all Americans, he was among the few not carried away by the great shock in Europe in 1848. That our citizens should have given the French Republic a cordial first welcome, and that both Houses of Congress should have done the same, was natural ; but in his place as Senator, in the midst of enthusiasm for France, Calhoun paused. He did not believe that by suddenly "proclaiming" Republics, they were to be made. He knew that change was not always for the better, and when too rapid could scarcely be good. He knew all excellence to be of slow growth, with nations as persons ; that it comes of patience, education, and long training. His mind, full of light, inferred that such quick convulsive movements in the other hemisphere, must be the work, with rare exceptions, of a few selfish or deluded men in some places, and, in others, of what Lord John Russell called, in the House of Commons, "a society of circulating revolutionists." The real masses, he believed, would be placed by so violent an overthrow of existing things in a worse condition than they were before. He saw also that these suddenly "proclaimed" Republics were totally different from ours. His knowledge of the Constitution of the United States, and evêrything that led to the establishment of our Republic, taught him this. He believed that the inherent tendencies of Republics starting into life instantaneously,

March 2. The Archbishop of Paris, in an address to the clergy, holds up the duty of obedience to the Provisional Government, and orders the colours of the Republic to be placed in their churches.

The Nuncio of Pope Pius the Ninth, resident in Paris under the Monarchy, in a letter to M. de Lamartine has expressed his profound satisfaction at the respect shown by the people of Paris to religion, in the midst of the great events that have been accomplished; and his conviction that the Holy Father would call down in all his prayers the blessings of God on France. The letter was in answer to M. de Lamartine's communication informing him, as he had the other foreign representatives, that the Provisional Government had clothed him with the functions of Minister of Foreign Affairs. This letter of the Nuncio—the same who represented the Pope, while the King was on the throne,—is regarded as equivalent to a recognition of the Republic by His Holiness, and, it is thought, will not be without its influence with large classes.

The turbulent times bring up the ex-King of Westphalia, Jerome Bonaparte. He has addressed a letter to the Provisional Government. He asks that a decree may be issued by the Republic to annul the proscription imposed on his name by foreign Powers

were to disorder. He feared their deteriorating influences upon us. More especially did he fear it from our predisposition summarily to applaud all movements against existing authority in Europe, no matter what their nature, or who their instruments. He appreciated too much the immense value of our own institutions, to behold without grief the danger of disparagement to them by the odium likely to be brought upon Republics through the abuses of that word abroad."—*Rush's Occasional Productions*, pp. 108-9.

in alliance with the Bourbons, the Revolution having destroyed the treaties of 1815.

The Revolution also brings before the world a letter from another of the Bonaparte family, Prince Louis Napoleon. Returned to Paris from exile, he declares his desire to rank himself under the Flag of the Republic, and assures the Provisional Government of his devotion to the cause they represent, and of his personal sympathy for them.

In making visits to-day, I was in districts where I had not been since the Revolution. Nearly all the shops appeared to be open again. Workmen were engaged in repaving the streets in the parts torn up for barricades. Things have already, with a few exceptions, their old appearance, or nearly so. I did not see any private carriages, although I was in thoroughfares where, before the Revolution, they were always seen at the hour I was out. Hackney coaches, cabs and other vehicles, were in the streets much as usual. The theatres are reopened, and street amusements go on in the daytime along the Champs Elysées, as if nothing had happened. The recovery, judging merely by the outside view of things along the streets, has been very quick after this great convulsion. I had little inclination to stroll on to Neuilly, where that beautiful summer Palace of the King was burned; for who could take pleasure in looking on its ruins?

March 4. To-day the funeral of the citizens who fell in the combats of the 23rd and 24th of February took place, under an order of the Provisional Government. The bodies were deposited in the vaults of the Column of July, where the old Bastille stood, and religious service was performed in all the churches. The throng drawn together was chiefly concentrated

in the neighbourhood of the church of the Madeleine, and filled the Boulevards for a great distance. I saw one edge of it in going to the Legation; and before leaving my house a large body of the people also passed within view, on their way across the bridge at Place de la Concorde to join the funeral procession. I went out to see this detachment of it. Numerous tri-colored flags were displayed, and all were singing the Marseilles Hymn.

March 5. Make a personal call on M. de Lamartine this evening. He told me he was engaged in public business day and night almost incessantly, and that the labour pressed heavily on him. I congratulated him on his victory over the bloody flag on the memorable Friday, the 25th of February. He says that when he has a little more command of his time, he will hope to see more of me. Just as I entered his hotel (the same M. Guizot had), a deputation of pupils from the colleges of France was coming out of his saloon. I heard their shouts on leaving him. They had been to offer their homage, and give expression to their hopes and devotedness under the great political change. He had replied in a kind and stirring speech. He is always ready on such occasions; happy also in his language and illustrations, especially when addressed to the young, who fire up under the off-hand bursts of his animation and genius.

March 7. M. de Lamartine came to see me, but I was not in. I hear that he said to Count Circourt that two good things had happened for the Republic: the letter of the Pope's Nuncio, and the address of the American Minister; the one representing the head of Christianity, the other the head of Republicanism.

March 24. Count de Lasterie and Major Poussin

dine with us. The former was a member of the late Chamber of Deputies. Our conversation was on the present state of things in Paris, and particularly on the component parts of the Provisional Government. It is more than half believed that divisions exist among the members on some important points.

March 25. This evening I went to M. de Lamartine's. The Belgian and Sardinian Ambassadors were there, with a few other gentlemen. Madame de Lamartine was present. M. de Lamartine had been annoyed by an occurrence at his house shortly before I came. A deputation of fifty, from the whole body of Poles in France, waited upon him with a request, that the Provisional Government would supply them with arms and money to enable them to make a campaign into Poland to liberate their country. He reasoned briefly with them on the impropriety of their request that he should kindle up a war in Europe, telling them it would come to that. They did not, or would not, understand his reasoning. He expostulated with them more earnestly. They did not regard that, either, but became boisterous in his very saloon. He then put them down, firmly regardless of their clamour; for they even threatened him with a hostile "demonstration" against the Government on the day following. Though he was somewhat moved at the occurrence of such an incident in his own domicil, he enters into conversation with his company with his usual buoyancy, not despairing of the Republic because of the behaviour of this Polish deputation.

March 31. I hear that early this month Lord Normanby said to M. de Lamartine, in the name of his Government, that as soon as the Provisional Government was changed into a definitive one by the National

Assembly, Great Britain would accredit her Ambassador to the new Republic; and in the interim keep up the necessary business relations, as well as those of good will and friendship, with the Republic. That the Republic should desire to keep on good terms with England is both natural and wise. M. de Lamartine sees this. All reasonable Frenchmen see it. Ambitious and dangerous men suddenly arrived at power, if able to get up a cry that England had put herself against the Republic, might use it to blast the hopes of internal quiet, so necessary to France when about to mould her new institutions into form.

The Poles, who were brim-full of anger when they left M. de Lamartine's house lately, came back the next day with a larger deputation. He addressed the increased number, doing it with such good sense and conciliation that, instead of the hostile demonstration threatened, he brought them over to his side, with expressions of regret at the unreasonableness of their first expectations.

April 2. Among those at our table to-day was M. George Lafayette, member of the late Chamber of Deputies, and son of General Lafayette: a name ever dear to our country as the companion in arms of Washington; who left France, then a young nobleman born to honours and fortune, to fight in our Revolutionary battles as a volunteer aid by his side. He holds the Republican principles for which his gallant and noble-minded father fought, and inherits his virtues. Though a Republican of the Washington school, he said to-day that the number of Frenchmen in favour of that form of government, take France throughout, was, he believed, very small. For himself, he desired to see a Republic; *but his fears were that France was not ready for one.*

My ear could not be deaf to these words from this source. His home is in the country, on the ancient state of his father. He thought, nevertheless, that the Republic would stand, so many parties were for upholding it; each party, probably, thinking it might be better arrive at its own ends, through the great change so suddenly come upon France by the proclamation of a Republic.

April 10. Count de Lasterie tells me that M. de Lamartine is opposed to a double branch for the Legislature in the Republican Constitution to be formed for France, and thinks that almost all France will be against it.

April 15. Went this evening to M. de Lamartine's. He was not at home, but with the Provisional Government. A small company is present, and no more than two of the Diplomatic Corps. I collect from the conversation of the evening that divisions of opinion exist strongly in the Provisional Government, and that serious clashing among its members is even apprehended before the National Assembly can meet, which will be in May; the elections, or preparatory steps for them, being in progress.

April 16. M. de Tocqueville, the well-known author of the celebrated work on the political institutions of the United States, comes to see me. We get into conversation on some of the points of Republican Government. I mention what I had heard of M. de Lamartine's objections to a double branch for the Legislative power under the new Republic. We converse on this part of the subject. I say that American experience is all in favour of two branches. For the illustrations from history showing the dangers of a single branch and

advantages of a double branch, I refer him to the learned and logical work of the elder Adams, formerly President of the United States, and one of the foremost patriots and sages of the American Revolution, written against the attack of M. Turgot, the French statesman, who regarded our preference of the double legislature as only a misplaced fondness for the English model of two houses of Parliament; but, apart from the value of that model, Mr. Adams's reasoning and illustrations seemed to me, and to others who were better judges, to be founded on the elementary maxims of government and the nature of man. M. de Tocqueville seemed familiar with the historical facts and reasoning in favour of the double branch, but wished to know what work of repute there was in our country which defended the single branch. I replied, none that I knew of; that not only did the Constitution of the United States establish a double branch in the two houses of Congress, but all the States, amounting to thirty, which composed the Federal Union at present, had adopted the double branch; or, if exceptions existed, I was not aware of them. The only exception, in our past history was in the Constitution first formed by Pennsylvania after the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. I remembered no other. But the same State changed it afterwards for a Constitution with the double branch. Was there any work in Pennsylvania, he asked, embodying the arguments for the single branch when her first Constitution was formed? None that I was able to specify, I said. The Journals of the day, and debates of the body which formed it, would, doubtless, contain the arguments its advocates used; but these I could not easily command

unless at home. It is proper for me to add, I remarked, that Dr. Franklin was friendly to the single branch; but he rarely spoke in legislative bodies, and never at length.

Here our conversation stopped short. M. de Tocqueville heard the rappel beating in the streets. Rising from his chair, he left me, hardly pausing a moment to join his regiment in the National Guards. Author; man of genius; independent in his circumstances; addicted to study; not robust in frame; yet off he goes for his musket at the first summons of the drum, to take his stand as a private in the ranks. So martial is France!

April 16. This same day, Count de Caraman and Count de Mandelslow dine with us. The latter (of Wurtemberg) was my esteemed colleague in the Diplomatic Corps at London, whom it has been my good fortune to meet here in Paris, where he is on a visit; my renewed intercourse with whom has a double value, from his amiable Countess and accomplished daughter being here with him.

I introduce the name of Count Caraman first, for the sake of saying that, when we talked of the Republic, he was for accepting it, not because he held its opinions, for he is known to his friends as a frank and honourable legitimist,) but because, thrown upon France even by a delusive show of popular opinion, as he thought it was, all should, nevertheless, accept it for present peace. Like others of his political faith, he appeared to have little idea that it would succeed. Apart from this motive for alluding to him, I am afforded in doing so, the opportunity of a passing tribute to his worth. Long known to me,—first in Washington, as an attractive young attaché to the French Legation when M. Merurier was Minister, in the First Napoleon's day,

during both his grandeur and fall ; again knowing him as belonging to the French Embassy in London, when the Marquis d'Osmond was Ambassador from France ; and now here,—his society has always been highly valued by myself and family. Especially has it been agreeable and useful to us in all social ways since we came to Paris ; and not unfrequently from the political matter and conjectures he catches in his own circles, where, as in all circles, he listens with an intelligent and cultivated mind.

April 18. I learned again to-day that heart-burnings prevail among some of the members of the Provisional Government, which cause intense anxiety, though happily they are still kept out of the newspapers.

The rappel which so suddenly snatched from me the enlightened companion with whom I was in conversation day before yesterday, was caused by a great "demonstration" of the working-classes, who had congregated in the Champ de Mars. The assemblage, which went on to increase by various reinforcements arriving at this well-known point as a rendezvous, moved off, to the number, it was said, of fifty thousand, with banners denoting their object, which was to form an organization of labourers to procure work. Their march was towards the Hotel de Ville, where the Provisional Government sits ; at which point they intended openly to announce their object. An alarm was raised. It spread quickly. Rumour succeeded rumour, and many feared a new Revolution was at hand ; though the procession appeared to be moving along peaceably and unarmed. When the rappel was beaten, the National Guards came together from all parts of Paris. It did not begin to beat till noon ; but in a few hours

it was computed that scarcely fewer than a hundred thousand of the Guards had turned out, ready to protect all the important points of the capital, had there been a fresh outbreak to bring about another Revolution. The Hotel de Ville was secured against attack inside and from without. Lamartine and Marrast appeared on the balcony, and were greeted by the plaudits of thousands in the streets. Their appearance was hailed as symbols of the Republic's safety. This prompt exertion of authority, backed by such an armed force acting with order and discipline, speaks well for the energy of the Provisional Government; which derives also a new moral support from the evidences of public opinion, which the occasion seems to have arrayed on its side. An impression exists that a plot to overturn it was certainly at the bottom of this movement. I find it difficult to get authentic information on the subject, and leave it under as much as I have noted down.

April 21. To-day I receive a dispatch from the Secretary of State, conveying to me the approbation of the President for the part I took on the 28th of February in acknowledging the French Republic, and enclosing me a letter of credence to the Provisional Government.

April 22. I address an official note to M. de Lamartine, informing him of this communication. I also send him a copy of the letter of credence, and request an interview to know when I may have the honour of delivering the original to the Provisional Government in person.

The letter was in the customary form of such communications from the executive heads of Governments, whether Monarchies or Republics.

April 23. M. de Lamartine informs me that he will give me the interview to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

April 12. I called at the Foreign Office at twelve o'clock. M. de Lamartine said that my formal appearance before all the members of the Provisional Government for the delivery in person of the letter of credence, could scarcely, he feared, be brought about at as early a day as he wished, from the difficulty of getting them all together. He added, that if I would overlook the form of appearing before all, he would himself receive the letter from me as representing them all. I assented to his proposition.

April 26. I presented my letter of credence to M. Lamartine at the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, as agreed.

The same arrival from the United States brought me another dispatch from the Secretary of State, informing me that the President had appointed the Secretary of this Legation Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Rome. The dispatch added that whomsoever I would name as successor to Mr. Martin, the President would appoint to the situation. In this transfer of Mr. Martin to another sphere of public duty, I lose an experienced and highly competent official assistant, and a man of honourable principles and deportment.* Many names are placed before me as his successor. I select the attaché to the Legation who came with me from the United States, Mr. Stanton, still young in years, but who has earned this confidence from me by

* Mr. Martin died soon after arriving at Rome to enter upon his mission. With a luminous mind, scholarly attainments, and his whole nature anti-selish and generous, his friends will long regret his talents and virtues.

his intelligent attention to the business of the Legation, the quickness with which he has learned French, and his correct principles and conduct.

April 30. M. de Tocqueville and Mr. Bancroft dine with us. We had much conversation on the new form of Government for France; especially as regards the federative principle and centralization. M. de Tocqueville gave an account of the powers and jurisdiction of the Parliaments as now existing in the departments. He sees great difficulty in constructing out of them anything like our State governments for France. She is too much disposed to centralization from long habit, which had become a conviction. His views were perspicuously presented. Mr. Bancroft, himself not uninformed in this field, was the better enabled to draw out M. de Tocqueville's opinions and give point to what was said. For my share in the conversation, I went in favour of the federative system, as exemplified in our Union, from its combining with federation the strength of consolidation; federation taking charge of the whole internal concerns of our States; consolidation (centralization) presenting us with one front to foreign Powers.

May 10. The opening of the National Assembly took place on the 4th of this month.

At eleven in the morning, members began to enter the building erected since the Revolution for their accommodation; and before one o'clock upwards of six hundred were in the chamber. The body was temporarily organized, and the members took their seats. The whole body had an aspect of great respectability. I witnessed the scene from the box or tribune allotted to the Diplomatic Corps. Fewer young men were among them than perhaps might have been antici-

pated. The majority appeared to be of middle age above rather than below it, and a portion more advanced. Among the members are many names conspicuous for intellect and reputation in France.

Soon after one o'clock, cannon and drums announced the approach of the Provisional Government. As they entered the vast Chamber, all the members rose and welcomed them with upraised hands, exclaiming and reiterating, *Vive la République! Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire!* The galleries echoed back the greetings. The President of the Provisional Government, the venerable Dupont, then made a brief address. The moment had arrived, he said, when they were to hand over to the Representatives of the People, a depositaries of the Nation's will, the power with which the Revolution had invested them; they had proclaimed the Republic, which sprang into existence in February; they had passed through difficult circumstances, and now looked with hope to the supreme power of the Assembly to give to France a Republican constitution that would suit her. The address was enthusiastically received amid new cries of *Vive la République.* The address struck me favourably by its brevity, and its simple and appropriate language.

The Provisional Government then withdrew. They were followed by the Representatives, who went into their different bureaux for the purpose of verifying their returns under the election. This occupied an hour or more, when they returned to the Chamber. The Provisional Government also returned. In a little while it was proposed that a solemn proclamation of the Republic should be made by the Assembly. Some said this was unnecessary. The Republic, they said, already existed by spontaneous acclamation. It was

like the sun:—all saw it. Finally, it becoming known that the National Guard, and more than a hundred thousand people outside, desired to witness the proclamation of the Republic in the open air, all the Representatives and the members of the Provisional Government went out on the steps of the old Chamber of Deputies, which the new hall adjoins; and there, with increased enthusiasm, the Republic was proclaimed, amid universal shouts. Their reverberations, and the roar of cannon from the Champs Elysées and Hotel des Invalides, made the scene very animating.

The Assembly met again on the fifth, when seven hundred and fifty members were present. They chose for their presiding officer M. Buchez. The presiding officer is to be chosen once a month. Six Vice-Presidents and six Secretaries were next elected; and the Assembly has held its sittings every day since.

How the members, nine hundred in all, stand as to political parties, has not yet been distinctly revealed. About two-thirds seem at present to be considered moderate Republicans; but an intelligent member tells me this is doubtful. M. George Lafayette is chosen; and his meritorious son, M. Oscar Lafayette. Several bishops, and others of the clergy, have been chosen. The army and navy are well represented, six generals of division being among the former, as well as other high officers. Vice-admirals are among the naval officers. It is supposed that a hundred Legitimists may probably have been chosen, with some Orleanists, and others not Republicans before the 24th of February. But no one of any class or party, appears to think of any other form of government but Republican. The Abbé Lacordaire, the distinguished ecclesiastic, has so expressed himself in the Assembly.

He declared that before the events of February he was a monarchist, but was now for a Republic. So with the whole body. Twice has their constitutional Monarchy failed. A Republic has come, as a fate. Let it be fairly tried. This seems the feeling, this the apparent determination, of all. Fortunate also is it that so many eminent men are seen in the Assembly, whether taken from civil or ecclesiastical life, or the army and navy. It holds out good assurances that intellect and knowledge of a high order will not be wanting to its deliberations. This was foreseen as the result of universal suffrage, which was the rule in choosing the members. It was foreseen and foretold, as its practical operation, that large bodies of the working and labouring classes among the people, when coming up to vote, or before the day, would probably seek the aid of prominent and trustworthy persons known to them in the various departments or communes, to make out suitable nominations for them, expressing their willingness to support freely tickets prepared in that way and put into their hands. This is understood to have been the mode pursued in the elections throughout large portions of rural France.

Several important reports were laid before the Assembly by the members of the Provisional Cabinet on surrendering up their posts. Amongst them, M. de Lamartine's manifesto, issued early in March, is memorable. It considers the treaties of 1815 as abolished. It announces to foreign nations that France, as a Republic, does not desire to enter the family of nations as a disturbing phenomenon of European order; that war was not her principle, but peace; but that "if conditions of war were laid down to the French people," they would be accepted; that "the

Republic was only the intellectual ally of nations desiring to live by the same principle as its own; France, as a Republic, aimed not at setting the world on fire, but only to shine from her place on the horizon of nations." These are some of its words. The document shows the fertile thoughts of a rich mind, rather than the usual tone and diction of state papers. While declaring that "the treaties of 1815 exist no longer as law in the eyes of the French Republic," it admits the "territorial circumscriptions" of those treaties as a basis; a *point de départ*, in its relations with other nations.

The Reports from the Minister of the Interior; of Finance; of Public Instruction; of Justice; of Agriculture and Commerce; and of War; made known what had been done in those several departments. The Report of the Minister of War shows an army larger than under the monarchy; namely, five hundred thousand men, with eighty thousand cavalry; and the Garde Mobile, about fifteen thousand strong, has been added to the military force of Paris.

There was also a summary Report from the Provisional Government as a body, which was read by M. de Lamartine; and the Assembly passed a vote that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the Country.

By as much as I can learn thus far of the opinions of the members, through intercourse with some who are eminent, the predominating feeling is for centralization. The unity of France, her martial character, her position in Europe—which imposes on her the duty of being ready for war now as much as ever—all point to centralization; and the members appear to think that a single legislative chamber will best sub-

serve all these great conditions of her existence. A plural Executive seems to find favour with some.

Now that the Provisional Government has come to an end, brief notices of its course may not be out of place as part of the history of this remarkable epoch in France.

The sudden prohibition of a political banquet which the opposition intended to celebrate on the 22d of February drove the King from his throne. He reached England in safety with his incomparable Queen. That this prohibition was the immediate cause of his expulsion, even if other causes existed for trouble of some kind, all agree. The first demonstrations of violence under the suppression of the banquet were appeased by the dismissal of the Ministers; and had it not been for the accidental firing of the troops upon the people, from the garden of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, many among the well informed think there would have been no Revolution at all, more especially as revolutions generally come when nations are in a suffering state, not when they are prosperous. If there be dissentients from this opinion, all with whom I conversed admit that France, as a nation, had no intention of creating, and was in no expectation of seeing, a Republic. It took the nation by surprise. It *sprang* into being, as the venerable Dupont said in his address. It presented itself with the same suddenness as the Monarchy fell. He equally spoke the truth in saying the Provisional Government had "passed through difficult circumstances." Considering its incongruous composition, the wonder is that it held together until the Assembly met—a result attributable in a great degree to the influence of de Lamartine. It had to enter upon its functions instanter. There was

no interval for deliberation; none for reconciling jarring opinions, even if all its members could ever have moved in concert. Whatever was to be done, was wanted on the moment. The chasm, opened by the political earthquake, was to be closed. To have left it open, would have invited evils greater than any which could arise from the injudicious exercise of the new-born authority. This all saw. All rallied round that authority, as the only safety for all.

To mention all that this new-born authority did, is no part of my purpose; but the most important of its acts may be summarily brought into view.

It abolished all titles; and removed all shackles from the press.

It decreed universal suffrage by ballot to all Frenchmen twenty-one years old, except convicts, without requiring any qualification of property.

It abolished death for all political offences, and liberated from prison all who were confined for such offences; and abolished imprisonment for debt.

It gave bread to all workmen thrown out of employ by the Revolution, not indefinitely, but for a season.

It promised them employment, and did employ large numbers in the public workshops.

It ordained that the citizens slain in the streets whilst fighting against the Monarchy were to be adopted by the nation.

It decreed that in addition to existing taxes (the payment of which was urged in advance), the direct taxes should be increased fifty-five per cent. for the present year; an increase which would have added a hundred and ninety millions of francs to the national income of the year.

It emancipated at once the slaves in all French

colonies, and made a ratable proportion of them eligible as members of the National Assembly equally with members chosen in France.

These were among the primary acts of the Provisional Government promulgated, and, as far as possible, executed, very soon after it "sprang" into being. A multitude of others growing out of them, or in separate fields, followed quickly in their wake. Most of those I specify were elementary. Some were beneficent; some necessary to keep down fresh outbreaks; but scarcely any one would say that all were wise. More might think that it would have been better to leave a portion of them for the Representatives of the whole nation to act upon when the National Assembly met.

Looking to the foreign policy of France, all its early steps towards other states may be remembered, with approbation. It kept the peace of Europe, when the Revolution threw out fuel broadcast for kindling fearful strife among nations. It nipped in the bud an onslaught on Poland, in which whole thousands of the French would eagerly have joined. It kept down belligerent inroads into Italy, which the impetuosity and fire of Frenchmen were ready to make. It did the same towards Belgium. This pacific policy was kept steadily in view by M. de Lamartine, and maintained by his intellectual and moral power. It was the best commentary upon his own manifesto; rendering clear, parts which might have been thought obscure through the redundancy and rhetoric of its periods. Nor did he receive encouragingly, but the contrary, deputations from Ireland, who came over with warm congratulatory addresses on the Revolution, in the hope, possibly, of aid for Irish grievances; any steps towards which

must have compromised the new Republic with England, and brought the two countries to the eve of war, if not actual war.

The great difficulty was with the finances. The taxes were not paid in advance, as urged; and the decree for increasing so largely the direct taxes was of doubtful policy and uncertain of success. Money disappeared. Credit was down, and could not be revived, while the future was uncertain and the new expenses great. The shops of Paris had reopened, as if by magic, after the first shock of the Revolution. They lost no time in making a display to keep up appearances, natural where with so many their all was at stake in the revival of business. But those who walked about in the streets found that to reopen shops was not to bring back custom. Stepping into one near the Rue du Bac for some gloves, I received from those in attendance the assiduous attention always to be met with in French shops. On coming away, I learned that they had sold nothing else that day! It was then near evening, and the shop one in good vogue. This was perhaps a month after the Revolution; and hundreds of shops, if not in the same, were probably in predicaments not very different.

The first wants of the Provisional Government led to enormous expenditure. For a while it drew upon the funds left by the Monarchy; but these rapidly diminished. Demand upon the public purse was constant; supplies to it precarious. Small dealers were straitened, many ruined; and large firms began to give way. A loan of a hundred millions of francs was meditated, but fell through from the stagnation of business and general distrust. It was supposed that there had been an average monthly payment of more than three

millions of francs since the close of February, to support unemployed workmen in Paris and its vicinity, leaving out what was paid in the provinces.

Amidst the financial embarrassments of the Republic, inevitable to its premature birth, it was cheered by numberless voluntary acts of patriotism throughout the land. Workmen, fortunate enough to get employment, made known their desire to give up a day's wages in every week to the State. Peasants in the country made an offering of their silver forks and spoons for the public; for with these it would seem that a large portion of the peasantry of the country were supplied. Bankers came forward with liberal donations, side by side with private individuals who made smaller ones. Admirals in the navy renounced a portion of their pay and emoluments. Even needle-women, so badly paid everywhere, perhaps, desired that a portion of their earnings should be accepted by the Republic. I give samples only of this feeling. While the sum total of all such oblations is of little account when the treasury of a great nation is in straits, there was something in them honourable to the French, especially to the common people, when their country was suffering—suffering under evils which, although believed to be temporary, pressed sorely upon the middle and lower classes.

May 11. The power of the Provisional Government being extinct, the National Assembly yesterday chose the following persons to be the Executive Committee until the new Constitution comes into existence: namely—

M. Arago, M. Garnier Pagès, M. Marie, M. de Lamartine, and M. Ledru Rollin.

May 12. Yesterday the President of the Assembly

announced that the Executive Committee had selected the following persons to compose the Ministry :—

Jules Bastide, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice ; M. Recurt, Minister of the Interior ; M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction, with M. Reynaud as Under Secretary ; M. Bethmont, Minister of Public Worship ; M. Flocon, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture ; M. Trélat, Minister of Public Works ; M. Duclerc, Minister of Finance ; M. Charras, Minister of War *ad interim* [General Cavaignac became so a few days afterwards] ; Admiral Casy, Minister of Marine ; M. Marrast and M. Caussidière to retain their respective situations as Mayor of Paris and Prefect of Police.

May 12. Receive a letter from the President, accompanied by a joint Resolution of Congress, tendering the congratulations of the American to the French people upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of liberty in a Republican form of government. I am directed by the President to present an authenticated copy of this Resolution to the French Government.

May 13. Wait on M. Bastide, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, this morning, to inform him that I had received the joint Resolution of Congress, and requesting to know at what time it would suit the convenience of the Executive Committee to grant me the honour of an audience to present it, as directed by the President. The Minister promises to make known my request and give me an answer. I leave with him a copy of the Resolution.

May 15. Great commotion in Paris ; the *rappel* beating ; streets filled with the military ; alarming rumours of fresh trouble. I hasten to the office of the

Legation; troops obstruct my passage over the new bridge at Place de la Concorde, and I go another way. Return at two o'clock by the bridge of the Invalides. I stop at the residence of my countryman, Mr. Aiken, a gentleman of South Carolina, living in Rue St. Dominique, where our former Minister, Mr. King, lived. I there learn that thousands of soldiers are surrounding the National Assembly; the cause not known. On reaching home, I hear that another Revolution is in progress. Go out again, trying to ascertain, from acquaintances at hand, what the alarm amounts to. Hear that mobs of disorganizers and Red Republicans from the clubs of Paris, the communists, socialists, and such like, broke suddenly into the National Assembly and stopped its deliberations.

May 16. It turns out that not only was the Assembly invaded yesterday and nearly all the members driven by violence from their seats, but that the assailants proceeded to proclaim a new Revolution. The Assembly, however, regained its authority in the evening, and the assailants were discomfited.

May. 17. The Assembly took steps yesterday, and are adopting further steps to-day, against the conspirators and others concerned in this outrage upon its authority. Arrests have been made; amongst them Barbès, Sobrier, Huber, Rey, Albert (late one of the Secretaries of the Provisional Government), and Raspail. The last is editor of a paper called the "Friend of the People." Treachery is charged upon some of the National Guard, particularly General Courtais, the commander, who has been arrested.

May 18. Further arrests are made of the conspirators and their confederates.

May 19. Receive a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in answer to my verbal communication to him of the 13th, informing me that the Executive Committee will receive me on the 22nd, at the Petit Luxembourg, at twelve o'clock. The Minister gives as a reason for not having named an earlier day, the disturbed condition of things that has existed in Paris.

May 19. Receive a dispatch from the Secretary of State relative to the tobacco monopoly. It encloses a memorial from merchants in Baltimore interested in the trade, and instructs me to use my best endeavours to have the whole subject placed on a better footing than it has been hitherto in France.

May 20. I will note down some of the particulars of the late bold attempt to overset the Republic.

The 15th of May had been fixed upon for a debate in the National Assembly on the Polish and Italian questions. It was expected that on this occasion M. de Lamartine would fully explain what had been the course of the Provisional Government towards those countries, and unfold the future intentions of France. The expectation of this debate had created excitement in Paris. It was known that the violent party, dissatisfied at the issue of the elections, had given strong expression to their discontent at the clubs and in other ways; and it was apprehended that when the day for the debate arrived, the occasion might be turned to mischief. Accordingly, on Monday, the 15th, a great procession was arranged by the malcontents. It was termed a "demonstration in favour of the Polish cause." The Poles were marshalled in all their force in the streets. With them, were thousands of violent persons from the clubs, and their deluded and desperate asso-

ciates, who had made the known popularity of the Polish cause a cloak for their designs. The whole marched in a body, formidable in number, towards the Assembly, avoiding at first all outward signs of disorder or bad intentions. Many of them, however, had concealed weapons, as bayonets and knives under their clothes. The Government was on its guard, and had sufficiently protected the Assembly, as was believed, against approaches on that day by any multitudinous procession, whatever its pretext. But, through treachery somewhere, the procession was allowed to pass the main barrier; when its desperate bands, with well-planned movements, burst into the Assembly, drove nearly all the members from their seats, and actually proclaimed from the tribune a new Provisional Government for France.

The violence and consternation of the scene, equalled for a while, it is said by those who witnessed it, anything that occurred in the Chamber of Deputies when the monarchy was overthrown. The Representatives did not, however, move from their seats, until compelled by violence. The conspirators hurried off to the Hotel de Ville to consummate their work of usurpation; but in the meantime the cause of order was collecting its strength for a triumph. Whatever may have been the individual instances of treachery in the National Guard, its aggregate force rallied to put down the daring outrage. The perpetrators were scattered without the necessity of bloodshed, so prompt and overpowering was the turn-out of bayonets against them with cannon in reserve. They had possession of the Government at four o'clock in the afternoon; but by seven in the evening, the Assembly had resumed its sitting and the Executive Committee its authority.

This, in a few words, is an account of what happened, as far as I have been able to sift it out. Numerous arrests have been made. The ringleaders are not yet all known, but will be ferreted out, it is presumed. On the whole, the Republic appears to have gained, by the prompt suppression of this attempt to overturn it. Yet that such men should have carried their point, even to a momentary success, awakens uneasiness, though it may not all be expressed.

They called themselves the People, in presence of the nine hundred Representatives just chosen by the different sections of the eighty-five departments of all France under universal suffrage. But, said the conspirators, they do not represent the Democracy of France! The names of those who were to have formed the new Provisional Government were given out by the conspirators in the National Assembly, as far as could be heard in the confusion, and were afterwards announced at the Hotel de Ville. The newspapers published them. In the house of Sobrier, who was arrested, as mentioned, decrees were found ready prepared. The first among them begins with saying, that the National Assembly was composed in a great degree of reactionaries; that it had violated its mission, lost time when misery demanded relief, refused to create a "Ministry of Labour;" and, after further recitals, declares that the people of Paris, as an advance guard, had taken upon themselves the charge of watching over the trusts committed to the Representatives who had violated them; then it creates a Committee of "Public Safety," (as in the old Revolution,) to be invested with unlimited powers for constituting a truly Democratic Republic, and stifle reaction by the most energetic means. This is an extract from it. By other decrees, "known

patriots" were to form a new National Guard, to be called "La Force Ouvrière;" and capitalists, whom they accuse of hiding their money since February, were to be taxed to the amount of half their incomes, by a process of calculation which the malcontents had carefully made out.

May 22. Arrests have been made of more than three hundred of the conspirators, and the Assembly has issued an address or proclamation under the event. It is headed "The National Assembly to the People of France," and states that these seditious men have attempted the greatest of crimes in a free country—the crime of treason against the National Sovereignty; but that order would come out of this great trial, and justice reach the guilty. It fills the third of a column in a newspaper. It was adopted by a strong vote of the Assembly, and is to be printed and posted up in all the departments, and in every commune in France.

A Fête in honour of the Republic was celebrated yesterday. It was in contemplation since the first meeting of the Assembly, but had been retarded by circumstances, and amongst them, this conspiracy. Coming after it was crushed, the celebration was the more animated. The weather was remarkably fine. The procession was from the Place de la Bastille to the Champ de Mars, and comprehended everything in the way of street exhibition, real and allegorical, that Paris could effect. A colossal Statue, emblematic of the Republic, was not wanting to the display. The members of the Assembly, the chief feature in it all, moved off in columns four deep from the main front of their chamber, each with a small badge or ribbon in his coat, to be distinguished from the mass. They were greeted by thousands and thousands; shouts going up of Vive

la République ! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale ! They marched towards the Champ de Mars, falling in with the grand procession at or near that spot. The National Guards and troops of the line were out in great numbers, the former especially. Tri-coloured flags floated everywhere, and other banners were displayed. At night there was a grand illumination. We drove out to see it. Along the whole Champs Elysées, from Place de la Concorde to the Triumphal Arch, was one glitter of light, under all the blaze of French pyrotechnics. Order was maintained during the whole fête in which probably half a million of people, military and civil, men and women, young and old, may have mingled,—most of them, to all appearances, full of joy. The cost of the whole was a million of francs. I have not the proceedings of the Assembly by me at this moment, but think that was the sum voted. When the appropriation for it, in advance, was proposed, a member rose to remind the Chamber that Paris was full of workmen out of employment and fed by the Government; nevertheless, the grant went promptly through, with the greatest enthusiasm.

May 23. The Minister of Foreign Affairs having appointed the 22d as the day when the Executive Committee would receive the Joint Resolution of Congress, I repaired yesterday to the Petit-Luxembourg at twelve o'clock, where the five members were assembled to receive me.

On being introduced, I said that I had the honour to present to their Excellencies a RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, passed on to the 13th of April, tendering, in the name and behalf of the Ame-

rican People, the congratulations of Congress to the People of France, upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of liberty in a Republican form of government. The Resolution had the sanction of the President of the United States, in the form prescribed by their Constitution, and I, as their Minister Plenipotentiary, had been instructed, under a clause of the Resolution, to present it.

In fulfilling this duty I was charged by the President to say, that these congratulations of the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government did but reflect the general feeling of the People of the United States, who never could view with indifference the progress of civil liberty in any part of the world, and least of all in the great nation ever associated with the establishment of their own freedom and independence. The President, beholding with admiration the spirit of order and peace which reigned as soon as the late Revolution was achieved, had the anxious hope that the same spirit would continue; he hoped that France might be blessed with internal tranquillity, whilst occupied in her great work of building up her new institutions of government, and be spared the miseries of foreign war. He believed that those institutions, calmly constructed with the best wisdom of France, would thus have auspicious opportunities to become improved and strengthened in a manner to command the approbation of mankind, and secure to France a long career of prosperity and happiness. The People of the United States, whose birthright was freedom, required time and peace after their Revolution successfully to found and consolidate their system of government, republican in form, popular in principle,

and stable from the elements of order inherent in its structure; for its efficiency, like its duration, was the offspring of the checks it imposed on power.

These were the sentiments, these the hopes, cherished towards France by the President, speaking under this Resolution of Congress, in the name of the American People, and in the spirit of their ancient attachment to their renowned and generous ally in the days of Washington. And I concluded by saying how much I felt honoured in being the instrument for conveying them on the part of the President and of my Country.

M. de Lamartine, on behalf of the Executive Committee, replied to the above address. Generally, in these memorandums, I have not deemed it necessary to set forth the contents of documents or dispatches otherwise than by a faithful indication of their meaning; but in this instance I depart from that course, and will give M. de Lamartine's reply in his own words. After having been delivered, it was printed in the *Moniteur* as follows:—

“ Sir: The Resolution which you present to us on the part of the Senate, the Legislative body, and the President of the American Republic, is a happy confirmation of the recognition of the French Republic which you were the first to proclaim. The new Government of the Republic would view with a just susceptibility, foreign Governments mixing up counsel with the expression of their good wishes; but, in the intimate relations which exist between the French Republic and that of America, every word that the latter may address to us will be received on the score of perpetual friendship. The Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Executive power of the United States may be convinced that their wise counsels serve in

advance as a law to the French Republic; not only will it follow in their path, but it will follow the examples which they give of the order of regular institutions, of attention to its neighbours, of solicitude for labour, instruction, and the prosperity of the people. The names of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson are inscribed on the banner of the new Republic; and if France is fortunate enough to find in its future annals names worthy of these, liberty will assume its real character on the old Continent, as it has done on the other side of the Atlantic."

May 24. In the National Assembly, yesterday, M. de Lamartine stated that the American Minister had just presented to the Executive Committee a RESOLUTION from the Congress of the United States, to recognise the French Republic, and to congratulate it on its existence. Up to the present time the Executive power had always acted of itself in such circumstances; but on this occasion it was the whole Congress of the United States which had directly addressed the representatives of the French Republic. Such being the case, it would be advisable, he thought, to respond to such proceeding by one of a similar nature; and, in consequence, he had to propose, in the name of the Executive Committee, that the Assembly should nominate a committee to draw up an address to the American Congress, which should be forwarded with as little delay as possible.

The announcement of this proposition was followed by cries from all parts of the Chamber of Yes, yes! It was immediately referred by the Assembly to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

May 25. To-day, in the National Assembly, M. Drouyn de l'Huys rose, and spoke to the following

effect:—The Assembly, he said, had charged the standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, of which he was Chairman, to propose an Address in answer to the felicitations of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; that when France changed her form of government by a striking exercise of national sovereignty, the American Republic at once, through its Minister, hastened to recognise a sister in the French Republic; and when the events were known at Washington, the President declared that the American Minister had perfectly comprehended the intentions of his Government, and that the whole nation joined in the language he had used. Congress had now, in addition, agreed that felicitations should be addressed to the French Republic in the name of the American People; and, in view of so marked a proceeding, the Committee of Foreign Affairs conceived that the usual course ought also to be departed from by France. In place, therefore, of an address, a decree by the Assembly appeared to be the mode of communication best suited to the friendly character of the communications between the two nations. The Committee therefore proposed a decree in the terms following:

“Article I. In the name of the French Republic, the National Assembly, deeply affected by the feeling which has dictated to the American Congress the decree of the 13th of April last, offers to the American people the thanks of the French Republic, and the expression of its fraternal friendship.

“Article II. The Executive Committee is charged to transmit the present decree to the French Legation at Washington, with an order to communicate it officially to the American Congress.”

The decree was unanimously adopted.

May 27. A decree yesterday passed the National Assembly banishing in perpetuity Louis Philippe and the Orleans family from the territories of France. Sixty-two members voted against it. Some of these spoke against it, placing their objections rather on the ground of magnanimity, as the Republic had now nothing to fear from them. The word *à perpétuité* being objected to, M. Ducoux, who reported the bill from the committee, said it meant nothing, as its insertion in the decree would not prevent the decree being changed should the time arrive.

May 29. In the National Assembly to-day, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the Government of the Republic had received formal recognition by the Courts of Spain and Belgium.

May 30. Prince Louis Napoleon makes a communication to the National Assembly. It is dated London, the 25th of May. Having learned, he says, that it had been proposed in the committees to maintain against him alone the decree of banishment against his family in 1816, he calls upon the representatives of the people to say how he has deserved such severity. Was it, he asks, because he publicly declared his opinion that France was not the appanage of any one man, family, or party? Was it because, wishing to make triumphant the principle of sovereignty of the people which alone could terminate French dissensions, he had twice been made a victim to his hostility to that Government which the Republic overthrew? Was it because, in deference to the Provisional Government, he returned to a foreign country, after hastening to Paris at the first report of the Revolution? Was it because he refused to be a candi-

date for the Assembly, having resolved not to re-enter France until the Constitution was firmly established? Such are his earnest interrogations. He further says, that the same reasons which made him take up arms against Louis Philippe would lead him, if his services were required, to devote them to the defence of the Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage; and, he adds, that in face of a king elected by two hundred deputies, he could boast of being heir to an Empire founded by the assent of four millions of Frenchmen. In conclusion, he says, that he will claim no more than the rights which belong to him as a French citizen; but these he would incessantly claim, with all the energy which the consciousness of never deserving ill of his country could give to an upright mind.

May 31. M. de Tocqueville visits me. He is one of the committee of eighteen appointed by the National Assembly to prepare a draft of the new Constitution. We have much conversation on the subject. The work is advancing, and he thinks from present appearances that the committee will report in favour of a single Executive and a single Chamber.

Mr. Buchanan, our Secretary of State, had transmitted to me, unofficially, some thoughts, embodying the great American doctrine that our State Constitutions were the only sure pillars of the Constitution of the United States, which works by its own inherent force in some things, and through the States in others; the latter instrumentality exemplifying the federative principle, the former the national principle; and the combination of the two giving to our Union its efficiency, and securing thus far its duration. Mr. Buchanan's paper was well drawn, and pointed to the elementary differences of our system from the Swiss

Confederation, that of the seven United Provinces, and the federation of the former circles of Germany; the defects in all which confederacies, and in others more ancient, were in the view of the framers of our Constitution, and sufficiently guarded against as we believed. I had shown this paper to M. de Tocqueville, that he might judge how far, in the new Constitution preparing for France, the French Provincial Parliaments might be more or less assimilated to our State Governments, so as to make the political machine work efficiently to results such as we witnessed in the United States. We had conversed before on these topics, and now again; but I found him little sanguine of the successful application of the two principles in France, where the idea of centralization was so deep-rooted.

June 1. The papers state that the Executive Committee have presented to the Assembly a full Report on the conspiracy of the 15th of May, and that the details are very voluminous.

June 2. At Madame de Tocqueville's reception last night I had more conversation with M. de Tocqueville on the new Constitution. Among prominent names on the committee are those of Dupin, Dufaure, Cormenin, Odillon Barrot, Coquerel, Lamennais, Marrast. The Abbé Lamennais resigned his membership after preparing a draft of the Constitution which was not adopted by the committee, but in several parts approved.

June 5. In a letter from Commodore Read, commanding our squadron in the Mediterranean, written from his flag-ship in the Bay of Naples, he informed me that he received numerous applications for the presence of vessels of war at various points within his command; but that his small force would not admit

This complying with the wishes of all who apprehended inconvenience and even danger in various parts of the Mediterranean at this juncture of European affairs.

Considering the disturbed state of Europe, and that countries bordering on the Mediterranean may be agitated more than they have yet been; considering also the unsettled condition of France, and that none can say what irregularities may chance to happen in her ports before she gets through all the consequences of her late Revolution, though I would not foreshadow the fall of the Republic, it would seem to me best that our naval force should be increased in that sea. Accordingly, I wrote last week to our Government to that effect. I advert to the fact that thirty years ago our naval force in the Mediterranean was much larger than that now under Commodore Read, although our commerce at that day was scarcely half its present amount; nor was it so large then to protect our vessels from capture by Algiers or other Barbary Powers, whose piracies we had previously stopped by our cannon—the sole argument they would listen to. Happily for commerce and civilization, France, by converting Algiers into Algeria, had broken up that nest of pirates.

June 10. There was a bustle in the National Assembly to-day.

Several members were observed contending for the tribune, each desiring to speak. The President decided in favour of M. Heeckeren. This member announced to the Assembly that rumours had been circulated that when the National Guard went out from Troyes to meet a regiment of infantry arriving there, it saluted the troops with *Vive la République!*

to which the troops replied by the cry of *Vive Louis Napoleon!*

Numerous voices called out, Why tell such rumours they are false.

In the midst of the sensation produced, General Cavaignac, Minister of War, rose and declared that the Government of the Republic had received no information of the kind, and pronounced it calumnious. He accused no one; he had no right to do so, no right to believe guilt in the person whose name was unfortunately put forward; but added that he would hold up to public execration any man who would sacrilegiously lay his hands on the public liberty. Immense applause followed, the whole Assembly rising and shouting, *Vive la République!*

General Cavaignac resumed:—Honour to the man who is faithful to his duties, and devotes his talent and fortune to the service of his country; but shame on him who would attempt to turn to his own account a glorious name, when beholding his country under present embarrassment and difficulty. Again vehement applause, with repeated cries of *Vive la République!*

Members on the left exclaimed, No reaction of any kind—no pretenders, no imperial despotism, no military despotism.

A member on the right exclaimed, A vile imposture to injure Louis Bonaparte!

The scene closed by an adjournment of the Assembly.

The cause of all this was in the fact that Prince Louis Napoleon had just been elected a member of the Assembly at the special elections in Paris and the Provinces. He was chosen for three Provinces as well as for Paris.

June 12. M. George Lafayette was elected a Vice

resident of the National Assembly on Saturday, in the place of M. Bethmont, appointed Minister of Justice. It is so much in the heart of an American to love the name of Lafayette, that I rejoice at this compliment to the meritorious son of the companion in arms of Washington.

I here note down also the appointment of Major Fossin as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. He was a Republican in principle before the days of February; but, from all my knowledge of him, never violent or impracticable in his opinions. I received official information of his appointment on the 6th instant, from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

June 13. Another scene in the National Assembly.

As soon as the President took the chair yesterday, M. Napoleon Bonaparte ascended the tribune, and said, that although not present at the sitting on Saturday, when General Cavaignac so nobly treated as calumnious the infamous rumours against his relative, he would, nevertheless, as his friend and cousin, claim to address the Assembly; not to make any apology for him, for he needed none, and had he attempted anything wrong he would be the first to blame him. He then reviewed his conduct since the Republic commenced, to show that it had been in every sense proper; and he protested against imputations being thrown upon him without proof. This is what he had a right to demand for his relative. To deal with him otherwise would be to withhold common justice. He introduced collateral matter, in which I need not follow him.

A little while afterwards, M. de Lamartine rose, and, after some discussion of other matters, which he sus-

pended, and left the tribune from fatigue, returned to it, and resumed his speech in a tone of increased animation. This was caused by confusion in the Chamber from rumours that shots had been fired at the National Guards outside, where crowds were assembled and troops known to be stationed. The startling part of the rumour was, that blood had been shed under a cry of *Vive l'Empereur*. Returning to the tribune, M. de Lamartine stated, with great earnestness of manner that the Executive Committee had that very morning prepared a declaration, which events now compelled him to read immediately, and which, as conspiracy had been taken *flagrante delicto*, and blood been shed ought to pass by acclamation.

A member called out—No vote by acclamation.

Noise and excitement followed. The President demanded silence from the whole Assembly, that the communication from the Executive Committee under such grave circumstances might be heard.

M. de Lamartine then read the following decree:—

“The Executive Committee, looking at Article IV. of the law of June, 1816, and

“Considering that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprised in the law of 1832, which banishes the family of Napoleon:

“That if that law has been departed from by the vote of the National Assembly, in favour of three members of that family who were admitted to take their seats as Representatives of the people, such departure from the law is quite personal, and by no means applies to the said Louis Napoleon Bonaparte:

“That Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has twice come forward as a pretender, and that his pretensions might compromise the Republic:

“ That the Government cannot accept the responsibility of such acts, and would fail in the first of its duties if it did not take measures to prevent the recurrence of them :

“ Declares, that it will cause the law of 1832 to be executed against Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, until such time as the National Assembly shall decide otherwise.”

The reading of this decree produced cries of Bravo ! bravo ! the whole Assembly, rising with shouts of Vive la République !

M. Labarit shouted in his loudest voice—Vive la République, but no proscriptions !

After further remarks from M. de Lamartine and M. Larabit,—

M. Pierre Napoleon rose, and said, Shame on those who have cried Vive l'Empereur while shedding blood ! The Emperor, to avoid civil war, sacrificed himself and all his family in 1815. For my part, I shall be found in the first rank of the defenders of the Republic. Loud applause.

M. Napoleon Bonaparte rose. He applauded with all his heart these words of his relative, and desired to appeal to the reason of the Assembly at such a moment. M. de Lamartine had eloquently told them that the horrible crime that he denounced was committed at the cry of a name never accused of fomenting discord ; yet it was under the feeling of execration against such an attempt that he had proposed a bill of proscription. He wished to say nothing to cause excitement, but felt it his duty to protest against a decree inspired by a crime to which the person intended to be proscribed was a stranger.

The Minister of Commerce stated, that the decree was prepared beforehand.

M. Napoleon Bonaparte. "What a moment, then, have you chosen to present it! It will be enough to make any wretches use a name to cover criminal designs." He protested against the connection which M. de Lamartine appeared to establish between this crime and the name of his relative, exclaiming, with animation—"The Empire! who wishes for it? It is a chimerical notion; it will remain as a great epoch in history, but can never be revived."

This ended the scene. No vote was taken on the decree. It came up only as an incident. The Assembly proceeded to its regular business, but soon adjourned, impatient of other discussions.

June 14. Yesterday the Assembly voted, by a large majority, to admit Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to his seat as a Representative. The debate about it occupied nearly the whole sitting. Its substance may be presented thus:—

The members who were for admitting him, said that he had been fairly elected; why, therefore, not let him take his seat? why did not the Executive Government object to his being a candidate? *that* would have been their time. They knew of it, and ought to have warned the electors against misplacing their suffrages; but at that time no one had any fear of the person whom the Government had now made formidable. There was no real danger from him as a pretender; the Republic was too great, too strong; it had planted its standard too high to feel any such alarm. To exclude him from the Assembly, after the people had so fully chosen him, would be to affront their sovereignty

and give him a fatal importance. If he had committed a crime, proceed against him, but do not proscribe him. A renewal of such attempts as he made against the Government of Louis Philippe, would be like idle dreams, impossible to succeed, and only exposing himself to the contempt of his fellow-citizens and posterity.

The members for excluding him alleged that the present time was different from that of the first elections. It was then unknown from what point strength or danger might arise to the Republic; but, now that the Executive Committee was formed, and the precise position of the Government known, it would be an act of folly to admit any one to a seat in the Assembly who might trouble its tranquillity. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was not a simple Representative, but a Prince and a Pretender. Each time he attempted to enter France, his ambition prompted him to the step. He was for coming as the nephew and heir of the rights of the Emperor Napoleon. There was no being blind to this; and would the Chamber invest a Pretender with the inviolability which covered every one of its members? If any election district had chosen, as a member, the Count de Paris or Henry V., would not that have been a false step? To exclude Louis Napoleon was now a law of necessity, which the Assembly ought to enforce.

When the Assembly divided, and it was found those for admission had triumphed, it created great sensation; and an adjournment quickly followed.

We read in this vote a defeat of the Executive Government of the Republic.

June 16. Yesterday, near the close of the sitting of the Assembly, the President rose, and said he had

that moment received a letter from Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, which he proceeded to read.

It was addressed to him, as President of the Assembly, dated London, the 14th instant, and stated that, as he was about to set off in order to be at his post, he learned that his election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors; he repudiated all the suspicion of which he had been the object, for he sought not for power; if the people imposed duties on him, he would know how to fulfil them, but disavowed all those who had made use of his name to excite disturbance; the name he bore was, above all, a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory; and rather than be the subject of disorder and anarchy, he would prefer remaining in exile; he sent enclosed a copy of a letter of thanks to all the electors who had given him their votes, and concluded with requesting the President to communicate to his colleagues the letter addressed to himself.

Considerable agitation followed the reading of this letter. Groups were formed in every part of the Chamber. Several members went to the tribune. The Minister of War, General Cavaignac, said he would not express his thoughts, but could not help remarking that in the letter just read the word Republic was not even mentioned. Cries of *Vive la République!*

M. Beaune protested, in the name of all his colleagues, against this declaration of war of the Pretender. They would have no Pretender; but France ought to know how that imprudent citizen had responded to the generosity of the Assembly.

M. A. Thouret. From the emotion of all in the Assembly, it was evident that all were defenders of the

Republic; but one expression in the letter, *If the people impose on me duties, I shall know how to fulfil them*, was, in his opinion, an appeal to revolt; and he demanded from the Assembly an immediate decree that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had ceased to be a Representative of the people.

The Minister of War proposed that the Chamber should adjourn the discussion until to-morrow.

M. Jules Favre. There is but one sentiment in the Assembly.

A voice. That is not so sure.

M. Jules Favre. I repeat, there is only one sentiment here—that of indignation. If, two days after his admission as a member, he sends forth an insolent challenge to the National Sovereignty, it is our duty to repel it. I am of opinion that the Assembly cannot separate without passing a resolution that it is unanimous in opposing all dynastic pretensions. If there appears any indication of plot, proceedings ought to be instituted. I demand that the letter and enclosure be placed in the hands of the Minister of Justice. Cries of Yes, yes! [Before to-day, M. Jules Favre had strenuously supported the admission of Prince Louis as a member.]

The Minister of Finance thought it would be most dignified not to act precipitately, but suspend any decision until to-morrow.

General Clement Thomas (commander of the National Guards of the Seine). A proposition is made to suspend your decision until to-morrow. If information which has reached me be correct, it is in all probability a battle which you will have to fight to-morrow. I demand that you declare that any citizen who dares to take up arms to support the cause

of a despot [yes, yes, Vive la République !] shall be placed *hors du loi*.

M. E. Arago and M. Duclerc hurried to the tribune; but the noise prevented any one from being heard.

The President rose, and said, "Gentlemen, in the midst of the various propositions, it appears to me that it will be more dignified for the Assembly to make no alteration in the order of its deliberations. Let us not give more importance than it deserves to a matter which may not be as grave as it at first appears."

The Minister of Finance remarked that the Republic would not perish because the Assembly postponed its deliberation.

The whole Assembly rose with cries of Vive la République ! and the sitting was brought to a close a few minutes after.

Although the enclosure in Prince Louis's letter was not read to the Assembly, I will give its import. It was dated London, the 11th instant, and posted on the walls of Paris, addressed to the electors of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Seine Inférieure, who had returned him to the National Assembly. He says that their suffrages filled him with gratitude; the more from being unsolicited, and reaching him at a moment when he regretted being inactive, while the country had need of all its children to extricate it from its difficulties; a child of Paris, and now a Representative of the people, he would unite all his efforts to those of his colleagues to re-establish order, secure peace abroad, consolidate democratic institutions, and promote the prosperity and grandeur of the country. The people had been free since the 24th of February. Let all rally round the flag of the Republic, and give to

the world the grand spectacle of a people regenerating themselves without violence, civil war, or anarchy. In conclusion, he offered them the assurance of his sympathy and devotedness.

June 17. Workmen and others collected yesterday morning in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the Assembly, anxious to know how the case of Prince Louis would be decided. The groups increased as the hour approached for opening the sitting. No troops were ordered out; but military force would have been ready if wanted.

The President took the chair at the usual hour, and rose amidst profound silence in the members. He announced the receipt of a new letter from citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. It was delivered to him in the morning by a person who left London yesterday evening, and he entertained no doubt of its authenticity. It was dated the 15th instant. He proceeded to read the letter amidst cries of Hear, hear! Commencing with the usual address to the President of the Assembly, he says, that he was proud to have been elected a Representative at Paris, and in three other departments: that fact, in his eyes, was ample reparation for thirty years of exile and six years of captivity; but the offensive suspicions his election had given birth to, the trouble for which it had been the pretext, and the hostility manifested by the Executive Government towards him, imposed on him the duty of refusing an honour which was attributed to intrigue. He desired order and the maintenance of a Republic, prudent, grand and intelligent; and since, involuntarily, he favoured disorder, he begged leave, though not without deep regret, to place his resignation in the President's hands. Soon, he trusted, calm would be restored, and would permit him to return to France as the most

simple of her citizens, but also as one most devoted to the repose and prosperity of his country. The letter ends with requesting the President to receive the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

Approbation was manifested in all parts of the Assembly when the reading of this letter was concluded.

The President suggested its transmission to the Minister of the Interior, to allow him to act on it as he might deem proper, with a view to a new election to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Louis Napoleon.

The order of the day was then called for.

A voice exclaimed, Is the resignation accepted?

Yes, yes, from all sides of the Chamber. Then let us proceed to the order of the day.

The Assembly accordingly proceeded to take up its regular business.

This last letter of the Prince, with his letter of the 11th instant to his constituents, unknown to the Assembly when acting on his letter to their President of the 14th, has had, from present appearances, a tranquillizing effect.

June 20. Yesterday the draft of the Constitution for the Republic was presented to the National Assembly by M. Armand Marrast, the Reporter of the special committee appointed to draw it up. He also read it. When the reading was concluded, no remarks were made; but the Assembly, in consideration of the great importance of the subject, took a recess of half an hour. The sitting was then resumed. Its discussion will come up another day.

As reported, a single Chamber is to constitute the Legislative power. The Executive power is also to be single.

The Representatives of this single Chamber are to be seven hundred and fifty in number, chosen by universal suffrage, by ballot, for three years, and are re-eligible. They must be twenty-five years old. They are to be the Representatives not of the department or district which elects them, but of all France, and can receive no imperative mandate. The National Assembly is to be permanent, but may adjourn for a term not exceeding three months. No Representative can be named, or promoted, to an office held by Executive appointment.

The Executive power is to be in a President chosen by direct and universal suffrage. His age must be thirty at least. He is to be elected for four years, and is not re-eligible until after an interval of four years. He appoints to office and removes; the latter not in all instances without the advice of the Council of State. The Ministers of his appointment are to have seats in the Assembly and the right of speaking. He is to watch over and assure the execution of the laws. The armed force is at his disposal, but with no power of commanding in person. He cannot dissolve the Legislative body, or in any manner suspend the Constitution or laws. His salary is to be six hundred thousand francs a year, and a residence is to be provided for him.

There is to be a Vice-President "nominated for four years by the Assembly, on the presentation made by the President in the month following his election."* If the President is prevented fulfilling his duties, the Vice-President acts for him. Should he die or resign, a new President is to be elected within a month.

* Meaning (as I understand) elected by the Assembly on the President's nomination.

The Council of State is to consist of forty members chosen by the National Assembly. The Representatives are eligible to it. Vacancies in the Assembly caused by the election of members to the Council of State are to be filled up by new elections.

The Judiciary. Some of the Judges are appointed by the President; others by the National Assembly, and all for life or good behaviour. Trial by jury in criminal cases to be continued as already existing. Conflicts of power between the administrative and judicial authorities to be decided by a special tribunal of Judges (as explained) nominated every three years in equal numbers by each conflicting authority.

Algeria and the French colonies are to be French territory and governed by special laws.

The press is to be free—without censorship. All religions are to be allowed, and the various ministers of the acknowledged religions are to be paid by the State.

The national debt is guaranteed.

Slavery is abolished in all French colonies. [As by the Provisional Government.] The punishment of death is not to be inflicted for political offences. [As by the Provisional Government.]

France is styled “A Democratic Republic, one and indivisible;” and “all power emanates from the People.”

The motto of the Republic is to be “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.”

“Liberty, equality, safety, instruction, labour, property, assistance” are guaranteed to all citizens.

Under the head of “Public Force,” it is declared that every Frenchman owes military service in person, with the exceptions fixed by law. “Substitutes are interdicted.”

Article 112, standing by itself in the same chapter, reads thus: "The public force is essentially obedient. No armed force can deliberate."

The foregoing are among the most important provisions and declarations of this anxiously expected Constitution. It consists of one hundred and thirty-nine articles, some running into much detail. Those I bring into view may serve to show the springs that will be likely to move it when undergoing the tests of practical administration. A number of its clauses are similar to the Constitution of the United States. Other parts, and those elementary, are altogether different; as to be expected when different races, acting under different moral and physical causes, found systems of government.

The opening words of the French Constitution are:—

"In the presence of God, and in the name of the French people, the National Assembly proclaims and decrees as follows:—**DECLARATION OF DUTIES AND RIGHTS.** The duties of man in society are thus summed up:—respect to the Constitution, obedience to the laws, defence of the country, the accomplishment of family duties, and the fraternal practice of the maxim, Do not unto others what you would not wish others to do unto you; what you wish men to do for you, do unto them likewise."

These last words all nations may agree to, as embodying the precept of universal justice as well as Christian morality.

June 21. To-day the Assembly received the Report on the Finances from the Committee of Finance. It takes less favourable views of them than those held up by the Minister of Finance, but compliments him on having resisted the issue of paper money.

June 22. I went last night for the first time to the reception of M. Bastide, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The attendance was not large. Of the Diplomatic Corps we had none but the Danish Minister and the Minister from Tuscany; but some of the Ministers of the Government were present. They talked with each other as if anxiously. The tone of the evening was more grave than sprightly.

Major Poussin, the newly-appointed Minister to the United States, was there. With him I chiefly conversed. He thought the Government uneasy at the present state of things. The numerous workmen out of employ were getting more and more discontented. Their discontents were inflamed at the clubs. Many went there from idleness. The speakers, knowing how they felt, and harbouring bad designs, ministered to their discontents. These were his fears, and, he imagined, those of the Government.

I came away between ten and eleven o'clock. Driving over the bridge, the rows of lamps that skirt the Seine and seem to twinkle through the gardens of the Tuileries, with the more brilliant ones in Place de la Concorde, make the wide spaces of this part of Paris as beautiful by night as day. Every night you see them. They seemed to dim the moonlight. The allied armies were reviewed here in 1814.

June 23. Soon after daybreak this morning I heard the r^{appel}. It was beaten quickly, and sounded as if from several drums beaten together. It awoke me, and continued to beat all around where I live until breakfast-time. I went out to learn the cause. Heard there was great alarm all over Paris. I saw National Guards, singly or a few together, hurrying along with their muskets. I then went to the office of Legation.

Groups of people fill up the streets. I attempt to go over the bridge at Place Concorde, but cannot, from the guard and troops that block up the way. I go to the bridge of the Invalides and cross there. At the Legation I learn there is a great insurrection. The rappel had been beating the *générale* in that part of the town. I return the way I went, but find it still more difficult to reach home, from the increased numbers of the military. They fill up all the approaches to the National Assembly, as if to guard it; and I learn that serious fighting is going on in various parts of Paris.

June 24. The Insurrection rages. The *générale* was beating throughout the night, and the tocsin sounded. It was chiefly at Port St. Denis, Port St. Martin, and streets in that quarter, and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, that the Insurrection broke out. Barricades were raised before daylight yesterday morning, and so quickly on some spots as to get ahead of the Government. The Insurgents even seized on one of the Government's depots. More barricades sprang up, with amazing quickness, at different points in the course of the morning; and to-day the fighting is more deadly, and has extended to positions secured by the Insurgents near Notre Dame, the Sorbonne and the Pantheon. Cannon may be heard, and volleys of musketry, from my residence, which is not far from the Assembly. I walk out, endeavouring to get to the Legation, but find it impossible. I am stopped by sentinels at every turn. Many have been killed, and more wounded, of the National Guard and troops. So, I am told, it is reported to the Assembly. General Cavaignac is commander-in-chief of the whole military, with powers to put down the Insurrection. The

Assembly has declared itself in permanent session. Several of the Representatives go out to fight with the National Guard, or give encouragement by their presence.

June 25. The fighting grows more fierce and sanguinary. Nothing but cannon can break down the barricades. The Insurgents got possession of one, but it was soon taken from them. They fight furiously and, when driven from their barricades, fight hand to hand with knives, sabres, or bayonets. The troops and National Guard fall in the greatest numbers, the Insurgents firing upon them from houses and windows close by the barricades, where the streets are narrow and houses high. The troops enter the houses through showers of bullets. The Insurgents have opened communications from house to house inside, through long distances. The troops do the same. General Cavaignac is invested with the supreme Executive Authority—a dictatorship for the time being. He reports constantly to the Assembly. He orders more troops to Paris by the railways. The city is declared to be in a state of siege. The Executive Committee of five is superseded, but does service in the streets with the National Guard. National Guards from the new provinces come in to act with those of Paris, and the Garde Mobile fight desperately and suffers greatly; more than half at one barricade are said to have fallen.

I cannot get to the Legation; but in the afternoon of the day I walked out in the streets near me. All is silent, like a city of the dead. You hear not a word. You see nothing but cavalry at the corners, the men sitting on their horses, with up-raised swords to close all circulation through the streets. I make

any way with difficulty as far as Mr. Ridgway's, by taking a roundabout course. This stoppage of circulation is especially strict around the districts where the fight rages, that reinforcements or aid of any kind may be cut off from the Insurgents and their escape prevented when vanquished.

June 26. The Insurrection continues, but is losing ground. The Mayor of Paris writes to the Assembly, from the Hotel de Ville, that most of the long and narrow streets from that great point to Rue St. Antoine were covered with barricades, which the troops were taking one after another, the "incredible desperation" of the Insurgents yielding, at length, to the intrepidity and discipline of the troops. Never before, says the Mayor, were the streets of Paris stained with so much blood. The Insurgents wanted a parley for terms; but Cavaignac would only listen to unconditional surrender. He led in person the attack on the first barricade, and carried it. He acts with great vigour and good generalship, Lamoricière aiding. Shells have been thrown on barricades where resistance was the most obstinate. The Assembly has voted a grant of three millions of francs for assistance to the poorer classes unable to get bread from the state of the capital, and passed a decree that the wives and children of all who fall in defending the laws are adopted by the country. The Insurgents are well armed, and supplied with ball cartridge to profusion.

At twilight this evening I walked into Rue de Lille, the street in which I live. Circulation is still closed by the cavalry at each end; but the street is long, and in walking through it, while scarcely a human being was walking there but myself, I saw women sitting out by the conciergeries in little groups, making up

bandages and scraping lint for the wounded among the National Guards. The killed and wounded are known already to be far greater than in the Revolution of February. At night we could hear from our house the cry of the sentries in lengthened-out tones, "*Sentinelle, prenez garde à v-o-us.*" It passed along the Bank of the Seine, from sentry to sentry, until the ear caught only the last word, *à v-o-us*. The sound gave token that all was safe in our neighbourhood. My residence seems in the very centre of alarms, being between the Assembly and the Tuileries, and in the neighbourhood of barracks.

Yesterday, Sunday, the Archbishop of Paris passed through Rue de Lille, going by my house, on his way to General Cavaignac, then at the Assembly. He was in his ecclesiastical dress, attended by some of his vicars: so my servants reported, two of whom saw him as he passed. He desired the General's permission to go to the barricades as a mediator with healing words to the combatants, in the hope of staying the effusion of blood. The General warned him of the danger. He said he could not pause on that account, when duty called him. The General assented, promising all the protection possible, but alive to his danger. Forthwith he repaired to the scene of blood and mounted a barricade, the troops suspending their fire. Two of his vicars were by his side, and a faithful servant behind him, who was there without his knowledge. His venerable form, and the olive-branch borne before him, touched the conscience of the Insurgents, and their fire stopped. Soon it recommenced. He stood unmoved, while bullets flew about him. At length he was struck, and fell, mortally wounded, his servant striving to catch him in his arms. There is

some uncertainty where the fatal bullet came from, the Insurgents disavowing it; and perhaps, in the confusion, it was uncertain. In dying, this noble-minded prelate expressed the hope of the Christian martyr, that his death might do good to his country. Alas! the fighting continued! Overpowering numbers and discipline alone put an end to it.

June 27. Yesterday, at an early hour in the morning, it was announced to the Assembly that the Government was in possession of all the strongholds of the Insurgents, except the Faubourg St. Antoine. As their resistance became more hopeless, it grew more bloody. When driven from their rude, yet formidable ramparts, it was supposed they intended to rally, in their desperation, on Montmartre, outside, thinking fresh numbers might the better join them there. They declared they would die fighting, rather than surrender, except upon terms. They got possession of a large cannon, from which they poured a murderous fire on the troops. The troops silenced it with howitzers. Finally they gave way, but were undismayed to the last, many turning round and firing before throwing away their muskets. Some horse-artillery of the National Guards pursued; but the cavalry was able to do this more effectually, and made many prisoners beyond the barriers. More were taken in the streets, and in the houses from which they had been fighting, and from which the troops prevented their escape, as far as possible. Had they rallied on the heights of Montmartre, it was their insane hope to have recruited their force for a fresh struggle by night signals to their confederates all over Paris.

June 28. The Insurrection appears to be now entirely suppressed.

The day being fine, I walk out to various parts of Paris to view the scenes of havoc and slaughter. I go to Port St. Denis, Port St. Martin, to the long street St. Antoine, through which I walk, and through parts of other streets, not omitting Rue de Charenton, Rue St. Jacques, and so onward to the Sorbonne and Pantheon. My son, Madison Rush, Lieutenant in the United States Navy, who is with us on leave of absence from his ship, is the companion of my walk. We see where the numerous barricades were raised, defended and overthrown. Crowds of persons are moving along the same streets, with the same object as ourselves. Too plain to all are the traces of the sanguinary fight. Houses shattered by cannon-balls; many, many more, so many that they could not easily be counted, riddled through all the woodwork by the musketry of the troops and National Guard. We were only left to imagine those fierce hand-to-hand struggles where so many were killed. The horrors of a battle-field, where the dead, the wounded and the dying are left exposed, we did not see; but it was the battle-field of a dense city, where the slain and wounded were borne off as they fell, replete with horrors less common, but not less frightful.

We also passed along the Boulevards, Place Concorde, and Champs Elysées in parts where, although there was no actual fighting, every thing bespoke the conflict there had been. The siege is still kept up; and those spacious thoroughfares where the gay and fashionable of Paris and Europe throng in their equipages and morning promenades, and along which I passed in my carriage, when all was so silent, in going home from the Foreign Office, the very night before the Insurrection, now look like half-abandoned

encampments. Scattered wisps of hay and the litter of cavalry, horses tied to iron palisades, detachments of infantry, their arms stacked, the men lying down on straw, looking jaded, some asleep, after this din of battle,—such is the picture of these streets now.

In the Assembly to-day, General Cavaignac resigned his extraordinary powers. The Assembly passed a vote of thanks to him, and a decree confiding to him the whole Executive power, with authority to appoint the Ministers. These votes went through amidst the loudest cheers and clapping of hands, the members all rising and waving their hats as well as cheering. The General went to the tribune (his appearance producing fresh acclamations), and asked leave to propose that the thanks should include the gallant army and National Guards, and various general officers who had so devotedly seconded him in his efforts to quell the Insurrection. His proposition was received with another burst of applause.

In the evening sitting, he announced to the Assembly the names he had selected for the new Cabinet, which I need not recapitulate, as changes may occur. Some of the old members, whom the Insurrection found there, are continued. All resigned when the “Executive Committee” ceased to exist by General Cavaignac’s investiture with the supreme command.

June 29. Soon after the Assembly met, the President proceeded to read the draft of an address to the French nation, which had been prepared by order of the Chamber. Its first words are “Frenchmen, anarchy has been overcome! Paris is still standing! Justice shall have its course!” It goes on: “Honour to the courage and patriotism of the National Guards of Paris, and of the departments; to the brave and ever

glorious army ; to the young and intrepid Garde Mobile ; to the pupils of the schools ; and to the innumerable volunteers who threw themselves into the breach for the defence of order and liberty." "The attacks of these new barbarians were," it says, "against the civilization of the nineteenth century ; in their code, family was but a name, and property spoliation ; but the Republic, the work of God, the living law of humanity, could not perish ; they (the Assembly) swear it in the name of France, and by all those noble victims who fell by their fratricidal hands." These are some of the words of the address. It appeals to all Frenchmen to unite in love of their country ; to remove the last vestiges of civil discord ; "to maintain firmly the conquests of liberty and democracy, and to let nothing induce them to depart from the principles of their Revolution." When the reading was concluded, all the members rose, crying, *Vive la République !*

At this sitting, the President also read, in the form of a decree, a tribute to the Archbishop of Paris, in these words :

"That the National Assembly regards it as a duty to proclaim the sentiment of religious gratitude and profound affliction which it feels for the devotedness shown by the Archbishop of Paris ; and for his death, so heroic, so holy." It was adopted unanimously, amidst evident marks of deep feeling throughout the Assembly.

July 5. A member of the late Government having insinuated in the Assembly, on the breaking out of the Insurrection, that foreign gold had something to do with it, the British Ambassador, in a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, protested strongly against any possible application of the words to his country. M.

Bastide replied, that the opinion of his Government, as well as his own, was, that Her Majesty the Queen was too just to have taken any part in exciting the frightful events in Paris; and says to Lord Normanby that he would see with the greater pleasure publicity given to this declaration and Lord Normanby's note, as it would be a new proof of the sentiments of reciprocal friendship which animated the two Governments.

July 8. The funeral of the Archbishop of Paris took place yesterday. The concourse was great. Detachments of the military headed the procession. Various religious communities, with the clergy of Paris and its environs, followed. Black banners were carried, on which were inscribed the dying words of the Prelate. The body was borne by National Guards, the face being left uncovered; and six bishops were pall-bearers. Members of the National Assembly, headed by their President, attended, and deputations from various bodies of the State. The service was performed at the Cathedral, and is said, with the mournful music, to have been very touching.

Having mentioned the principal events of the Insurrection, closing with the sad ceremony just noted, I will succinctly advert to some of its causes and possible consequences, as my impressions of both were imparted to my Government after it was over.

The Provisional Government gave instant relief, and promised employment to the workmen of Paris and its vicinity suddenly thrown out of employment by the Revolution. This, as a temporary measure to supply the wants of a large class in danger of starving, was natural; more especially as these men did their proportion of the fighting in the cause that brought them to want. But, under the maxims and movements of the

Revolution, the Provisional Government established national workshops, and undertook to provide work in them for these masses of the French population, as part of the policy of the new Republic. This doctrine had long been inculcated in the writings of the Socialists, and they thought the time had arrived for putting it in practice. English Socialists came over to aid their French brethren in the work. That some who held this creed were sincere, ought not to be doubted; but it cannot be supposed all were. The national workshops, in which work was to be provided, did not accomplish the object. They did not, and could not, employ every body. All who worked in them were paid two francs a-day. This was too little for good workmen, and too much for bad. The work was badly done; and the accumulating excess of workmen who got no employment, was thrown as a charity upon the Government at some inferior allowance, that its promise might not be wholly broken. This made a heavy aggregate of expense to the Government without satisfying the workmen; and the consequence was discontent among all. For the first days after the Revolution their conduct was orderly, and for a longer time they submitted patiently. But idleness had created bad habits, and actual or approaching want was beginning to render some among them turbulent. Evil-minded persons fomented their discontent, took them to the clubs, and worked upon their passions. Many desired to separate from the main body and seek work as they could find it in Paris or in the country; but this was not allowed by their more resolute companions or by the clubbists, who kept them in Paris. The Government sent some into the Provinces. This they did not like, and tried to resist; which made more bad blood.

Things under such a system were tending from bad to worse. The Provisional Government saw the difficulty, without being able to escape from it fast enough to appease all the bad passions ripening for explosion. Finally, the same body of men whose humanity and forbearance in February, when the Revolution raged, were a theme of admiration, and whose obedience to the laws was witnessed for a month afterwards, were converted into instruments for oversetting the National Assembly for a brief moment on the 15th of May, and for this terrible Insurrection in June. This may be taken, as it appears to me, as an outline of the most important of its proximate causes.

It was, indeed, a terrible insurrection. My summary entries while it was in progress do not tell half its horrors. The number of the Insurgents has been estimated at from thirty to fifty thousand. General Cavaignac said in the Assembly a few days ago that no one reckoned it beyond fifty thousand; from which it would seem that he inclined to that number rather than a lower one. If a medium be struck, it leaves an appalling number, when it is considered that all were efficient for fighting and fought protected by walls and stone barricades. The army in Paris was twenty-five thousand strong when the fighting began, and consisted of the war battalions and other troops in high discipline. The regulars were increased as the fighting continued. The National Guard and volunteers more than doubled, it is believed, the number of regulars. It seems admitted that the barricades were reared at the two points for carrying the Hotel de Ville and National Assembly; that some were admirably constructed, and that the Insurgents obeyed signals and orders which passed quickly through their lines from

their leaders, and were suited to their objects. All this may be explained by remembering that from their great numbers, many among them must have seen service in the conscription. Hence their effective discipline, attested by their withstanding for four days and nights military forces largely outnumbering their own, and directed by veterans who brought against them all the apparatus of war. They even perforated with loopholes the city wall of Paris, at proper distances, where the wall is ten or twelve feet high, and kept up through these loopholes, which they took care should bear on some of their strong barricades, a fire upon the troops, which the latter could not return—the Insurgents getting outside of the barriers when firing.

Of the killed and wounded among them, hardly any thing appears to be yet known. Of the killed and wounded in the army, Guards and volunteers, no authentic list has yet appeared ; but the number must be fearful, when four generals were killed and seven wounded, a majority of whom, it is said, fought in Algeria. An estimate of the number has been roughly made at from seven to ten thousand. Of members of the Assembly, four are among the dead, and five wounded.

The Insurrection has left behind it difficulties, if not dangers. Its watchwords were, *Down with the Assembly! Vive la République Démocratique et Sociale!* It hung out the red flag. Six thousand, some say eight thousand, were captured ; but greatly more escaped, notwithstanding the precautions of the army for hemming them in. On some of the women of the Insurgent force captured by the troops were found deadly weapons, as well as the ammunition they carried for the use of the insurgents.

The overthrow of the “ Executive Committee ” is a

new starting-point in the administrative power of the Republic. Anticipations of what is to come baffle all ; and the remark I now hear most frequently is, though it may look like a paradox, that nothing is certain except the uncertainty that hangs over the political future of France. Speaking of the present, it is evident that great changes have been working in men's minds. At the first general election in April, M. Thiers cautiously sought a candidateship for the Assembly, but failed ; and none could have imagined that Louis Napoleon would ever be a candidate. At the special elections in June, both were chosen. The sensation the latter then created, would not have lived a moment in the political atmosphere of Paris in February or March. The continued prostration of industry and credit ; the reduced means of individuals ; the diminished revenues and increased expenses of the State ; an increasing want of confidence felt by all, with undertones of discontent advancing more and more to utterance—these, with plots and new combinations of bad men for bad purposes, have all been tending to impair the hopes which the Revolution at first created. Those who cherished them are reluctantly brought to perceive that the future is not only full of uncertainty, but overcast with gloom. The Insurrection is crushed, but the Insurgents live ; and live with hatred in their hearts. The Assembly passed a decree for banishing all who were captured ; but to send off to remote seas and islands six or eight thousand of them would not be easy. It may prove more difficult, though orders for it have gone forth, to disarm all the malcontents among an excited and spirited people accustomed to have arms, but in whose hands it might now be unsafe to leave them. Such words are discouraging. Though

military power, directed by a strong hand, defeated this formidable Insurrection, the feeling may reappear under other forms of trouble and revenge. The French commonalty, once roused, are quick to move, brave to ferocity when their blood is up, and fertile in expedients. Their prowess shown in the Insurrection, although it did not triumph, may have revived traditions of the old Revolution, and roused guilty hopes in bad men who will always find leaders. These are forebodings that steal into anxious minds. They cannot be kept down after what has happened. Martial law is still in operation in Paris, General Cavaignac recommending it; and his voice is now the most potent. Too true it also is that society at large has come to feel more safe under its shield.

Others say that the suppression of the Insurrection, however deplorable the cost, will be productive of good to the Republic, in a face-to-face conflict, over the dangerous doctrines which Revolution stirred up; that such a conflict was inevitable, and best that it should have come when it did. This opinion receives countenance from the facts that not only were the National Guards of Paris hearty and unflinching, but that those from the Provinces hurried to the capital to share in putting down the Insurrection; and that even the rural population, inspired by the same good feeling, were seen to go forward in the cause of law and order. The cry of *Vive la République* still goes up, in the Assembly and out of doors, on every occasion to excite it. It has been uttered from the beginning by those who did not believe in a Republic for France. That this class has been growing larger is evident; yet all seem bent on giving the Republic a fair trial, which it will have, they say, when the new Constitution comes into being,

and not until then. Count Montalembert, M. Dupin, M. Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Léon Faucher, Victor Hugo, and others of high name in the Assembly are favourable to a double Legislative Chamber. Should this alteration be made in the Constitution before its final adoption by the Assembly, speaking as an American, I should have higher hopes of its successful operation. Will the declaration which guarantees labour to "all citizens" be retained, after the experience of the Insurrection, which grew out of the Government's being able to provide labour for all having promised it to all? I am not able to reply to an inquiry so natural.

And where is now the Executive Committee of Five; they who dispensed the whole Executive power of France; who received Foreign Ministers and appointed them? Where is de Lamartine, who was all in all? who rode in the whirlwind and at first kept down the fury of the storm? who saved society by his courage and a flash of eloquence?—who kept peace at home and abroad, receiving plaudits from all but the Red Republicans, the most dangerous of whom he defied and tamed? Where is he? Hardly seen, or seen only as a star setting. But the good he did cannot soon be forgotten. His genius is left to him; and he knows the delights of literature; a fondness for which revolutions can neither give nor take away.

But I turn from thoughts which involuntarily spring up from what passes around me, whatever may be their errors. None can understand a country, or have full claim to speak of its future, but those who belong to it, or live in it long enough to catch its whole genius and characteristics. There are times when even these are brought to a stand in judging—get perplexed by complications they cannot disentangle. How much

more liable to err is the transient person ! How often are those of other countries baffled in passing judgment upon the condition of England ! How often, and often how soon, are predictions respecting her resources and prospects upset by opposite results ! There come persons to the United States who carry away opinions which, to ourselves, seem mistakes at every turn—wrong inferences from imperfect knowledge, even where truth may be honestly sought. How then can strangers hope to look into the veiled future of France ?

July 10. To-day I dined at the Marquis Brignoli's, the Sardinian Ambassador ; the first time I have dined out since the close of February. It was a treat to get back to quiet intercourse with the Diplomatic Corps, after the boisterous scenes France has been going through ; and I regretted the unavoidable absence of my daughters, who were to have been with me. I do not hear much of social intermingling among its members since the hurricane that scattered us all. Those here to-day had each a little to say on what has been passing. I learned that the Sardinian Government recognised the Republic two days ago. Rather a large evening-party assembled in the rooms after dinner. Rumours floated through them that another outbreak of some kind was expected on the 14th of this month, being the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille.

M. George Lafayette, who was chosen a Vice-President of the National Assembly the early part of June, to fill the vacancy created by M. Bethmont's appointment as Minister of Justice, was elected again to that station since the present month came in. The vote for him was largest among several candidates. I mention

with renewed pleasure this second tribute to him from the Assembly.

July 12. Yesterday the Assembly passed a bill, by an overwhelming vote, for the formation of a camp of fifty thousand troops to be stationed within the city or its environs. The measure was proposed by General Cavaignac some days ago.

Secondly. The Press has been laid under restrictions beyond any in the time of the Monarchy. The Abbe de Lamennais gives up his paper in consequence of one of them—the caution-money required; saying, he had not gold enough to pay it.

Thirdly. The political clubs are all to be bridled. A bill to this effect has been brought forward in the Assembly by the Minister of the Interior. Citizens are at liberty to open a club, provided they make a preliminary declaration of their intentions to the Prefect of Police at Paris, and to the Mayor of the commune in all the departments; all sittings to be public, with ample accommodation to be reserved for those not members; a Government functionary of the Republic to have the privilege of attending, and a seat to be always specially reserved for him; a record of the proceedings of each sitting to be drawn up by the President and Secretary; no club ever to resolve itself into a secret committee, or entertain any proposition tending to excite disturbance or civil war. These are its chief provisions, with penalties to secure their observance. The bill can hardly fail to become a law in all its essential parts.

The Insurrection dictated these measures. An appropriation was proposed for another object, which the Insurrection has made necessary. It was that six hundred and seventy thousand francs (670,000) be granted in aid of the Theatres and Opera, crippled by

the late turmoils. A bill for carrying into effect this grant may be expected to pass, if the other bills pass. What opposite things are seen in this metropolis! The contrast is often beautiful; sometimes startling. Places of amusement unrivalled; renowned schools of literature and art; a National Library incalculable in value, the very manuscripts of which, ancient and modern, fill a hundred thousand volumes; the richest endowments for fostering science; the most beneficent establishments for alleviating human misfortune and misery, under whatever forms seen; so that the philanthropist, the profound philosopher, the deep student, the curious in the fine arts, the votary of fashion, all come to Paris as a place where something useful may be learned or something agreeable enjoyed, something to stimulate the intellect or incite to pleasure. Then again, are seen Governments uprooted and thrown to the winds with scarcely a moment's warning; consternation and horror appearing on the stage with enthusiasm and hope; the good and bad principles springing into activity and contending for the mastery; plots and strife getting to work; want and starvation stalking about; passion let loose; conflicts following in quick succession; representatives of the people, chosen in the fairest possible manner, driven from their seats; blood flowing in the streets like water; all true liberty attacked—suspended—and when or how to be reinstated no one knows. Both sides of this picture have been visible in Paris since I began these memorandums.

July 14. The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille comes and goes without an outbreak.

July 18. I went this evening to the reception of General Cavaignac, at his new residence, Rue de

Yarennès. It was the first since his ascent to the Executive power. The Minister of Foreign Affairs had notified the Foreign Ministers that he would hold one; and great was the attendance of army officers, those of the National Guard, and other persons, including Ministers of State. I presented to him Mr. Stanton, Secretary of Legation, and my son. He received numerous congratulations from those who had no opportunity of offering them before, and received them with soldierly grace, heightened by a commanding person.

July 24. The National Assembly opened to-day with an Address to the members by M. Marrast, the new President under the monthly routine of election. After acknowledging the honour conferred upon him by electing him to the chair, he said it was owing to their energy, and that of the Executive, that they were now able to pursue their deliberations, when peace not only reigned in the streets, but was gradually returning to the public mind. He paid tributes to their gallant colleagues who had shed their blood in the cause of the Republic, and, after other appropriate remarks, sat down amidst marks of approbation.

The main business of the sitting was the passing of a bill for a loan of one hundred and seventy-five millions of francs, or two hundred, as the case might be, at the price of seventy-five francs twenty-five centimes. These terms were not considered the best, but agreed best with the wants of the treasury and present state of the public credit. The Minister of Finance so expressed himself, frankly.

July 31. Last week the proper Bureau made report to the Assembly that, on examining the case of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, elected a Representative for

Corsica, the proceedings were found to be regular, and that he was entitled to take his seat under this election.

The President then read a letter addressed to him by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from London. It ran thus:—That he had just learned that, notwithstanding his former resignation, he had been elected to the Assembly for Corsica; that, although deeply grateful for this mark of confidence, the reasons which forced him to refuse the post of Representative for the Seine Yonne and Charante-Inférieure still existed, and imposed on him another sacrifice; that, without renouncing the honour of one day being a Representative of the People, he thought he ought not to return to his country, until his presence in France could in no manner serve as a pretext to the enemies of the Republic; he trusted that his disinterestedness would prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and it was his wish that those who accused him of ambition might be convinced of their error. He concludes with requesting the President to inform the Assembly of his resignation as well as his regret at not being able to participate in its labours; and of his ardent prayers for the happiness of the Republic.

It was not necessary to take any step under this letter; but when the President finished reading it cries of “très-bien! très-bien!” were heard throughout the Chamber.

August 17. Attend the reception of General Lamoricière, Minister of War. His rooms were nearly filled with military officers. Most efficient were the services rendered by him during the Insurrection. Trained, like Cavaignac, in Algeria, the latter paid the highest tribute to his ability in the Assembly.

August 22. Go again to General Cavaignac's reception. A great crowd, as before, and chiefly of the military. The Marquis of Normanby was there, and the Marchioness. I learn that the former presented his credentials as Ambassador from England on Saturday, and was first received by General Cavaignac on that day. The step came about through the co-operation of England and France in a mediation in the affairs of Austria and Sardinia. France sent a special minister to London, in the person of Monsieur de Beaumont, on the business of this mediation, as soon as she learned that he would be received in that capacity by the English Government. This opened a door to the renewal of diplomatic intercourse; and the reception of Lord Normanby, by the Executive Head of the French Government followed on the 19th of this month. Such is the information I get. England, shy in the beginning, was also wise. She felt the importance of keeping alive her intercourse with France, though the Monarchy had fallen; for the Nation stood. France, proud and sensitive, could not but feel the advantage of not breaking with England when the Revolution came. England again had her people scattered in thousands throughout Paris, and other cities and towns of France, spending their money for pleasurable and other purposes; and large bands of her labouring men working on French railroads; not to speak of international interests, otherwise linking two such neighbouring countries together in ways beneficial to both. Business operations between them have, therefore, gone on from the first. M. de Lamartine, while at the head of the movement, acted in concert with Lord Normanby, in so sensible a course, until matters have ripened into the recognition stated.

August 24. Dine at M. Bastide's, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was a very large dinner, given to the Diplomatic Corps, members of the Cabinet, and other official persons, including members of the Assembly. Among the latter were M. Drouyn de l'Huys, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, M. George Lafayette, and his son Oscar Lafayette. It was the first entertainment of the kind given since the Republic was proclaimed. Appearances were much the same as in the days of M. Guizot.

General Cavaignac came to the drawing-rooms after dinner. Other company also came. General Cavaignac acts as President of the Council of Ministers, as the adjunct of his higher station as Executive head of the Republic. I finished the evening by going with my friend, M. Lafayette, to the soirée of the President of the National Assembly, where there was a brilliant assemblage of ladies, and a concert.

September 2. Dined at M. Marrast's, President of the National Assembly; an entertainment larger than the one at M. Bastide's, and given to the Executive head of the Government, the Foreign Ministers, members of the Cabinet, members of the Assembly, and others. The dining-room and suite in connection were extremely rich in architecture and the hangings. They were once part of the old palace of the Prince of Condé, renovated and fitted up, in the wing or portion where we assembled, for the official residence of the President of the National Assembly. The whole suite, blazing with light from chandeliers, ornate lamps, and candelabra, presented a contrast to the relative simplicity of the rooms in which M. Sauzet as President of the Chamber of Deputies, entertained the Diplomatic Corps and home functionaries at dinner.

as mentioned in a former page, a few days before the King's fall.

September 9. My memorandum of to-day is of a dinner at the Marquis of Normanby's, the first at the British Embassy since the Revolution, as far as known to me; and as it was given to General Cavaignac in his capacity of Executive Head of the Republic, I thought rather make a memorandum of it.

General Cavaignac's Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; General Lamoricière, his Minister of War, and Madame Lamoricière; General Changarnier, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard; a good portion of the Diplomatic Corps, and some English gentlemen, made up the company. I do not name all, not knowing all. Twenty or more appeared to be present. General Cavaignac led the Marchioness of Normanby to the table, and Lord Normanby Madame Lamoricière. My chair was next to General Cavaignac, Lord Normanby assigned it to me.

In the conversation I had with General Cavaignac, he said, that because the former Republic of France was attended by wars and commotion, persons thought it would be the same now; but it should not be, if he could prevent it. He was for peace, and for a Republic over all other forms of government. He paid a compliment to the United States, which it was not for me to disown or question the sincerity of, his antecedents having bound him to the Republican faith; although not to its dangerous extremes, as all know.

This happened to be my first dinner at an English table in Paris, though not the first time I and my daughters had received cards to dine at this table. Notwithstanding the just fame of France in social refinements, English dinners seem to have an advan-

tage in being smaller, which is more favourable to conversation and tranquillity, if I may so express it. I am, however, an incompetent judge, having been to fewer French dinners than English, and to very few in unofficial life; while in London private dinner-parties are constant, the Diplomatic Corps sharing largely in them. A profusion of rich plate was on the table this evening, which is more the English usage; porcelain predominating on French tables.

I will close this entry with a little incident, hoping the allusion to it will not infringe upon propriety. An English Peer sat on the other side of me. We got into conversation, and he asks me to take wine. In accepting, I tell him I am thankful; for although I had been in Paris a year, and seen beautiful dinners it was the first time I had been asked to drink a glass of wine. Was it national? The Anglo-Saxon race on our side of the Atlantic did it, and now I would hope to infer, from the kind challenge of my neighbour, that the custom was not dead in Old England. It was not, he said. Whenever you caught the eye you wanted across the table, and took up your glass you were understood, and your friend filled too. The custom came from good feeling, I thought; and so thought my English friend through whose courteous act I was able to welcome it in Paris.

September 16. Dine at General Cavaignac's. All the Diplomatic Corps were there, I believe,—all, at least, whose Governments have recognised the Republic,—and many military officers. I observed none of the Cabinet, except M. Bastide, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

My place at table was next to General Cavaignac, who desired me to take it as we entered the dining-

room. Our conversation touched upon England, to the freedom of whose institutions he did justice. I learned from the Sardinian Ambassador, who was near me, that General Cavaignac spoke the Italian and Spanish languages, and had nearly mastered the Arabic. The latter he had acquired at snatches of leisure during his campaigns in Algeria.

I informed General Cavaignac of a letter addressed to him by the President of the United States, which had reached me only to-day, in answer to one from him to the President conveyed by M. Poussin, Minister of the Republic at Washington; and that after dinner I would ask M. Bastide to take his directions as to the time when I might have the honour of delivering it to him. He replied, off-hand, that he would receive it to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, not knowing of any other engagement to prevent him.

I mentioned this to M. Bastide, and asked at what hour I might call on him in the morning with a copy of the letter before I delivered it,—the form usual when letters are written by heads of Governments to each other. He appointed nine o'clock.

In the drawing-room, after dinner, I spoke also to General Cavaignac on re-establishing the consulate at Boston, stating its importance from the population and commerce of Boston. The subject seemed new to him, and he was not aware of the reasons for abolishing the French consulate there, but would talk with M. Bastide and inform himself on the subject. I also used the opportunity to express a hope that Mr. Isnard's desire to be reappointed consul at that port might be favourably viewed, in case the French Government had formed no wishes for a new appointment, as, by the representations made to me, he had per-

formed his duties in a manner altogether acceptable to the commercial community of Boston.

September 17. As I leave my house to call on M. Bastide, I receive a note from him regretting that he cannot see me at nine, having, since we parted last evening, been summoned to attend a meeting of the Council at General Cavaignac's this morning; which also breaks up my appointment there at twelve o'clock. Nevertheless, I go to the office of Foreign Affairs and leave for M. Bastide a copy of the President's letter, as promised, adding that I will be ready to deliver the original at any time convenient to General Cavaignac.

The 28th of the month was afterwards named as the day; but when I called on that day General Cavaignac was confined to his bed by indisposition. The President's letter called for no act on his part, my reception by the Republic being already established. It contained renewed expressions of friendly hope for the prosperity and duration of the Republic under the new Constitution in course of formation; replied in appropriate terms to the friendly tone of General Cavaignac's letter transmitted by M. Poussin, and spoke of the latter as formerly known and esteemed in the United States, and as having acted with usefulness in their service. These sentiments being all before General Cavaignac in the copy of the letter I had furnished, it was agreed in the end that a personal delivery of the original had become only matter of form, and might be dispensed with.

September 30. Prince Louis Napoleon here comes again into these desultory notes.

The elections for the National Assembly, held in Paris on the 19th of this month, resulted in his being returned by a larger vote than was given to any of

the other candidates chosen on the same day. This renewed and large confidence induced him to leave London; and, acting no longer on the principle of resigning, he became a member of the Assembly on the 26th of the month. Surprise and curiosity pervaded the Chamber as he entered by one of the side doors, and, for the first time, took his seat as a member, by sitting down at the side of M. Vieillard, his former tutor. All eyes turned to that part of the Chamber. Some little bustle followed, which the President checked by a call on the members to keep silence.

M. Clement went to the tribune, and reported to the Assembly that he had been charged by his bureau to declare the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; that it was regular; that no opposition was made to it, and that the bureau recommended his admission, provisionally, until he should justify his age and nationality.

Cries that the case should be sent back to the bureau for an unequivocal report.

M. Vivien rose and stated that the bureau was satisfied of the validity of the election, and that the members of it then present in the house all agreed that an absolute declaration in favour of his admission might have been made, the notoriety of his age and nationality supplying the place of documents. He therefore proposed that the election be proclaimed valid, and that the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte be admitted to his seat. Cries of Yes, yes, came from the Chamber; and it now became evident that there would be no opposition to his taking his seat at once.

Louis Napoleon then rose from the seat he had taken, and requested permission to speak. Members

from all parts of the Chamber exclaimed, "To the tribune ! to the tribune !"

He left his seat, and, ascending the tribune, read from a paper the address following: Citizen Representatives,—It is not permitted to me to keep silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I want to express here frankly, and on the first day that I am permitted to sit among you, the true sentiments which animate me—which have always animated me. After thirty years of proscription and exile, I at last recover my country, and all my rights of a citizen. The Republic has given me this happiness: let the Republic receive my oath and gratitude; my oath of devotedness. And may my generous countrymen who have brought me into this Assembly be certain that I shall endeavour to justify their votes by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, that first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the people have a right to demand. Long have I been prevented from devoting to France more than the meditations of my exile and captivity. At present the career in which you are all advancing is open to me also. Receive me, my dear colleagues, into your ranks with the same sentiment of affectionate confidence that I bring with me here. My conduct, always inspired by duty—always animated by respect for the law—will prove, in relation to the passions which have endeavoured to blacken my character in order again to proscribe me, that no one here more than myself is resolved to devote himself to the defence of order and freedom of the Republic.

The address was received with marks of approbation. He returned to his seat; and, although no strong sen-

sation was roused, it was the incident of the day. Other business grew languid, and the Assembly rose without a lengthened sitting. I did not hear the address. A member told me that it was read distinctly, with a firm voice, though not with a pronunciation purely French, but tinged with the German.

October 10. In the Assembly yesterday, the new Constitution being under discussion, the President read an amendment proposed by M. A. Thouret, in these words: "No member of the families which have reigned in France can be elected President or Vice-President of the Republic."

The mover of the proposition advocated it in a few words. Another member, M. Woirhaye, rose and stated that the subject of the amendment had been under consideration in the committee and rejected; for, although it was thought that royalist and imperial families were not the best qualified for acting upon Republican ideas, the democratic principle was too deeply rooted in the country to cause fears to be entertained of what were called pretenders.

Other members spoke, some one way, some another.

Louis Napoleon ascended the tribune, and briefly said that he did not come to speak against the amendment, or make complaint of calumnies; but, in the name of the 300,000 electors who had chosen him, to disavow the appellation of pretender so constantly brought against him.

M. A. Thouret hereupon said, that after that declaration he considered the amendment useless, and withdrew it. Nevertheless it was put to the vote, and rejected; Louis Napoleon not voting upon it.

October 16. After the Republic came in, I was charged by the Secretary of State to give attention

to the subject of the tobacco monopoly. I brought it to the notice of M. Bastide, who gave me no encouragement, but the reverse. The new Government wanted, he said, all the revenue attainable, and could not afford to part with so considerable an item as tobacco yielded, —but intimated his willingness to look more into the subject hereafter. I brought it to the notice of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the National Assembly, with no better success, his reasons being much the same; and I lost no opportunity of introducing it as a topic in my intercourse with such members of the Assembly as I thought might be likely to appreciate what I said about it. None gave much attention to the doctrine I held up, that by admitting our tobacco under a moderate but fair duty, its increased importation into France might result beneficially to the trade of both countries. That might or might not follow; but loss of present revenue would be certain if they changed the laws relating to tobacco. It was in this way all my advances were met.

But still more to the point:—On the 22nd of June, M. Thouret laid a proposition before the Assembly that the sale of tobacco and snuff should no longer be exclusively in the hands of the Government, but be open and free. The proposition did not receive twenty-five votes out of the whole Assembly, and thus fell to the ground; that number of assenting votes being required before any proposition can come before the Chamber, even for consideration. This vote would seem to show that public opinion in France is in favour of the monopoly, when we consider that the members have all so recently been chosen by universal suffrage throughout all parts of France.

The vote is discouraging to any favourable changes for us in any respect, at least for the present, in the French tariff, over the laws regulating it in the time of the Monarchy. The King's words to me at St. Cloud, in November, that "a public conviction long entertained in France in matters of trade was not easily altered," receives confirmation from this vote. The Provisional Government, on coming into power, abolished the Octroi, a duty on meats, liquors, and other things within the limits of Paris, but soon restored it. The Republic also kept up the salt tax, of which the King recommended a reduction. These matters I have made known to my Government.

It ought not to be overlooked that the Republic succeeded to heavy debts from the Monarchy; and that these debts and other arrearages, from the subsequent falling off of trade and derangement of credit, have been increasing, in the absence of all ability, thus far, to effect any reductions of them.

October 27. Prince Louis Napoleon yesterday went to the tribune, and read, amidst profound silence throughout the Chamber, a paper to the purport following:—

Addressing the body as citizen representatives, he said, that the unpleasant incident which closed the discussion of the preceding day did not allow him to keep silence: he deplored being obliged again to speak of himself; it was repugnant to his feelings to be unceasingly bringing personal matters before the Assembly, when not a moment was to be lost in attending to grave public questions. He would not speak of his own sentiments: they had already been explained: no one ever had occasion to doubt his word. As to his conduct in the Chamber, as he never could permit

himself to call any of his colleagues to an account for what they did, he recognised in no one the right to demand of him explanations of his course: he owed that account only to his constituents. He was accused of accepting from the popular feeling a candidateship which he never claimed; he accepted that honour because three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly against the proscription of his family, authorized him to believe that France regarded the name he bore as able to aid in the consolidation of society, shaken to its foundations, and make the Republic prosperous. (Loud exclamations of dissent among the members.) They who accused him of ambition knew little of his heart; his silence was turned into a reproach against him; it was only a few who were gifted with the power of eloquent language in the service of just ideas in that Chamber. But was there no other way of serving the country? What it wanted was acts: it wanted a wise and firm Government, which would think more of healing the wounds of society than of avenging them, and which could overcome, better than bayonets, theories not founded on experience and reason: (fresh dissent). He would not fall into snares set in his way; he would pursue the straight-forward course he had traced out for himself. Nothing should disturb his calm, nothing make him forget his duty. He had but one object, which was to merit the esteem of the Assembly and of all men of worth, and the confidence of a magnanimous people. He would reply, henceforth, to no interpellation—to no provocation. Strong in his own conscience, he would remain immovable under all attacks, impassable against all calumnies. ✓

His allusion in the commencement was to some

sharp-shooting on the day preceding, about candidates for the Presidency. In the course of it, he had been charged with having agents in the departments appealing to the less enlightened portions of the people in his behalf. His cousins in the Assembly rose to repel the charge. Cries broke forth that he would go to the tribune and speak for himself: but he continued in his seat.

During the same sitting, the time of holding the election for President was also settled. There were different opinions on this point: some were for a day in November, some for a later day. Eminent speakers shared in the debate—amongst them Odillon Barrot, Dupin, the distinguished Count Molé, and General Cavaignac. The last was in favour of an early election, and strongly expressed his opinion that postponement a day longer than was necessary would be hazardous. It was finally fixed for the 10th of December.

October 31. The state of siege imposed on Paris when the Insurrection raged, was removed on the 19th of this month.

The removal was founded on the report of a committee in the Assembly charged with the whole subject. It stated that, on a full examination of all the considerations belonging to it, the committee had arrived at the conclusion that the siege might end without any fresh dangers to the Republic; and the Executive head of the Government believed that the public tranquillity might now be maintained without it. The vote for raising it was unanimous.

The peaceable and well-disposed people in Paris were hardly sensible that they were living under a state of siege, although it was in operation four months

within a few days. At first, all were uneasy, from a sort of habit, lest outbreaks should still happen, so common had they been since the Revolution. This feeling wore away as each successive week brought safety with it. Paris, in effect, was a great camp, though no camp was visible. Fifty thousand troops were collected within its limits, or were close by if wanted. Eleven presses were suppressed by military power while the siege lasted. The knowledge that the same power would be used against the turbulent and ill-disposed if they moved towards mischief, kept them quiet. The wise and prudent acquiesced in this course on the part of General Cavaignac, believing in his abilities and his virtue—a belief sanctioned by results. It made the Red Republicans his foes, and raised up other opposition to him among politicians.

When the numerous arrests were made of those who invaded the Assembly on the 15th of May, it was supposed that the ringleaders in that conspiracy would be brought to trial. This has not yet been done. After the Insurrection in June, the Assembly appointed a committee to inquire into all the facts belonging to that second and far greater calamity, and to couple with this duty a new inquiry into all the circumstances that might shed light upon the outrage on the 15th of May.

This committee, clothed with ample powers for the fullest investigations, finished its work and presented its report to the Assembly in August. It is a remarkable document. I have looked into it from time to time, but shrink from the task of attempting the merest outline of its contents. It is very voluminous. Much of it is irrelevant. Still more of it is encumbered with unnecessary details and repetitions; but portions of it reach back to the causes and incidents of the

Revolution in February. It lays bare the springs of that first shock in ways, not then so well known, that are startling. It shows how few were the real contrivers and instruments of the Revolution of February; and, with honourable exceptions (too few these also, unhappily), how selfish were their motives. These confessions came from the contrivers and instruments of the movement; a good portion of whom secured the personal advancement for which alone they seem to have rushed upon the work of overturning the Monarchy. I hasten away from the reflections which these disclosures, seeming to be authentic, are calculated to excite. I prefer to draw a veil over them until the Republic reaches further stages in its destination.

November 3. Dine at Mr. Ridgway's, and afterwards go to the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The company not very large; the talk chiefly about Vienna. One of the Diplomatic Corps said that Windischgraetz, the Imperialist General, is carrying all before him against the Insurgents, as he called them, who have lately had the city in their hands; but that Windischgraetz had stormed the barricades with his troops, and was master of the city, or soon would be.

I renew to M. Bastide the wish expressed to General Cavaignac for the appointment of M. Isnard as French consul at Boston; and use all the strong words I can in favour of retaining Count Montholon, son of General Montholon, as French consul at Richmond. What I say of the latter is founded on representations transmitted to me from Richmond of his merits, and the desire cherished by the citizens of that place, whose esteem he has largely won, that he should remain among them.

November 7. Go to General Cavaignac's reception this evening. I present Colonel McCall, of our army, and Mr. Ridgway; as on a former evening I had presented Lieut. Percival Drayton, of our navy, and Mr. Corbin.

November 13. This evening we are at a party at the British Embassy. It is not large, but portions of the Diplomatic Corps are there. In conversing with a member of it, I hear fresh hints, like those I caught in these rooms a year ago, soon after my arrival, that Princess Lieven, though living in Paris ostensibly in private life, is looking to Russian interests, by the silent appointment of the Emperor Nicholas. This policy, and the fair influence sought in its aid, it was intimated, grew out of an old understanding between the Emperor and the ex-Bourbon King, Charles X., that France was not to thwart the former in his objects upon Constantinople, and he not to thwart France in making the Mediterranean a sort of "French lake," after she had planted herself in Algeria by the success of French arms in the time of Charles. If this were so, it might lend plausibility, with some, to the alleged silent mission of this distinguished lady. It might with me, but for that part of the bargain which would assign to France the control of the Mediterranean [Gibraltar, Malta, and English naval power withal]. This seems to me so visionary that my incredulity is not yet overcome.

November 18. On Sunday, the 12th of this month, Paris was all alive, bad as the weather was, with the celebration of the Fête in honour of the new Constitution, all parts of which are completed. The preparations for it were upon a magnificent scale, and it was supposed that it would much exceed in display, as I believe it has in cost, the one in honour of the Republic

on the 21st of May. Immense flag-staffs, which floated tri-coloured flags full of Republican inscriptions and emblems; a dome of great height, richly ornamented, with a cross as the pinnacle; a Statue of the Constitution, crowned with laurels, holding the Constitution in the left hand, and in the right hand a lance; a vast assemblage of the Clergy; members of the National Assembly, and all other officials; troops in countless number; cannon roaring at intervals—all this and more was to be seen in Place de la Concorde. The day was raw and cold. Snow fell in large flakes, whitening everything. When it stopped, sleet came on, then a little more snow—so that the bad weather hardly ceased. All the arrangements were for fine weather; but sheds, open all round, roofed over, and elevated on flooring, were reared up with French quickness at fêtes as in war, when the day broke with appearances of a storm. All was to begin at half-past eight in the morning. On the board floors canopied over, the Diplomatic Corps, where I was, and all other public functionaries, found partial shelter. The President of the National Assembly read aloud the whole Constitution for such as could hear it. General Cavaignac was there in full uniform, and wore a badge of distinction won by his gallantry in Algeria. The presence of Prince Louis Napoleon was not observed among the members of Assembly. The weather was unfavourable for enthusiasm. Cries of *Vive la République* were few, or from those so far off that I could not hear them, coming, it may be, from streets in the vicinity of Place de la Concorde.

I did not hear a word of the Constitution as read out; but all have seen by the papers that it is much the same as contained in the draft reported by the committee on the 19th of June, as summed up in these

notes the day following. The single Legislative Chamber, single Executive, and most of the other elementary provisions remain as then framed, or with modifications unessential. The abstract declarations in the beginning are varied.

As an accompaniment to the celebration, the following document was addressed by the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects of all the departments in France:—

That, the French Republic being now definitively constituted, the National Assembly had decided that the Constitution should be promulgated in every commune by being read by the Mayor to the inhabitants assembled; that the Constitution was placed under the invocation of God, and its promulgation was to be a political and religious ceremony; that prayers were to precede or follow the reading of it by the civil Magistrate, as the Bishop or other clergy might prescribe; that as this great national Fête ought to leave a souvenir among the unfortunate, the Assembly had appropriated four hundred thousand francs, which were to be equitably distributed throughout the departments in cases only of the most poignant misery.

Finally, the prefect of each department was to cause the inhabitants to understand the importance and solemnity of this act of a great People, who, after eight months of uncertainty and disquiet, had placed themselves under the empire of a strong and durable Constitution and entered definitively upon the path of free and regular governments.

And may it prove so. But, as a looker-on since February, I cannot, with all the wishes I then had, and desire still to cherish, for the success of the Republic,—I cannot, now that its new Constitution comes

forth, with but one Chamber, and other anomalies to an American, easily yield my assent to any encouraging prospects of its durability.

November 28. Go to General Cavaignac's reception; an immense crowd, consisting almost exclusively of military officers; nothing comparable to it that I have before seen at any reception in Paris for numbers. It was caused by the General's speech in defence of his course in putting down the Insurrection. His friends and adherents came in multitudes to offer their congratulations. His adversaries brought charges against him of causing blood to flow unnecessarily at the barricades, by his acts and by his omissions. An angry debate followed in the sitting of the 25th, and the Assembly sustained his course by a triumphant vote. Hence the crowd this evening. His rooms were filled to overflowing, so that hundreds had to remain in the garden. In making my way into the rooms to reach General Cavaignac, I was aided by my kind friends the Lafayettes, father and son, who led me along circuitous paths in the garden. The debate in the Assembly and crowd this evening are the better explained by the near approach of the election for President, General Cavaignac being prominent as a candidate.

November 30. At length I am to record the manifesto of Prince Louis Napoleon. It is out in full. On the eve, he says, of an election for the first Magistrate of the Republic, his name had presented itself as a symbol of order and security. He knew that this testimony of confidence was more to the name he bore than to himself, who had yet done nothing for his country. He was not ambitious of subversive theories: reared in free countries, and in the school of misfor-

tune, he would be faithful to the duties which the suffrages of his fellow-citizens and the will of the Assembly might impose on him. If elected President, he would shrink from no danger or sacrifice to defend society, so audaciously attacked. He would devote himself to the strengthening of a Republic, prudent in its laws, honest in its intentions, and great in its acts. He should consider it a point of honour to leave to his successor, at the end of four years, the government strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished. He would strive to reconcile parties and calm hatreds. Real reforms would be best effected by economy, without disorganizing the public services; by a diminution of the most burdensome taxes; by encouraging enterprises which would develop the riches of agriculture, and give work to unemployed hands; by imparting to the laws relating to industry, the meliorations which tend to benefit the poor without injuring the rich; by restricting the number of places which depend on the Government, which often make a free people a nation of place-hunters; and by avoiding the fatal tendency which leads the state to do what private individuals could do as well or better; and by preserving the press from its two excesses, arbitrariness and license. These are points in his manifesto which touch upon home concerns.

War, he says, would be no relief to the evils of France. Peace would therefore be his dearest of desires. France in her first Revolution was warlike, because she was forced to be so. To invasion she replied by conquest. Not being attacked now, she could devote her resources to pacific improvements. A great nation should be silent, or never speak in vain. To think of national dignity, was to think of the army, whose

patriotism, so noble and disinterested, had often been disregarded. Whilst the laws which gave force to military organisation should be maintained, the burden of conscription should be lightened. The present and the future not only of the officers, but sub-officers and soldiers, ought to be watched over, and an assured existence prepared for the men who have long served under the flag. In fine, when at the head of the French people, an infallible means of doing good, was to resolve to do it.

This is the substance of what he says. Whatever the result of the election, he promises to bow to the will of the people, and unite in all ends for promoting the material and moral benefit of the country. The manifesto is addressed to his fellow-citizens, is in all the papers, and signed Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

December 21. The election for the first President of the Republic opened on Sunday, the 10th of this month, the day fixed by the Assembly, and closed throughout all France on the day following. Seven millions, three hundred and twenty-four thousand, six hundred and eighty-two votes were given, and were distributed as follows:—For Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 5,434,426. For General Cavaignac, 1,448,107. For M. Ledru Rollin, 370,119. For M. Raspail, 36,920. For M. Lamartine, 17,910. For General Changarnier, 4,790. Lost votes 12,640.

The result was known some days ago; but not the accurate returns. The official announcement of the result in the National Assembly yesterday, caused a very full attendance of the members, and all others who could gain admittance within the Chamber.

The committee appointed to examine the returns entered the Chamber, attended by a number of the

Representatives, among whom was General Cavaignac. — Louis Napoleon Bonaparte entered, and took his seat next to Odillon Barrot on one of the benches.

Waldeck-Rousseau, reporter of the committee, then ascended the tribune and read the report, deep silence prevailing. It stated that the nation had deposited in the electoral urn the testimony of its confidence; it had pointed out the citizen to whom it wished to confide the destinies of the French Republic; Europe had been an attentive observer of the movement of a nation rising in the calmness of its strength, and showing itself worthy of the liberty it enjoyed; it had pointed out the object of its choice, not as the will of a few, but in a great and patriotic designation as standing for the will of the whole.

He then read out the votes as stated above, and declared the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be chosen President of the French people; the Executive power was to go into his hands; the Representatives of the people would come, it was hoped, with patriotic eagerness, to offer to his Government the strength they could impart to it; and may God protect France.

These were the words with which the reporter concluded. I do not insert the report in full, but the extracts given mark its character.

General Cavaignac rose, and stated that he had just received the collective resignation of the late Ministers; and that he had also to remit into the hands of the Assembly the office of President of the Council which had been intrusted to him. The Assembly would better comprehend, than he could express, all the gratitude he felt for the great kindness shown to him while he exercised the Executive power. He sat down amidst loud cheering from the Chamber.

The President of the Assembly, M. Marrast, then put the report of the committee to the vote. The whole Assembly (with the exception of five members) stood up in its favour.

The President hereupon addressed the Assembly thus:—Whereas, the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has fulfilled the conditions of Article 4 of the Constitution, as well as those prescribed by Articles 47 and 48; and whereas, in the ballot which has taken place, he has obtained the absolute majority of votes, the National Assembly does hereby proclaim him President of the French Republic from the present time to the second Sunday in May, 1852: I therefore call on the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to ascend the tribune, and take the required oath.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte accordingly came forward, ascended the tribune, and took the oath in the words following:—“BEFORE GOD, AND IN THE PRESENCE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, REPRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, I SWEAR TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE REPUBLIC, DEMOCRATIC, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE; AND TO FULFIL ALL THE DUTIES WHICH THE CONSTITUTION IMPOSES ON ME.”

The President of the Assembly then said:—The Assembly, formally acknowledging that the President of the Republic has taken the oath required, orders that solemn mention of the fact shall be made in the procès-verbal of the sitting, and that notice of the same shall be posted up in all the communes of the Republic.

Cries of *Vive la République* arose.

The President of the Republic then delivered an address, in these words:—“CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES: The suffrages of the nation, and the oath I have just taken, trace out for me my future conduct. I shall

follow it as a man of honour. I wish, like you, to place society on its true basis; to strengthen democratic institutions, and to alleviate the miseries of that generous and intelligent people which has just given me such a striking proof of its confidence. Animated by a sincere spirit of conciliation, I have called round me capable and patriotic men, who, in spite of the diversity of their political origin, are ready to devote themselves with me to the happiness of the nation. A Government coming into power owes a debt of thanks to its predecessors when the deposit of its authority is handed over to it intact; and in particular I owe it to the honourable General Cavaignac to say that his conduct is worthy of the generosity of his character. It will not be the smallest title of his glory. The Government and myself are animated with a sincere love of the country. Let me hope, citizen Representatives, that your co-operation will be given to me, and that with it we may found a Government just and firm, which, without being either reactionary or Utopian, will secure the future welfare of the Republic; and, if we cannot do great things, we may at least, by our loyal intentions and conduct, secure the welfare and happiness of the people by whom we have been chosen."

This address closed the ceremony, and was received with loud cheers.

The President of the Republic then left the tribune, and, in going down the centre of the Chamber, went to the seat of General Cavaignac and shook him warmly by the hand. This act was greeted by the Assembly in the heartiest manner, by the clapping of hands.

The sitting was then suspended for a short time.

The President of the Assembly, on resuming the chair, stated that, by a communication just made to

him by the President of the Republic, M. Odillon Barrot had been charged to compose a new Ministry, and that as soon as it was formed, the fact would be communicated to the Assembly by a message.

The President of the Republic then left the Assembly, accompanied by Odillon Barrot and other Representatives; after which the Chamber rose, many of the members hastening out before the adjournment was announced from the chair.

December 29. The ministry of the President is composed of the following names: Odillon Barrot, Minister of Justice, and President of the Council, in the absence of the President of the Republic; Drouyn de l'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Leon Faucher, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister of War; M. de Tracy, Minister of Marine and Colonies; M. Falloux, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship; M. Lacrosse, Minister of Public Works; M. Buffet, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, Minister of Finance. Some resignations followed the first selections; but these are the present members of the Ministry.

It is believed that Drouyn de l'Huys, M. de Tracy, and M. de Falloux, voted for General Cavaignac. Their call to the new Cabinet is regarded as a generous and graceful act.

All the Ministers are persons known. I will say of the one to be the organ of intercourse with other nations, that my previous knowledge of him, as far as it has extended, has given me the most favourable impressions of his highly eminent qualities and accomplishments.

The election of Louis Napoleon has not, perhaps, been as unexpected to observers on the spot, as to those

beyond the limits of France. When an amendment was proposed pending the discussion of the Constitution, for changing the part which provided for the election of President by the direct vote of the people, so as to give the National Assembly the power of electing him, and that amendment was rejected, it was considered the forerunner of the result now witnessed; though so overwhelming a vote for the successful candidate was hardly anticipated by anybody. All perceive that it clothes him with great power to do good. General Cavaignac lost ground with the Socialists and Red Republicans, by the part he acted in the Insurrection and during the siege; for, although their numbers were not great throughout France, their activity was great, and many of them had very sharp intellects, and worked with unbounded zeal towards their objects. Moreover, the belief which more especially began to prevail after the vote on the above amendment, which was strong for rejecting it, that Louis Napoleon would be chosen, added daily to his strength; of which, doubtless, his name was at the root.

1849.

January 1. The President of the Republic has taken as his residence the Palais Elysée Bourbon.

By an official communication to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, they were informed that he would receive them this morning. As the new Chief Magistrate of France under a constitution to commence its operation under its executive auspices, the entire Diplomatic Corps would naturally desire to offer their compliments and congratulations on the proof he had received of his country's confidence; and it may be supposed it would be desirable on his part to have an

early opportunity of making their acquaintance. Accordingly, the corps went, and were severally presented to him in due form. Most of them were personally unknown to him. This was my case. Our presentations were made by his Minister of Foreign Affairs. He spoke a few words to me, as to all, the occasion not leading to much conversation with any. I had seen him before; but only in the Assembly from the Diplomatic box, and imperfectly. In stature below rather than above the medium height, yet robust; a subdued carriage; a thoughtful countenance; a blue eye, in repose rather than vivid, and darker in complexion than the French generally: this was his appearance to me to-day.

The Palais Elysée Bourbon was a favourite residence of the Emperor Napoleon. He went there as soon as he reached Paris, after his final defeat at Waterloo, himself the first to bring the news of it. Some accounts say that such was his fatigue from his rapid flight that he could not at first articulate, but threw himself on a bed in a state near to exhaustion; yet speaking somewhat incoherently of the necessity of a dictatorship in his favour.

And who were in that Palace now? In looking round, strange reminiscences obtruded themselves. You saw the representatives of Austria, of Prussia, of Sardinia, of Bavaria, of Saxony, of Wirtemberg, and of Switzerland; of Spain, the Italian States, and Portugal; of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium; of German states and principalities, hardly to be counted up, whose kingdoms he had overrun; whose territories he had invaded and despoiled; the blood of whose subjects had been made to moisten half Europe during his wars of self-aggrandizement, which grasped

at all Europe; his cannon seating his own family, some against their will and remonstrances, on the thrones he overturned. All these kingdoms and states and principalities—I can hardly have named too many, when even the little free Hanse town did not escape—were forced to yield to him; were doomed to see their people mustered at the roll of his drum, to help him fight his battles against their interests and their duties. Some were humiliated past description; all sorely aggrieved, under pretexts which ambition, with armies at its back, is never at a loss in alleging, and knows how to smooth over and gild. Now, I saw the representatives of them all coming together to offer their congratulations to the nephew of that deposed conqueror; the nephew himself an exile less than a year ago, and previously a prisoner twice condemned, and apparently left without hope. What a sight! Not often has the wheel of Fortune turned so marvellously. I did not chance to see the Minister of Russia in this representation of crowned heads and other sovereignties of Europe assembled in honour of the nephew. Perhaps he was away for reasons I was not acquainted with; or my eye may have missed him, so many were there.

The Ambassador of England could not be missed. His presence was too memorable in the history it recalls, ever to be forgotten. He was the sole person in the group, as far as Europe was concerned, whose nation never bent the knee to Napoleon; the only one who from the beginning looked him steadfastly in the face undismayed, and saw through him under his mask; whose Parliament, whose unfettered press, spoke the truth out to nations trumpet-tongued, more resounding than his war bugles on their frontiers, or in their capitals; who shattered his marine to pieces, whenever

ventured out of port, by her naval thunders; drove him from the seas maddened and helpless, except in his cherished, yet ever fruitless vengeance, against the Power that thwarted his plans of dominion, and held cheap his threats of invasion, in the face of his boastful column at Boulogne,—a Power that, at one time fought against him single-handed, Russia in turn having given way, and fought with only the more vigour; who fought him to the last, and by her invincible resolution and perseverance, encouraged and aided others in going on with the fight, until, at length, Europe was roused to indignation under his stupendous wrongs; and down he came, amidst peans of universal joy, from the height gained by his remorseless sword—France, who had been mingling groans with his glory, joining largely in her shouts of gratitude at the general deliverance.

There was one other person in that group whose country never was in fear of him, but protested against his outrages from first to last,—the Minister of the United States. He could readily contribute his congratulations where the object of them, reared, as he said, in the school of misfortune, had risen on the free and immense vote of the tenth of December; and who declared that peace was the dearest of his desires, and that he felt bound in honour to deliver over the government to his successor at the end of four years with the public liberty intact.

January 15. Go to the night reception of the Prince President at the Palace Elysée Bourbon. The Ministers of State were there, the Diplomatic Corps, and many others connected with the new Government.

Go afterwards to a ball given by the Prefect of the Seine, at the Hotel de Ville. Large as that building

is, the company filled it. To see its spacious rooms given up to music and dancing, and the whole building blazing with light and joyous with festivity, was truly a beneficent change from its having been so long a great centre of revolutionary alarms and fights.

January 23. Dine at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de l'Huys. It was a very large dinner, the first under the new régime. We had a great assemblage of the highest official persons: the Prince President heading the list; the Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, the President of the National Assembly, and others of distinguished name, though now holding no station, amongst whom were M. de Lamartine and Count Molé. The chair assigned to me was next to the President of the Assembly; and next to him sat the President of the Republic.

January 24. This evening the Diplomatic Corps dine at my house, with their ladies, and our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway.

Our corps belongs essentially to the existing government; and it must be confessed that we have had our embarrassments on this head in Paris. We had favourable allusions at table now and then to the new Prince President, as derived from the personal intercourse we have so far had with him. The corps, for the most part, were for General Cavaignac during the canvass, more or less openly. I took no part, continuing to think that we, as a body or individually, have nothing to do with party contests here, though we may write as we think fit to our own Governments about French affairs.

January 28. Go this evening to the reception of Odillon Barrot, Minister of Justice and head of the Ministry. The President of the Republic was there,

the members of his Cabinet, the Diplomatic Corps, and a very large company of ladies and gentlemen.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs seeks conversation with me as to what we do in cases where our President and Congress disagree. I tell him that when Congress does not act on recommendations of the President, either by remaining passive under them, or debating them without result, nothing comes of the recommendation. It falls to the ground for the time being; but may be, and often is, renewed at another session.

On the other hand, if both Houses of Congress pass a bill, either with or without a recommendation from the President, the bill not becoming a law until the President concurs in it, he may, if disproving it, return it to the house in which it originated, with his objections. If that house passes the bill by a vote of two-thirds of its members, and the other house does the same, it becomes a law, notwithstanding the objections of the President. I add, that it rarely occurs in our practice that the President's veto is overcome by the requisite majority in both cases.

The Minister asks if I would object to furnishing him with a written memorandum of this part of our system and its operation. He thinks the President of the Republic would like to see it. I tell him I will readily do so.

January 29. Enclose the Minister of Foreign Affairs, informally, a copy of the seventh section of the first article of our Constitution, which relates to the veto of the President, adding the views I had expressed to him of its practical operation with us.

February 4. I give a smaller diplomatic dinner today, that I may have Mr. Bancroft's company, now

here for a few days from London. Lord Howden is one of my guests, an accomplished English diplomatist at present in Paris, who gives me the first information of Sir Henry Bulwer's appointment as British Minister to the United States. I mention the fact to my Government, in case it may not yet have been known at Washington. We go this evening to the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I present Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway to the Minister, and to Madame Drouyn de l'Huys, and have conversation with the Spanish Ambassador on the appointment of Sir Henry Bulwer as Minister to the United States.

February 12. Dine with General Sir Phineas Riall, of the British army, at present residing here with Lady Riall, in Rue St. Florentine.

During the war of 1812 with England, General Riall was taken prisoner by our troops in one of the battles on the Canadian lines, and remained in the United States on parole until duly exchanged. This dinner was given to me in remembrance of the attentions and good treatment he received from my countrymen while among them on his parole. There were sixteen or eighteen at table, gentlemen and ladies, all English—some of the army. Certainly no merit could be claimed in treating well a gallant officer who had fallen into our hands. But it was part of a generous mind to remember it. I learned, not from himself, but others, that my predecessors in the mission to France had in like manner been recipients of his hospitality.

I close the note of my second English dinner in Paris, with the remark, that remembering, what passed at the English Embassy, about taking wine with the company, I ventured to act upon it at this agreeable

dinner at the hospitable table of the distinguished and gallant general.

February 16. We are at a grand ball to-night at the Palais Elysée. Mr. and Mrs. Ridgway are of our party, and Lady Augusta Bruce. Eminent persons were there—some of the Bonapartes; the Ministers of State; the Diplomatic Corps, and distinguished foreigners. The Prince President opens the ball by dancing with his relative, the Princess Mathilde Demiedoff. It was not easy to arrive or get away, owing to the crowd of carriages in the court-yard. The President's servants wore the green and gold livery of the Emperor. The President told me, in the course of the evening, that the copy I had furnished of the part of our Constitution relating to the Executive veto, was very acceptable.

February 27. The anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic was celebrated on the 24th of this month. The religious part of the ceremony was in the church of the Madeleine.

The President of the Republic and the President of the National Assembly each moved off for the church, the former from the Palais Elysée, the latter from the Legislative Chamber, at a signal gun; so that each might arrive at the church and go in at the same time. I heard that the President of the Assembly determined to pursue this course, lest the President of the Republic should have intended to enter first, thinking it his duty to stand up for the dignity of the Assembly.

There has been a conflict of authority between the Executive and the Chamber, from which the latter came out disadvantageously. This may the more have determined the President of the Chamber not to yield precedence in going into the church. The conflict was

this. The President of the Republic and his Ministers urged upon the Chamber several measures of policy which they desired to see adopted. The Chamber refused to adopt them, leaving the Ministers in a minority on more than one occasion. One of the measures urged was no less important than that of dissolving the Assembly; the Ministers alleging that its great function was fulfilled in the formation of the Constitution, and that it was proper to have a new Assembly chosen in the manner definitely settled by the Constitution. The Chamber voted otherwise, not choosing to annihilate itself. The Ministers persisted. So did the Chamber. This brought on a constitutional conflict, the first which has arisen between the two authorities. The Chamber said the Ministers ought to resign under their defeats. The Ministers answered no. The President of the Republic represents the popular will as much as the Assembly, and embodies a more recent expression of it. The Ministers kept their places, the President refusing to dismiss them. The Assembly have since shown a more acquiescing spirit; and so things stand.

I wrote an account of this conflict to my Government on the 20th of this month, venturing to express the opinion that the Executive had the best of the argument; but that we might read in this first clash the future dangers of France under an elective and representative government with but a single Legislative Chamber.

March 13. Mr. Wikoff, of Philadelphia, called on me a few days ago, to request that I would present him to the Prince President. * What need of this, I ask? you have known the President longer than I have. I had read the account of the visit he paid the

latter at Ham when he was a State prisoner, and remembered the predictions it contained. He replied, that, having recently come to Paris, he would prefer, as a stranger and an American, to be reintroduced by the Minister of his country. I replied, that, although I had not been the first to suggest this, I thought he judged rightly. Accordingly, at the reception at the Palais Elysée, this evening, I presented him. In doing it, I had to watch the proper moment. The rooms were full. Others were being presented by the Foreign Ministers; and much of that ceremony was otherwise going on. I advanced nearer and nearer to where the Prince President stood, Mr. Wikoff keeping close to me. At length his turn came, and I was on the eve of doing my part, when the President, seeing who was with me, and directing his eye towards him, exclaimed, before I spoke, and in a tone of cordial recognition, Mr. Wikoff! It thus became unnecessary for me to mention his name first. He then took the latter by the hand and greeted him warmly. Mr. Wikoff bore himself becomingly under a recognition so complimentary, the incident having drawn attention from all near enough to witness it.

March 26. We go to an invited party at the Prince President's. It is not large, and a concert. The most celebrated performers and singers in Paris make up the music. So says to me a member of the Diplomatic Corps present.

The same gentleman, who has been long here and can discriminate people, whispers to me that among the ladies of the company he does not perceive a single one belonging to a Republican family. All were of the old régime; Legitimists, Orleanists, or Bonapartes. Thiers and Count Molé were there.

They might be seen in a room by themselves, talking together.

April 12. At a reception at the Palace Elysée this evening, I presented to the Prince President Mr. and Mrs. William R. Palmer, of Philadelphia. Also Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Stockton, of Washington. Mr. Stockton being of the U. S. Navy.

After presenting Mrs. Palmer, she shows me a miniature likeness of General Taylor, the newly elected President of the United States, executed on satin. I say to her that, with her permission, I will give it to the Prince President, as the likeness of a brave soldier. She consents; and I tell her that in offering it to his acceptance, I shall represent myself as her ambassador, commissioned by herself. I fulfil the honourable commission I am charged with. The Prince President receives the miniature, and most courteously requests me to thank the fair donor of whom he speaks very flatteringly.

April 25. I dined yesterday with my daughters, at the Palais Elysée Bourbon. The dinner was not a large one. The Diplomatic Corps were not there. Some of the President's friends and portions of his household formed the company. Colonel Edgar Ney, the name on which Marshal Ney has shed such high military renown; General Fabvier, and that devoted friend of the President throughout his adversity at Ham and elsewhere, Doctor Conneau,—these were present; with some of his own family, and others belonging to his establishment.

In receiving his guests, the Prince President gave his hand to all. The topics were familiar. He was courteously attentive to his company, and all the appearances of the dinner were in unison with the

palatial establishment. The servants, as they moved about the table in the old green livery, seemed to call up the shade of Napoleon, whose sword won the palace we were in; whose saloons, brilliant at one period under the glare cast upon everything by his conquests, beheld also the hand-writing on their walls.

June 8. We are at the Swedish Minister's to-night, invited with the Diplomatic Corps and others, to hear Jenny Lind sing. We understood she had declined singing on the stage in Paris, or elsewhere, publicly; but the Minister of her country, and his amiable consort, the Countess de Lowenhielm, induced her to come to their domicil and sing for the gratification of themselves and their friends invited to hear her. It was a treat to listen to this highly-gifted songstress under such circumstances.

June 16. An Insurrection has been attempted this week. The immediate cause of it was an alleged violation of the Constitution, in sending a French Army to Rome to put down the cause of Italian liberty. Hatred of democracy, say the Mountain party, which the Government scarcely conceals on the banks of the Seine, breaks out openly on the banks of the Tiber. The Government reply that the portion of the French Army at Rome under General Oudinot was sent there to protect Italian liberty against its enemies the ultras. Here is presented a disputed point. General Cavaignac, an avowed and uniform Republican, but reflecting and prudent withal, had himself sent troops to Rome, when Executive head of the Government, with the same object. The Mountain party raised an issue on this point, and preferred charges of impeachment in the Assembly against the Ministers, quoting the articles of the Constitution asserted to have been vio-

lated. The Ministers were sustained by a large vote, their *majority* being 350. The vote of the Mountain party was 195. Encouraged rather than daunted, the party asserted more strenuously that the Constitution was broken, and, by various signs and manifestoes, announced their intention of appealing to a battle in the streets against the Government. They raised imperfect barricades, and took steps for constructing more. They also met at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, to deliberate on further measures of resistance.

The President and his Ministers were awake to their proceedings. Immediately Paris was put in a state of siege—and, as it so turned out, by about the same majority in the Assembly which had rejected the charges of impeachment against the Ministers. The military power of the Government was drawn upon, and so energetically used by General Changarnier, now commander of the troops and National Guards of Paris, that the barricades were destroyed, the meeting at the “Conservatoire” broken up, and a “demonstration” of twenty thousand people, collected and moving in column in the region of the Church of the Madeleine, effectually dispersed by a few battalions of the troops and cavalry, without a battle, and with little or no bloodshed. Entire quiet was restored in a few hours.

By this prompt success, and his own proclamation to the people on the occasion, the Prince President appears to have gained with the conservative *Republicans*, in and out of the Assembly. General Cavaignac voted with them, and spoke briefly and well. So did Thiers; and the National Guard also went with the Government. The feeling appears to

be general in society that, whatever the merits of the question on this Italian policy pursued by the Government, a resort to force by the defeated party in the Chamber was, under all circumstances, wholly unjustifiable.

September 7. Returned last night, with my daughters, from a visit of three days to our friends the Lafayettes, at La Grange, department of Seine-and-Marne.

While away, we were at Fontainebleau. We visited its Palace, saw all its curiosities, and the gardens. We also walked through parts of the forest close by, so well known to Royalty in French history. In seeking out some of the majestic old oaks and other curiosities of the forest, we might have been lost among its intersecting roads and paths, but for a peasant guide we had, who also piloted us to a limpid rivulet among rocks, where we were refreshed with cool water from a shaded spring.

Nothing could exceed the friendliness of our welcome at La Grange. The very name of that place is dear to Americans. We associate it with Mount Vernon, the home of Washington; to whom General Lafayette seemed as a son; his youthful and chivalrous sword having first been drawn in our Revolutionary War under the auspices of our great chief. The present head of the family is Mr. George Lafayette, only son of the General, whose name has been more than once mentioned in these notes, and always in the affectionate spirit I ever desire to cherish towards himself and that family. His consort, the venerated Madame Lafayette, still lives as the mistress at La Grange. The sons and daughters and daughter-in-law under the roof, while

we were there, give to the guests of that revered home the beau ideal of ancient gentry in retirement, dispensing hospitality in ways as cordial as refined. The building is of the fifteenth century, castellated in appearance, standing amidst the shade of old trees, and with ivy on its walls. Their carriage was in waiting for us at the last station; and when we arrived at the house, in the evening of a fine autumnal day, the head of the family, and other members of it, were already at the portal, and received us, as we alighted, with a kindly warmth and grace we can never forget. The attentions we had during our whole stay were in harmony with our first reception; and we took our leave of their hospitable mansion and family circle never to think of our visit but with pleasurable and grateful recollections.

1849.

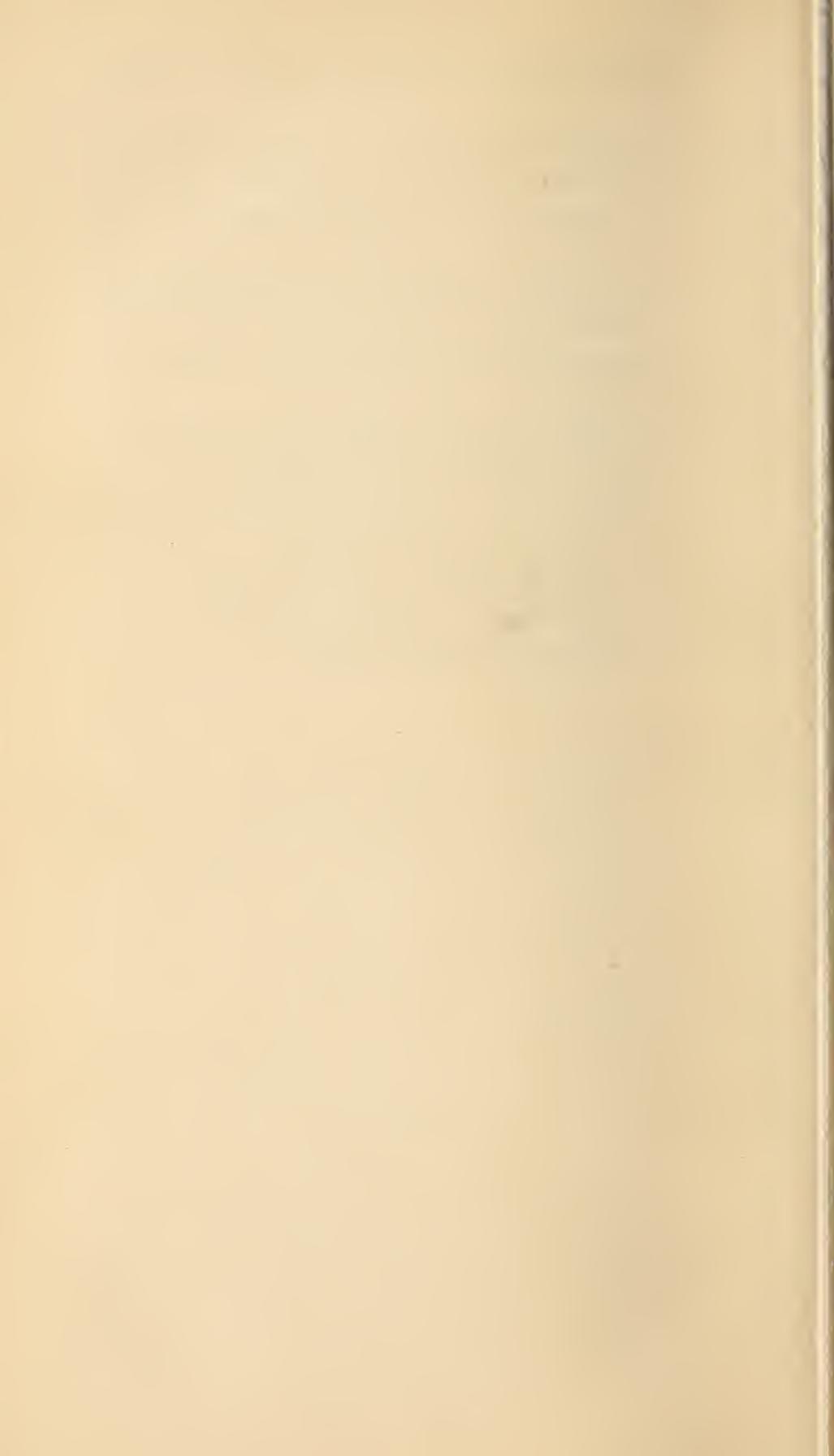
October 8. My mission having come to a close, and now desiring to embark on my return voyage by way of England before winter sets in, I wait on M. de Tocqueville, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, to tell him so. He had previously furnished me with friendly passports, and attended to every thing else to be done for a returning Minister, on learning from me that my successor had arrived. He had also, at my request, arranged it with the President of the Republic, that my audience of leave should take place to-day at three o'clock, at the Palais Elysée. I went there in my carriage at that hour.

In delivering my letter of recall, I said, in the words of the Secretary of State, that the President desired to see the relations between the United States and France placed on the footing best calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the most amicable inter-

course between the two countries. The President of the Republic reciprocated these sentiments very cordially; which terminated the official part of the ceremony.

The Secretary's last despatch to me stated that the President (General Taylor) had directed him to say that he was not uninformed of my services as Minister to France.

As I finally took my leave of the Prince President, he used obliging expressions in reference to my approaching departure, as M. de Tocqueville had previously done. He requested I would present his compliments to my daughters, with his regrets that our early departure would prevent his seeing us as often as he would otherwise have done.



FROM A SKETCH

OF THE

CHARACTER OF MR. CANNING.

BY THE AUTHOR.

[The name of MR. CANNING having occurred frequently in the foregoing pages, it has been determined to insert here, rather than among the notes in the body of the Volume, something further in reference to that celebrated man, of whom the Author had a very high opinion. On the day that the intelligence of Mr. Canning's death, in 1827, reached Washington, the Author, then a member of the Cabinet of President Adams, was requested by the Editors of the Government Paper, at that time the "National Intelligencer," to draw up a notice of the event, for which it was supposed he might have had good opportunities. He immediately did so, and the article appeared the next day, editorially, in the columns of that Journal. It was afterwards republished in pamphlet form, entitled "Sketch of the Character of Mr. Canning," and extensively circulated.

Among the Author's "Occasional Productions," referred to in the Addendum to the Preface to this Volume, this "Sketch" was included, and it has been thought that English readers, to whom it will be new, might now take an interest in it, Mr. Canning's name and fame occupying so large a space in English history. Accordingly the concluding portion of the Sketch will be found annexed.]

CHARACTER OF MR. CANNING.

WITH all our admiration of the mental powers of Mr. Canning, whether as inherited from nature, or carried to their highest pitch by culture and discipline; whether we marked their efforts when brought to the most momentous trials, or only gazed at them when they dazzled in lighter ones, truth compels us to state, that he was never the political friend of this country. He was a Briton, through and through;—British in his feelings, British in his aims, British in all his policy and projects. It made no difference whether the lever that was to raise them was fixed at home or abroad; for he was always and equally British. The influence, the grandeur, the dominion of Britain, were the dream of his boyhood. To establish these all over the globe, even in the remote region where the waters of the Columbia flow in solitude, formed the intense effort of his riper years. For this he valued power; for this he used it. Greece he may almost be said to have left to her melancholy fortunes, though so much alive to all the touching recollections and beauties of that devoted land, because the question of her escape from a thralldom, so long, so bitter, so unchristian, was a Turkish and European, not a British, question. If involuntarily hurried, for a moment, into the highest strains of even poetry and enthusiasm, at the thoughts of those classic shrines at which he had so often worshipped, the dictates of the British statesman called him back from his intellectual and moral transports,

making him careful in his steps. For Britain's sake, *exclusively*, he took the determination to counteract France, and the Continent, in Spanish America. So, for Britain's sake, he invariably watched, and was as invariably for counteracting, the United States.

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But we will stop. Mr. Canning's name belongs to history, and we are presuming to touch it whilst the shock of his death still rings in our ears. To departed genius reverence is due. Britain has entombed him side by side with her most illustrious sons, and will raise monuments to his exertions to extend her power and elevate her renown. Those who knew this highly gifted man more nearly, testify, that his intercourse in the relations of private and social life was as attractive, as his public career was brilliant and commanding. He was, indeed, the grace and ornament of a society refined by age, by education, and by wealth; ascendant in the highest literary circles, and adding dignity to those of rank. He was amiable in his family, devoted to his friends, magnanimous among his foes. That his career has been as brief as brilliant, does but tell us how fleeting are human hopes! He had ascended to the pinnacle of all his earthly ambition—only to die.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

8TH OF AUGUST, 1859.



BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

“At a stated meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held on Monday evening, the 8th of August, 1859, Judge Cadwalader occupied the chair. It being announced that, since the last meeting of the Society, one of its oldest and most honoured members, Richard Rush, had died, the Librarian stated that he had received from Mr. Henry D. Gilpin, one of the Vice-Presidents, (late Attorney-General of the United States), whose ill health prevented his attendance, a paper expressing his deep emotion occasioned by the occurrence just announced, and containing some remarks which he would have desired to make if present.

“In the language of Mr. Gilpin, in this paper:—

“Never since he had been connected with the Society, had it fallen to his lot to mourn with more sincere distress the loss of a fellow-member. Yet the event should not be regarded as a cause of sorrow; he had but passed the inevitable portal, to which we are all tending, after a long life of unsullied probity, great public usefulness, the cultivation and enjoyment of refined literary tastes, and a deportment sincere, generous and urbane in every social relation. Still, we feel that a link has been struck from the chain of grateful association.

“For myself, I do not approach the subject without feelings which are independent of his merit, in the light of which the world and history will judge him. For me a long vista is closed of generous friendship; of stores of knowledge poured out; of manly truths, mildly but resolutely communicated; of a social nature ever genial, and a hospitality simple, but ever generous. By those who enjoyed the

twenty years of his intercourse at Sydenham, can its charms ever be forgotten? Can they fail to recall the feast of reason and the flow of soul, by which a refined nature doubles every charm of friendship? I recall the ancestral home, shaded by its ancient trees, and remember how books and works of art adorned them, and especially the memorial gifts of friends, which added peculiar objects of association.

“The step and bannister brought from Milton’s house and inserted in his own staircase; volumes with some kindly notice from Rogers or Campbell, or Hallam or Lyttleton; the pictures of statesmen and men of letters, both in England and in France, with tokens of their regard; all these seemed justly to augment his natural desire to linger to the last in the homestead which he had inherited, until the progress of the vast encroaching city took from it the last vestige of rural tranquillity. There must be many of those here assembled who can remember his venerable figure, as the summer evening closed, standing upon the last step of the portico, to wave them his courteous adieu—the words of his conversation lingering on the ear of his retiring guest, as the wise and mild lessons of the aged Nestor dwelt in the heart of the parting Telemachus.

“The life of Richard Rush must be nearly the history of his country for half a century, for perhaps no American citizen has ever been so constantly engaged in its public events. In early life he studied law in Philadelphia, where he commenced, and for a time pursued, its practice. For several months he was attorney-general of the State. His marriage, however, to a lady of Maryland, many of whose connexions resided in Washington, and the eye of President Madison having been fixed upon him, as a young man whose talents and personal qualities would make him both acceptable and useful to his administration, in the troublesome times which were at hand, led to his removal to that city, at the instance of the President, in the year 1811. He was appointed Controller of the Treasury, an office which, as then organized, largely required the exercise of legal talents.

“In 1814 he was called by Mr. Madison into his cabinet, succeeding Mr. Pinckney in the post of Attorney-General of

the United States, the President having offered him the choice of this office or that of Secretary of the Treasury. He continued to hold it until the close of Mr. Madison's administration.

"The other office, that of Secretary of the Treasury, he subsequently filled during the administration of President Adams. In all the business of that office he proved himself to be an able administrator. His opinions upon the great financial question of the day, leading to a policy of protective duties, and his judgment in favour of it, were advocated with much ability. The question is one scarcely yet withdrawn from the disputed topics of governmental policy, either in this country or in Europe. He urged his convictions with candour, and did not shrink from their avowal at any period, even when they became subjects of partisan and vehement discussion. However correct or incorrect we may ourselves deem them to be, it is not to be denied that he found supporters of his views on this subject in some of the ablest American statesmen.

"The most continuous portion, however, of Mr. Rush's public life was his representation of America as her Minister in England and France. The former post he held for eight years, the latter for two.*

"It fell to his lot to take a leading part in some of the questions which subsequently proved to be of great national importance. In these measures he was aided by the great ability of the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams. Without attempting to trace, or even narrate, these measures, which is the work of history, it should not be forgotten that he pressed with incessant activity the rights of the United States upon the Northwest coast of America; and that his minute historical researches, as well as able arguments, disclosed most, if not all, the points of controversy upon which that angry question subsequently turned.

* Mr. Rush was appointed to the English Mission by President Monroe, in 1817, at the age of thirty-seven, having been for the previous six months his acting Secretary of State; to the French Mission he was appointed by President Polk, in 1847.

“It is no longer a question of doubt that, after the close of the great wars of Europe, some of its most powerful sovereigns, who were united in the so-called Holy Alliance, entertained views of interference on the American continent, the character of which, never completely developed, would necessarily partake of the spirit and aims of that alliance. This disclosed itself to the sagacity of Mr. Canning while Mr. Rush was in London. His views were communicated to Mr. Rush, and their negotiations became the basis of that quiet, but decisive, expression of the American Government, without which the conduct of some of the European Governments would, in all probability, have led to consequences disastrous in American history.

“Without investigating the inferences, in regard to the policy of the United States, which, in subsequent political controversies, have been deduced from the language of President Monroe, and without expressing an opinion as to their applicability to subsequent events, which may or may not be similar—for this would be entering on the province of the historian—it must be admitted that the measure itself, adopted at the time and in the manner in which it was, has scarcely been surpassed in importance in the foreign policy of the United States. In its conduct, Mr. Rush displayed throughout great ability, discretion, vigilance, and tact. These qualities, indeed, marked in a high degree his whole diplomatic career in England.

“Though his services as Minister in France occupied a much shorter period, yet his residence in Paris embraced a portion of the reign of Louis Philippe, the whole of the Republic, and part of the government of Louis Napoleon as its President. Notwithstanding his personal relations with the former sovereign, he did not hesitate in his duty, as the representative of America, and, without awaiting the course of the representatives of other countries, to recognize, as far as it was in his power, the free government, established by the French people. Although such an emergency could not have been anticipated by his instructions, he rightly judged the feelings and sentiments of his govern-

ment and countrymen. His diplomatic conduct through the erratic course of events in France, which succeeded each other in quick succession, was marked, in each emergency, by the ability, promptness, resolution, and judgment, which characterized his first important movement; and when he retired from his mission, and with it from active public service, he returned to the United States with increased distinction and untarnished honour.

“One feature remains to be noticed. His literary ability was superior. He loved habitually the best English authors. He was careful in the formation of his style. His mind was richly stored, perhaps beyond any of his contemporaries, with the minute history of the men and times among whom he lived. His estimate of individual character was less obscured by prejudice, than is usual among politicians who lived through stormy times. If he could ever err in accuracy in regard to events, it was from no want of an anxious search for truth, which he possessed excellent opportunities to ascertain. In his opinions on public measures, it would be vain to say that all his judgments could be right; but they were always conscientious.”

“After some appropriate remarks from the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the memoir of Mr. Gilpin, be entered on the records, with an expression of the Society’s deep regret at the loss of their venerable and distinguished member.”

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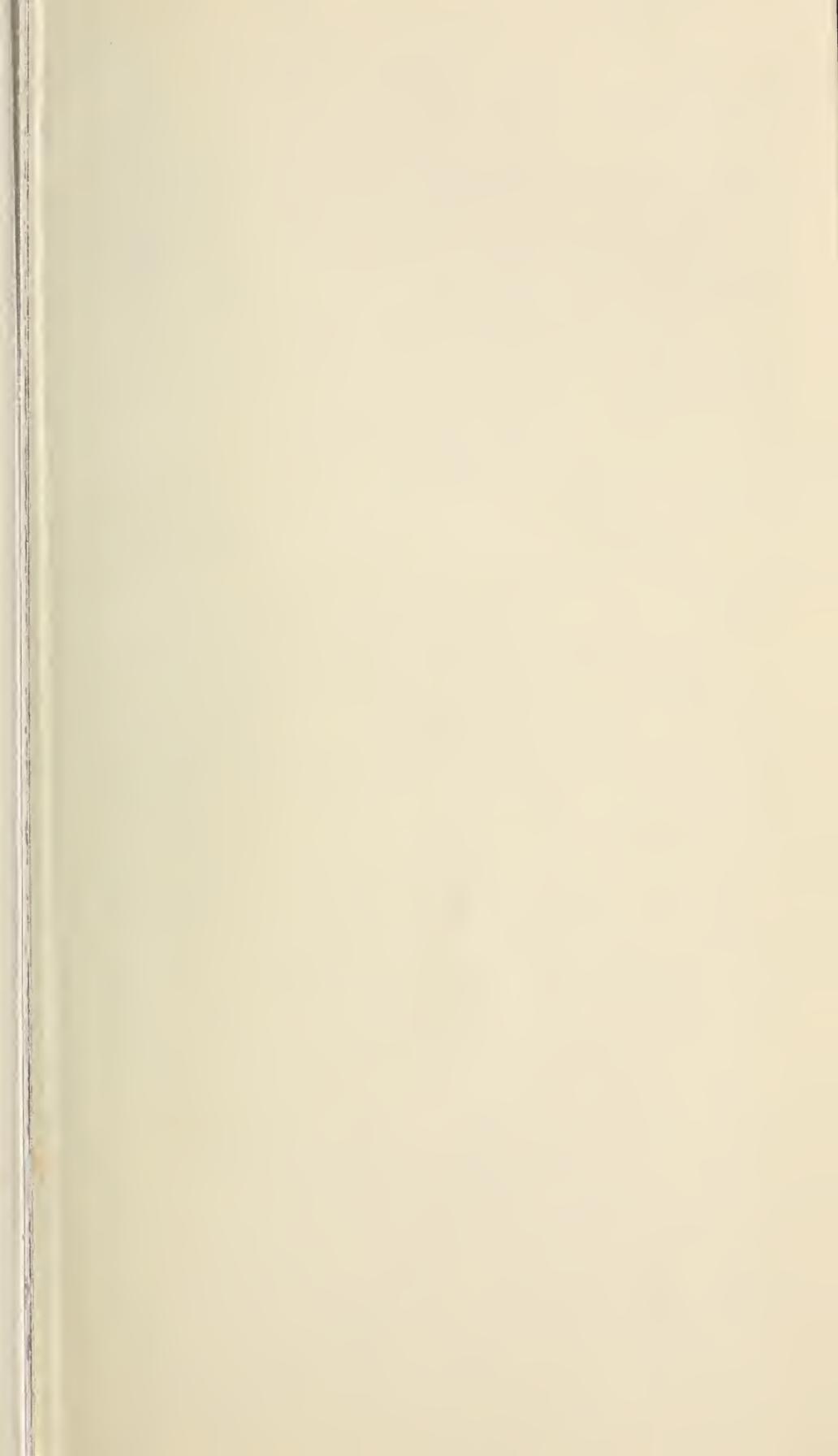
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