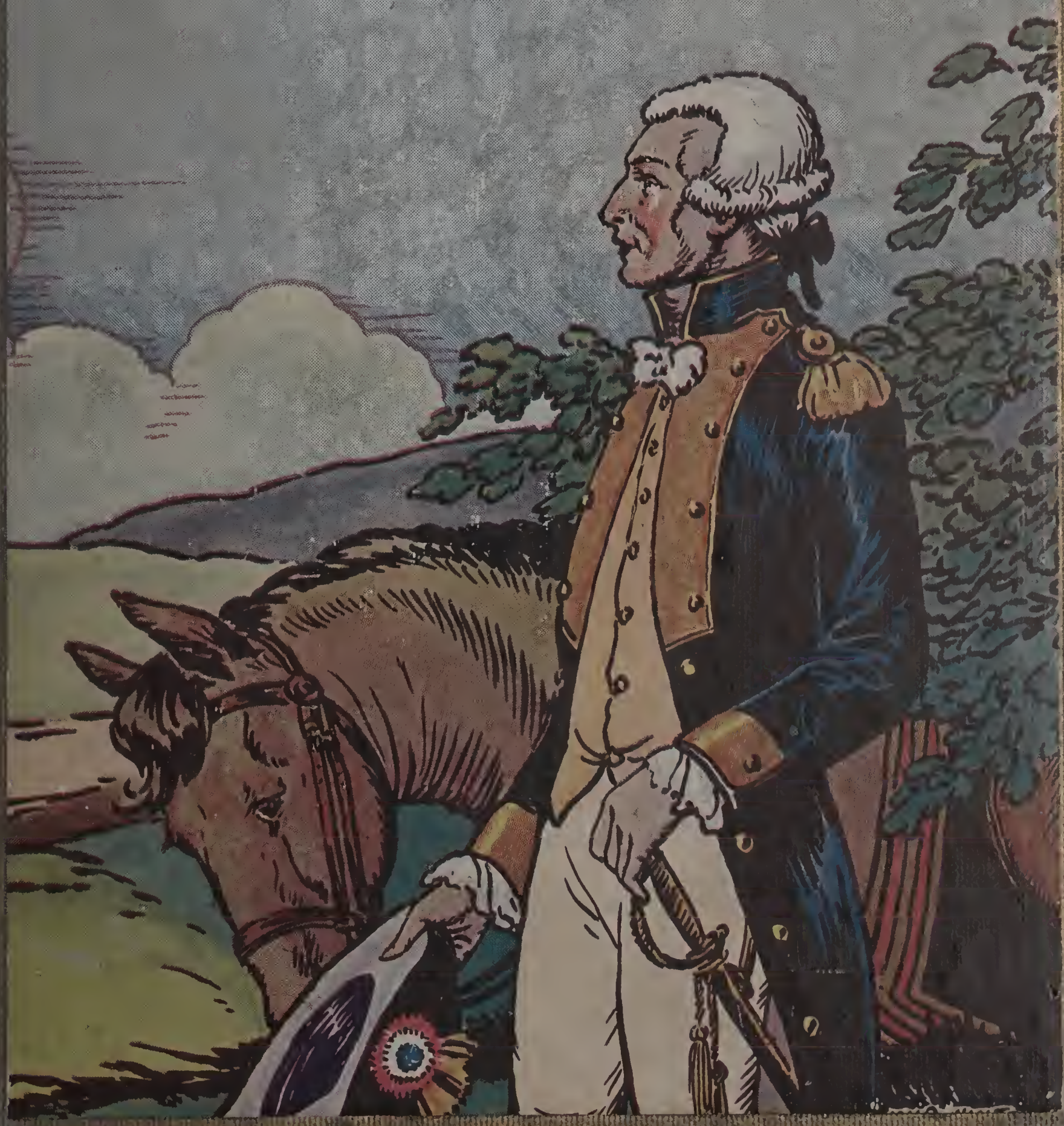
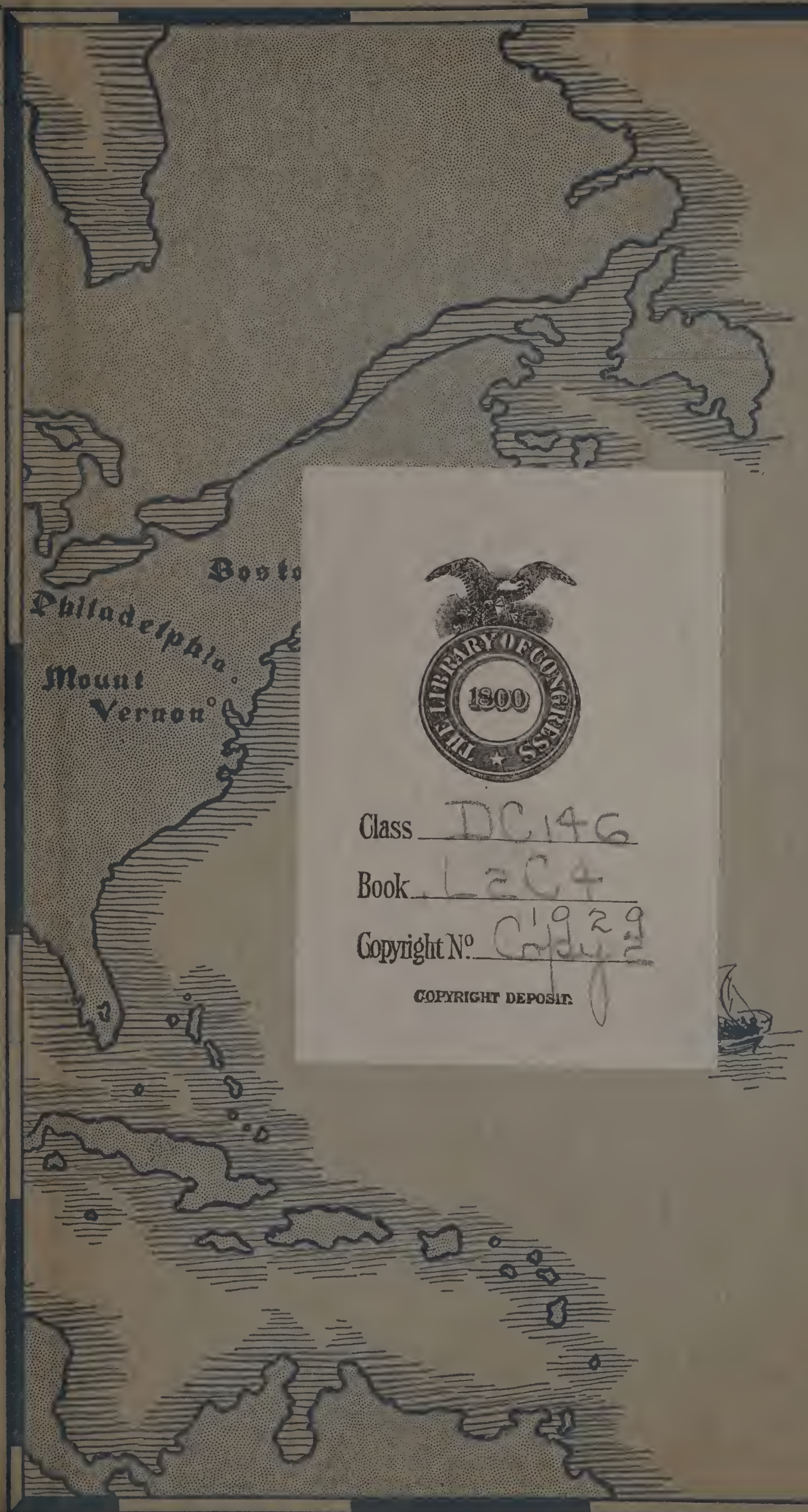
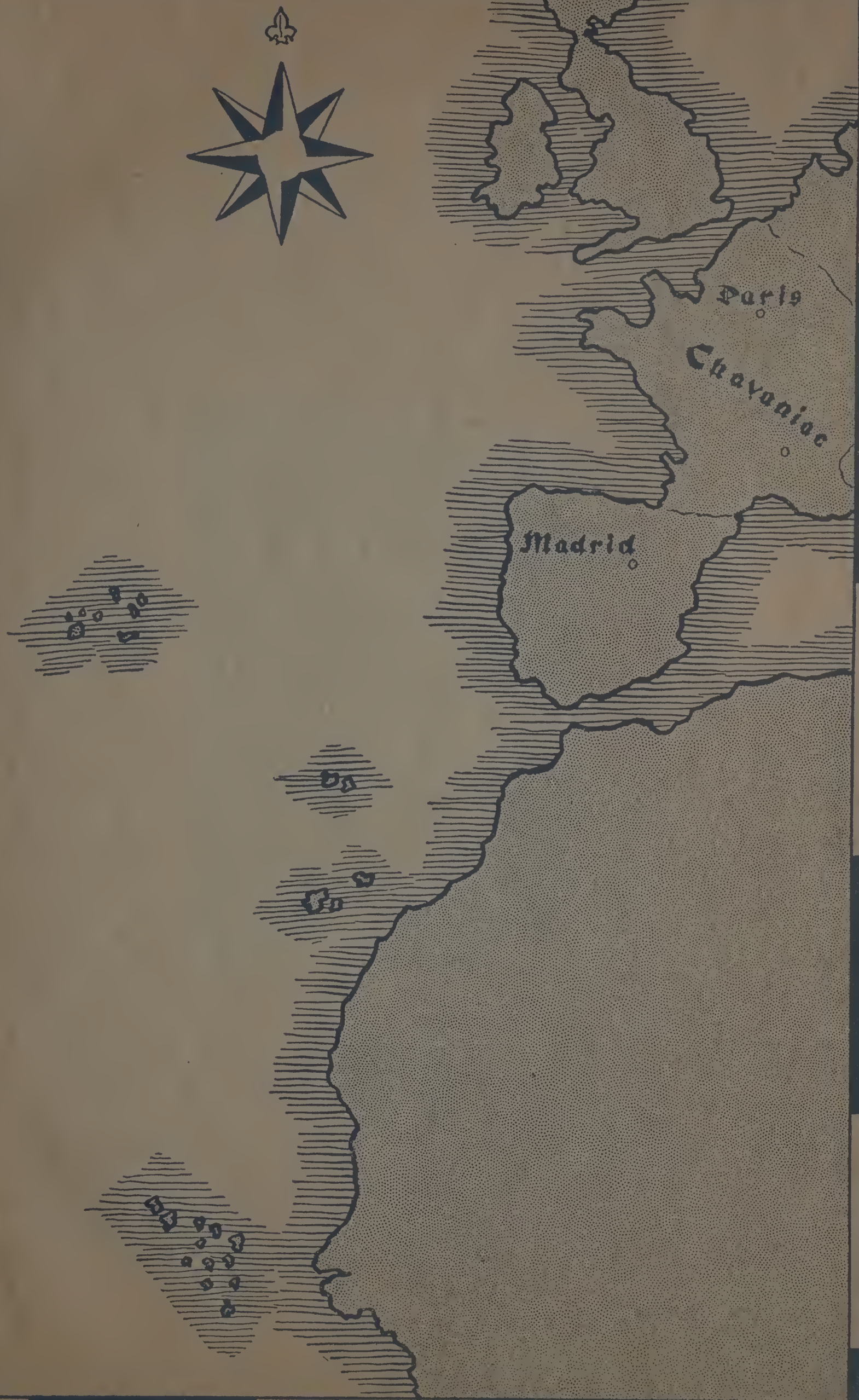
Adventures of LAFAYETTE

BY · E · CECIL






Paris
Madrid

Adventures of Lafayette

LAFAYETTE.

ADVENTURES OF LAFAYETTE

BY E. CECIL

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New Edition

ADVENTURES OF LAFAYETTE

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Whenever one pauses to consider the period in early American history when the vigorous, manly figure of Lafayette made its appearance, one readily appreciates how clearly he belonged to that era of turmoil within France herself, of pioneering in the United States, of constant flux of political situations both in France and in the newly-formed states on the Atlantic Seaboard. One realizes too the gratitude on the part of these states for the interest this young Frenchman showed in the fledgling country of the New World, and the moral strengthening it received from intercourse between the two nations with Lafayette as the welding and combining force.

He earned as a national figure in his own country and as a beloved visitor in ours, a reputation for warm-hearted interest in individuals as well as states and nations. His friendship with Washington claims our affection, his loyalty to him over a long period of years, our admiration, his earnestness and zeal in matters of politics our great respect. The first voyage to America was a bold, ad-

venturous move, typical of his great fearlessness of mind. He was so impressed with the struggle the colonies were making for the establishment of freedom both individually and as a group, that he felt he must become acquainted with this situation. In fact, this love of freedom was the fundamental motivating force of his entire life, giving him always a large and enthusiastic following. It carried him across the sea to America. it led him to offer his services to Congress to fight with the American troops. It led him back to France to give her Liberty, it dominated him through the stormy period of the French Revolution. It sustained him as a prisoner at Olmutz. It guided him in his contacts with Louis the Sixteenth and Napoleon Bonaparte on his return from the United States in October, 1825, the occasion of his second visit; and it made him an even greater hero than when he returned as a young Major-General at twenty one from the War of the Revolution.

"Adventures of Lafayette"—a book whose merit is unquestionable and whose historical background is accurate, will reach all young people, the mass of whom cannot help but gain immeasurably by acquaintance with a

remarkable international figure. One of the happy results bound to develop is that child readers will learn to know Lafayette as a man of ideals both toward his family and his friends. They will become acquainted with him as a soldier and statesman, and in the larger role of leader in politics, as a true politician; for such was his position in his time, a student and participator in the art and science of government.

Both young and old will find that their innate love of and need for a hero will be satisfied by their knowledge and familiarity with the Marquis de Lafayette. They will draw as much inspiration from him as did his contemporaries and followers both in France and America during his long lifetime, always recalling him as one of the greatest exponents and champions of Liberty. They will be ready to understand and appreciate why his reputation has endured for over a century and why it will continue to live on wherever great leaders find their well-earned place in the march of history.

Eleanor Gould

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	7
Escape From France	15
A First Battle	27
A New Command	45
The Two Alliances	65
Active Operations	77
Success the Reward of Patience	89
France as It Was	99
Changes	109
Liberty in October	125
Doubts	137
A Lamentable Flight	149
Trouble at Home and Abroad	162
Exile	175
The Family at Olmutz	189
France Much Changed	202
A New King of France	211
Visit to the United States	218
A Happy Home	232
The Old Soldier	246


NELSON WHITE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Frontispiece—Lafayette 4

Landing of General Lafayette at Castle Garden, New York, 16th of August, 1842..... 14

At length he asked permission to go where he saw the fight was hottest 29

With great quickness and with the best judgment, he rearranged the troops, and the Americans gained a decided advantage 55

The French fleet arrived at the appointed time..... 73

On the 19th the army of Lord Cornwallis laid down their arms 93

On the 14th of July an armed crowd of volunteers attacked the Bastille 115

The strange procession that set out at one o'clock.....133

On the 20th of June the king and his family escaped from the Tuileries 151

The little party had only reached Rochefort when they were stopped 177

Lafayette must have felt the most intense delight when he saw his wife enter his cell.....191

The laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument..229

Lafayette gave him a tricolor flag, and led him to one of the windows 241

Landing of General Lafayette at Castle Garden, New York, 16th of August, 1824

ADVENTURES OF LAFAYETTE

ESCAPE FROM FRANCE

At the castle of Chavaniac, in the province of Auvergne which lies between the centre and the south of France, Lafayette was born on the 7th of September, 1757. His family had long been distinguished for courage and high spirit, and he inherited the rank of Marquis. His names were Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roch-Ives-Gilbert de Motier; but he seems never to have been called by or to have signed any of them.

Little is known of his childhood. He never saw his father, who was killed at the battle of Minden, and his excellent mother died when he was eleven years old. He was at first educated in the country among his relations,

then sent at the age of eleven to a college in Paris, and afterwards to the Academy of Versailles; but his studies must have come to an end early in life, as he was married at sixteen to his cousin, Mademoiselle Francoise Adrienne de Noailles.

Probably, if his parents had been living, they would not have allowed so youthful a marriage; but, in spite of its imprudence, all ended happily for both parties. Madame de Lafayette was descended, like her husband, from a noble family, and had many charming and admirable qualities. They loved each other devotedly, and shared both pleasures and cares.

From the time when he was a mere child, Lafayette recollected loving everything that was free. He liked high-spirited animals, and hoped to meet a hyena which had done some mischief in the neighborhood of his home; at school he was very unwilling to be forced to do anything,—he would work industriously, but could not bear the idea of any constraint. He liked to read and think of free nations, and managed to avoid a place at court which his wife's family were very anxious to secure for him.

On his first appearance in the distinguished society which he went into on ac-

count of his own and his wife's connections, he did not make a particularly favorable impression. He was observing and rather silent; he did not enjoy the conversation he heard, and was thought very cold. He never could adopt what were called "the graces of the court,"—a kind of manner which was never seen in this country, and probably never will be.

He went into the army, as almost all young men of rank did at that time in France.

Lafayette was but nineteen years old when he first heard of the Revolutionary war in America. He was stationed at Metz on military duty, when the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King of England, happened to come there. At a dinner given in honor of him, the conversation turned upon the rebellion of the colonies, and the king's determination to crush it. The idea of a nation fighting for freedom at once interested him; they were *doing* what he had read of and dreamed of. He asked questions, and from the Duke's own account was disposed to believe that the Americans were in the right. Before he left the table, he thought how much he should like to go over to the United States, and give whatever help he could in so noble a cause. For several days this idea was constantly in

his mind; he could not forget what he had heard, and dwelt upon it until he positively longed to be on his way.

He went to Paris, and spoke of his wishes to a few persons; two of his young friends shared his enthusiasm, and would gladly have joined him, but were forbidden by their families. Lafayette had a fortune of his own, but he knew that all his own and his wife's relations would oppose him. He also foresaw that the government might put some difficulties in his way, and he took for a motto, at this time, the Latin words, "cur non?" (why not?) One old friend of the family refused even to give him any advice, and said to him, "I have seen your uncle die in the wars of Italy, I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden, and I will not be accessary * to the ruin of the only remaining branch of the family." Lafayette remained, however, perfectly bent upon the undertaking, and made the acquaintance of Mr. Silas Deane, a commissioner from the United States, by whom of course he was cordially received, for his rank and connections with the court would make his going to America an important event. Several other French officers wanted to go at this time, and Mr. Deane was trying

* To be accessary is to help in any way, by word or act.

to get a ship in which he could send them and some guns which he had bought for the United States army, when bad news reached Paris. The campaign * of 1776 had been unsuccessful for the Americans; Washington, with a very small army, had been compelled to retreat from New York through New Jersey. In Europe all hope was at once given up; the friends of America expected soon to see the power of Great Britain triumph over her feeble colonies. The Americans in Paris were extremely discouraged, and Mr. Deane told Lafayette the whole truth, advising him not to attempt to sail. Lafayette thanked him for his frankness, but said immediately, "Until now, sir, you have seen only my ardor in the cause, and that may not at present prove wholly useless. I shall purchase a ship to carry out your officers; we must feel confidence in the future, and it is especially in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortune."

It was now impossible for Mr. Deane to obtain a ship; Lafayette, therefore, bought one at Bordeaux, and had her fitted up for fighting, in case they should meet an enemy at sea. The preparations went on with perfect secrecy, and he did not yet venture to

* A single season of fighting, usually one summer.

tell any of his family what he was doing.

Just before he was ready to sail, he was obliged to go over to England, as he had promised to spend a few weeks there, and was afraid of exciting suspicions if he refused. He received a great deal of attention in London, and quite enjoyed the joke of dancing at the house of a general who had just returned from New York, and whom he afterwards came near meeting in a very different scene. He was careful, however, to refuse invitations to visit the ships of war, and not to see any of the preparations made against *the rebels*. He did not think it honorable to gain knowledge as a friend which he might be tempted to use as an enemy. But he openly expressed his sympathy with the Americans. On his return, he spent but a few days in Paris, and went to Bordeaux, hoping to sail immediately; but he found that his plans had become known to the government, and he was forbidden to go to America and ordered to go to Marseilles. He got his ship safely out of the harbor, and then went back himself and sent several letters to Paris; he wrote to the French ministers, * and to his

* Persons who manage the business of a government, as the Minister of War, who attends to everything about the army, the Minister of the Marine, who controls all the ships, etc.

family and friends, whose regrets and reproaches distressed him. Still he was perfectly firm in his decision and, as no answer came from the government during the next few days, he determined to take his own course.

He set off with another young officer on the road to Marseilles, but after travelling a little distance disguised himself as a courier, * and rode back before the carriage. He had gone in safety about half the way, when a young girl, a postmaster's daughter, recognized in the pretended servant the Marquis de Lafayette, whom she had seen near Bordeaux. He made a sign to her not to betray him, and she not only kept silence herself, but prevented other people from suspecting who the courier really was.

At last, on the 26th of April, 1777, Lafayette set sail for America. But his adventures were not over. The captain of the ship insisted upon stopping at the West India islands, which Lafayette was equally resolute not to do. After some time, he found out that the captain was anxious about a cargo he had on board, and promised that he should lose nothing by taking him directly to America.

* A courier makes arrangements for people who travel in a carriage, or now-a-days in the cars. He provides fresh horses, engages rooms at hotels, and used to ride on the coach.

The French government had, as he suspected, sent orders for his arrest to these isles, and if he had stopped there his voyage would have proved a long one.

Every ship of war they met gave them a great fright, for they could have made but a poor resistance had they been attacked. After Lafayette recovered from sea-sickness, he employed himself in studying the English language and the art of war. And so seven weeks of discomfort, doubts, and hopes passed, and he landed in June at Georgetown, South Carolina. As his foot touched American ground, he resolved in his heart to conquer or perish in that cause which was so dear to him. He landed at night at Major Huger's. * The family at first supposed he and his companions came from one of the enemy's ships, but, on finding that they were French officers, received them with the greatest hospitality.

The next morning Lafayette was delighted with the prospect from his windows and the beauty of the weather, while the house and the black servants coming to wait on him made him feel that he was in a strange, new world. He went immediately to

* Pronounced Yougee.

Charleston, and wrote to his wife that it was "one of the best-built, handsomest, and most agreeable cities" that he had ever seen. "The American women," he says, "are very pretty, and have great simplicity of character, and the extreme neatness of their appearance is truly delightful; cleanliness is everywhere even more attended to here than in England. What gives me most pleasure is to see how completely the citizens are all brethren of one family." . . . "The inns are very different from those of Europe; the host and hostess sit at table with you, and do the honors of a comfortable meal. If you should dislike going to inns, you may always find country houses in which you will be received as a good American, with the same attention that you might expect in a friend's house in Europe. My own reception has been particularly agreeable. I have just passed five hours at a dinner given in compliment to me by an individual of this town. We drank each other's healths, and endeavored to talk English, which I am beginning to speak a little." . . . "The night is far advanced, the heat intense, and I am devoured by mosquitos; but the best countries, as you perceive, have their inconveniences."

Lafayette very soon went on to Philadelphia, to offer his services to Congress. He was at first received with a little coolness, which, however, did not disturb him much, as he was reasonable enough to see the cause of it. Congress was at this time beset every day by foreign officers eager for high rank in the Continental * army. That army was so small that it was impossible to find places for all the foreigners and keep any American officers at all; and the natives, who had borne the hardships of the first two years of the war, were extremely disgusted when European officers were put above them in rank. At the same time, the foreigners were dissatisfied with low places, because they said they had "seen service" abroad. Mr. Deane, in Paris, was apt to encourage Frenchmen to come over, thinking that their experience would be valuable to so young an army; but the numbers that flocked here were a sore trial to General Washington.

Lafayette, not discouraged by the backwardness of Congress to give him an appointment, sent in by one of the members this little note: "After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to exact two favors: one is, to serve at my own expense,—the other, to

* This was the first name of the American army.

serve as a volunteer." * This style so different from that of the gentlemen who demanded high rank and high pay, pleased Congress; the letters he brought were immediately examined, and he was appointed a Major-General. He did what he could for the officers who had come in the same ship with him.

While he was in Philadelphia, at a public dinner Lafayette saw General Washington for the first time. He immediately distinguished him, among many officers, by his majestic figure and dignified manner. Washington was then forty-five years old, and in look and bearing exactly what one would wish to see a Commander-in-Chief. Lafayette was no less charmed with his cordiality than with his appearance. He expressed much interest in the young Marquis, and invited him to make his headquarters his home, saying, with a smile, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, but that doubtless he would cheerfully bear the privations of an American soldier.

The army was then stationed near Philadelphia. Lafayette says of his first sight of

* A volunteer is a person attached to the army by his own request. He receives neither rank nor pay, and may join any general he prefers.

it: "About eleven thousand men, ill-armed and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle; their clothes were parti-colored, and many of them were almost naked; the best clad wore hunting-shirts,—large gray linen coats, which were much used in Carolina." General Washington said to him, "We ought to feel embarrassed in exhibiting ourselves before an officer who has just left French troops." "It is to learn, and not to teach, that I come here," replied the Marquis; and this pleasant, modest answer made him very popular.

He had every reason to be satisfied with his reception. In the Commander-in-Chief he soon found a true friend; the soldiers were quite ready to admire him; and throughout the country great interest was felt in this enthusiastic young Frenchman, who had left his country, his home, his wife and friends, and all the pleasures he might have enjoyed at the French court, for the sake of joining the army of the United States; or, rather, for the sake of helping with his sword a people determined to be free. Lafayette took great pains to learn to speak and write English, and in every way to feel and think as an American.

A FIRST BATTLE

Lafayette arrived at a time of great uncertainty in the military movements. Sir William Howe had sailed from New York with his army, and no one knew where he was going. The American army was waiting near Philadelphia, ready to march to any place at which he might reappear. After many days of suspense, the ships were seen coming up Chesapeake Bay, approaching Philadelphia in a round-about manner. The Americans, although they were not in a very good condition for fighting, immediately marched to meet the enemy. The troops were new recruits,* not well drilled, but spirited and eager for an action. In fact, the whole country was then impatient to have a

* Men who have joined an army, but have never been soldiers before.

regular battle fought; people at a distance did not understand how poor the army was, and grew tired of General Washington's prudence and caution, which were in truth caused by necessity, and not at all agreeable to his disposition. It was fortunate for the Americans that Sir William Howe had wasted so much of the summer before opening the campaign.

General Washington made some opposition to the landing of the British, and the battle of the Brandywine, * the first in which Lafayette was engaged, took place on the 11th of September. At first, success seemed to be with the Americans, but the firing was not very heavy; Lord Cornwallis, in the meantime, by marching seventeen miles, brought his troops up behind the Americans, and so separated parts of the army. The generals were not informed of this manoeuvre † in time to make the best arrangements to receive him; and, though the young American troops at first behaved with spirit, in the course of the day they gave way before the superior discipline of the British.

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*A river in Pennsylvania which flows into the Delaware.

†A change of position in a company, regiment, or larger division.

At length he asked permission to go where he saw the fight was hottest.

Lafayette as a volunteer remained for some time with the Commander-in-chief; at length he asked permission to go where he saw the fight was hottest. In the midst of great confusion, he was rallying the troops, when a ball wounded him in the leg. General Washington brought up some fresh soldiers, and Lafayette was preparing to join him, when loss of blood obliged him to stop and have his wound bandaged; he had not cared for the pain, but he could not afford to faint on horseback. As it was, he was in great danger of being taken prisoner.

Night came on, and nothing more could be done. Men, cannon, wagons, baggage crowded along the road from Chad's Ford to Chester, about twelve miles distant. At Chester Lafayette made a great effort to stop this hurried and confused retreat. The Commander-in-chief and the other Generals arrived at the same place, and the remains of the army passed there the sorrowful night after the battle. At last Lafayette had time to have his wound dressed.

The people of Philadelphia heard the firing, although the field of battle was twenty-six miles from the city. The defeat of the army was a terrible blow to the Whigs; *

* Those who were opposed to Great Britain.

whole families left their homes, expecting that the British would occupy the city during the winter. Congress sought a safer place of meeting at Yorktown, among the mountains.

Lafayette was at first taken by water to Philadelphia, where he received the kindest attentions from some of the citizens who were not too much occupied with fears for their own safety to care for a stranger; but it was of course no place for him when his friends were flying, and he was removed to Bethlehem, where the Moravians * took good care of him, and his wound gradually healed. He wrote to his wife that his wound was but a trifle. "The surgeons are astonished at the rapidity with which it heals; they are in an ecstasy of joy each time they dress it, and pretend it is the finest thing in the world. For my part, I think it most disagreeable, painful, and wearisome; but tastes often differ. If a man, however, wished to be wounded for his amusement only, he should come and examine how I have been struck, that he might be struck in precisely the same manner. This, my dearest love, is what I

* A community who live together somewhat as Shakers do, and during the war often took care of the wounded. They are called Moravians because the sect was first formed in Moravia.

pompously style my wound, to give myself airs, and render myself interesting.

"I must now give you your lesson as wife of an American general officer. They will say to you, 'They have been beaten.' You must answer, 'That is true; but when two armies of equal numbers meet in the field, old soldiers have naturally the advantage over new ones; they have besides had the pleasure of killing a great many of the enemy,—many more than they have lost.' They will afterwards add, 'All that is very well; but Philadelphia is taken, the capital of America, the rampart of liberty!' You must politely answer, 'You are all great fools! Philadelphia is a poor, forlorn town, exposed on every side, whose harbor was already closed; though the residence of Congress lent it, I know not why, some degree of celebrity.' This is the famous city which, be it added, we will, sooner or later, make them yield back to us."

Lafayette certainly did all he could to make his wife's mind easy by writing constantly, and in a very cheerful strain; but letters were then six or seven weeks in crossing the ocean, and she probably often heard false reports from London. The English, in writing home, would naturally make the most of every success of theirs, and every loss on the

American side. And Madame Lafayette must have mourned over this separation from her husband, as it is not likely that she was as enthusiastic as he in the cause of American independence. He had something to suffer, too. He says once, "Why was I so obstinately bent on coming hither? I have been well punished for my error; my affections are too strongly rooted for me to be able to perform such deeds. I hope you pity me." Speaking again of himself,—"Be perfectly at ease about my wound; all the faculty * in America are engaged in my service. I have a friend who has spoken to them in such a manner that I am certain of being well attended to; that friend is General Washington.

"This excellent man whose talents and virtues I admired, and whom I have learnt to revere as I know him better, has now become my intimate friend; his affectionate interest in me instantly won my heart. I am established in his family, and we live together like two attached brothers, with mutual confidence and cordiality. His friendship renders me as happy as I can possibly be in this country. When he sent his best surgeon to me, he told him to take charge of

* Medical faculty,—physicians and surgeons.

me as if I were his son, because he loved me with the same affection. Having heard that I wished to rejoin the army too soon, he wrote me a letter full of tenderness, in which he requested me to wait for the perfect restoration of my health. I give you these details, my dearest love, that you may feel quite certain of the care that is taken of me."

During his recovery, while he was compelled to be idle, the Marquis, as he was generally called in the United States, became very anxious for news from France. In one letter he says to his wife, "It is dreadful to be reduced to hold no communication except by letter with a person whom one loves as I love you, and as I shall ever love you until I draw my latest breath. I have not missed a single opportunity, not even the most indirect one, of writing to you. Do the same, on your side, my dearest life, if you love me."

Lafayette occupied himself while among the peaceful Moravians with writing letters full of warlike plans and schemes. But by his absence from the army he lost only a defeat. At the battle of Germantown, about three weeks after that of the Brandywine, the Americans were seized with a sudden panic, and a fog came up which confused them, so that they were finally routed, though they

had begun very well. But at this period of the war even defeats were useful to the inexperienced Americans,—by them they learned that they *could* fight, and needed only more training to be equal to the British.

Lafayette rejoined the army early in November, before he could put a boot upon the wounded leg. Sir William Howe was established in Philadelphia for the winter, and had only to get possession of two forts on the Delaware River. They were bravely defended, but at last yielded to superior force. The American army remained on high ground near the city, watching the enemy, but too weak to do much.

Lafayette distinguished himself in a little action on the 25th of November. He was reconnoitering * with three hundred and fifty men, and imprudently ventured too near one of the enemy's posts, where they had cannon. Instead of retreating, however, he boldly attacked them; they gave way, supposing he had a large division of the army, and thus he had an opportunity to rejoin in safety the main body. This slight success pleased both the army and Congress; and at this time they had to make the most of small gains.

* Examining the country or an enemy's post in a military way.

Lafayette's first campaign in America ended gloomily in the encampment at Valley Forge. He wrote hopefully, on the way thither. "The American army will endeavor to clothe itself, because it is almost in a state of nudity; to form itself, because it requires instruction; and to recruit itself, because it is feeble; but the thirteen States are going to rouse themselves and send us some men. My division will, I hope, be one of the strongest, and I shall exert myself to make it one of the best. . . . Our General is a man formed, in truth, for this Revolution, which could not have been accomplished without him. I see him more intimately than any other man, and I see that he is worthy of the adoration of his country. I admire each day more fully the excellence of his character and the kindness of his heart. . . . We are not, I confess, so strong as I expected, but we are strong enough to fight; we shall do so, I trust, with some degree of success; and with the assistance of France, we shall gain the cause that I cherish, because it is the cause of justice, because it honors humanity, because it is important to my country, and because my American friends and myself are deeply engaged in it."

Speaking of himself as so young for the post he had to fill,—being a Major-General at twenty,—he adds: "I read, I study, I examine, I listen, I reflect; and the result of all this is the endeavor to form an opinion into which I infuse as much common sense as possible. I will not talk much, for fear of saying foolish things; I will still less risk acting much, for fear of doing foolish things; for I am not disposed to abuse the confidence the Americans have kindly placed in me."

Lafayette's cheerfulness was put to a severe test during this winter at Valley Forge. The sufferings of the army were really terrible. The soldiers lived in huts, and clothes, blankets, and shoes were wanting. The winter was a very cold one, and food often fell short both for officers and men. Sickness was the natural consequence of so many hardships and exposures. It was very easy for men to desert* into the back country, and at times the force was so small that if Sir William Howe had attacked them they would have found it hard to defend themselves. But he seems never to have thought of such a thing. The patience of the army excited every one's admiration, and was the more remarkable

* To leave the army secretly.

because the British both in Philadelphia and New York had every comfort. But the sight of their sufferings naturally prevented the men of the neighborhood from enlisting,* and troops came in very small numbers from the distant States.

The Commander-in-chief was greatly distressed at the condition of the soldiers, and made every effort to relieve them. But the United States were very poor; the war had interrupted trade of all kinds and Congress did not know how to provide for the army.

This winter proved the truth of Washington's first words to Lafayette; the young Frenchman shared all the privations of the Americans. "He adopted in every respect American dress, habits, and food. He wished to be more simple, frugal, and austere than the Americans themselves." And what a change it must have been from living in Paris, the winter before! There was one great pleasure in the midst of hardships. General Washington put great confidence in him. It was safer for him to speak of anxieties and difficulties to Lafayette than to the American officers; he was less likely to be discouraged, —he was hopeful, faithful, and *true;* and Gen-

* Joining the army.

eral Washington, himself upright and true, valued that quality more than any other in a friend. Lafayette had also influence with the foreign officers, both from France and other countries, and thus felt that he was useful at Valley Forge, where there was much discontent among all ranks of the army.

He soon had an opportunity of proving publicly his devotion to the Commander-in-chief. In addition to the distresses of the army, Washington had the private trial of having his reputation attacked in a mean, underhand way. Several discontented officers and members of Congress joined together in what was called Conway's Cabal. We do not know now all that they wanted to do, but they were certainly bent on ruining General Washington's reputation as a soldier, and were constantly comparing the failures of his last campaign with successes in other parts of the country.

So brilliant and popular a young officer as Lafayette would have been a great gain to their party; but he despised their arts, which he saw might impose upon the ignorant. People who are not accustomed to war do not know that it is impossible to fight without men and money, and the Commander-in-chief

was obliged to keep his wants secret, lest the enemy should find out his weakness, and how very easily they might attack him. There were many Tories* always ready to carry reports to the British camp, and General Washington bore any amount of blame rather than risk a loss to the army. His friends were not idle,—they put him on his guard, and both in and out of Congress took pains to make his conduct and character known. Still he had no means of finding out how many officers were engaged in the Cabal, and, as suspicion was most painful to his generous temper, Lafayette's frank, openly expressed affection and sympathy were a special comfort to him this dreary winter.

One thing which particularly troubled the Marquis was that General Conway, who gave his name to the Cabal, though an Irishman, had served in the French army, and professed great devotion to him. He was afraid that other French officers would be led away by Conway's example and talking, and that his own name might be used quite too freely. In a letter to the Commander-in-chief he says: "I don't need to tell you that I am very sorry for all that has happened for some time past.

* People who took sides with England.

It is a necessary dependence* of my most tender and respectful friendship for you, which affection is as true and candid as the other sentiments of my heart, and much stronger than so new an acquaintance seems to admit; but another reason to be concerned in the present circumstances is my ardent and perhaps enthusiastic desire for the happiness and liberty of this country. I see plainly that America can defend herself if proper measures are taken, and now I begin to fear lest she should be lost by herself and her own sons.

"When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that Toryism was as openly professed as Whiggism itself; however, at that time I believed that all good Americans were united together,—that the confidence in you was unbounded. Then I entertained the certitude that America would be independent in case she should not lose you. Take away for an instant that modest diffidence of yourself, (which, pardon my freedom, my dear General, is sometimes too great, and I wish you

* Consequence.—Lafayette always wrote in English to General Washington, and sometimes made little mistakes.

could know as well as myself what difference there is between you and any other man), you would see very plainly that if you were lost for America, there is nobody who could keep the army and the Revolution for six months."

In General Washington's answer to the affectionate letter of which this is a part, he thanked Lafayette for his friendship, explained what he supposed to be the reasons of Conway's dislike to him, and expressed his own indifference to slander, ending, as usual, hopefully: "I have no doubt that everything happens for the best, that we shall triumph over all our misfortunes, and in the end be happy; when, my dear Marquis, if you will give me your company in Virginia, we will laugh at our past difficulties. and the folly of others."

Thus, through various troubles, the attachment of these two friends of different nations, different education, different characters, and different ages, became strong and lasting.

In the course of the winter, however, they were separated. The Cabal, very anxious to engage Lafayette in their interest, offered him a separate command at Albany, quite independent of the Commander-in-chief. A

few soldiers in that neighborhood were called the Northern army, and an expedition into Canada was proposed. No doubt such a command would have been very tempting to the vanity and ambition of many young officers; but Lafayette's first request was that he might correspond with General Washington. He went to York to arrange plans for the expedition with Congress, to find out exactly how many men he might depend upon, and how he was to treat the Canadians. The Cabal soon saw that they could get no hold upon him. At a dinner at General Gate's house, after the officers had given several toasts, he remarked that there was one which had been forgotten,—he would give them "The health of the Commander-in-chief!" Of course they could not refuse to drink it, but it was coldly received, and Lafayette could not have found a way to show his intentions more clearly.

A NEW COMMAND

Lafayette set out on his horseback journey from York, Pennsylvania, to Albany, without any very bright hopes of success in his new position. The roads were blocked up with snow and ice, but he found some pleasure in the opportunity of seeing the country people in their homes; he liked their simple, independent way of living. He wrote to General Washington, on the way: "I go on very slowly; sometimes drenched by rain, sometimes covered by snow, and not entertaining many handsome thoughts about the projected incursion into Canada . . . Lake Champlain is too cold for producing the least bit of laurel, and if I am not starved I shall be as proud as if I had gained three battles. . . . Could I believe for one single instant that this pompous command of a *Northern Army* will let your Excellency forget a little

us absent friends, then I would send the project to the place it comes from. But I dare hope you will remember me sometimes."

He was greatly disappointed to find that no preparations had been begun at Albany; he immediately gave orders for enlisting men, though checked by want of money. He wrote, "Dear General: Why am I so far from you, and what business had the Board of War to hurry me through the ice and snow without knowing what I should do, neither what they were doing themselves?" The plan had been to cross the lake upon the ice, and some Canadians showed an interest in the Marquis; but the British general was much stronger than Congress had supposed, and repeated delays in the supplies which had been promised convinced Lafayette that the scheme was useless. He might possibly have dashed into the enemy's country with a handful of half-clothed troops, and have accomplished some one brilliant little action; but it would have done no good, and he had the good sense not to risk men's lives for the sake of his own distinction.

Still to do nothing at all was a trial, and he began soon to be distressed about his reputation. He wrote to his best friend: "I confess my dear General, that I find myself

of very quick feelings whenever my reputation and glory are concerned in anything. It is very hard indeed that such a part of my happiness, without which I cannot live, should depend upon schemes which I never knew of but when it is too late to put them into execution. I assure you, my most dear and respected friend, that I am more unhappy than I ever was.

"My desire of doing something was such that I have thought of doing it by surprise with a detachment; but it seems to me rash, and quite impossible. I should be very happy if you were here to give me some advice; but I have nobody to consult with."

In March the ice began to melt, and Lafayette with regret gave up his last hope of action, and obeyed the counsels of prudence. General Washington's answer to his letter did not arrive until after his decision, but was full of sympathy and consolation, and Congress thanked him for his wisdom and forbearance.

He endeavored to make better arrangements for the troops in the neighborhood of Albany, and to protect the country people from the attacks of the Indians. He was present at a meeting of chiefs of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and other tribes, with General

Schuyler and Mr. Duane, who were charged with the management of Indian affairs. He made speeches, and, like many other Frenchmen, had much more influence over the Indians than the English. They gave him the name of Kayewla, and kept him in remembrance for many years. On his part, he was quite pleased with the politics of the old sachems.*

Early in the spring Lafayette rejoined Washington at Valley Forge, and found the army in a better state than when he left it. The Cabal had lost its power, and General Washington was more beloved than ever.

The 2d of May, 1778, was celebrated joyfully by the army, because they had received the news that France had joined with them in the war against England. It was agreed that neither nation should make peace separately, and the Americans had hopes of great assistance from so powerful an ally.† This event gave much pleasure to the Marquis; he had been wishing for it a long time, and though he was in disgrace with the French government on account of the manner in which he quitted the country, he had many

* Chiefs of tribes.

† A person or nation who is bound by promise to help another.

friends and relations at court, and his letters may have influenced people in power.

He, unlike many discontented foreigners, always sent home favorable accounts of the United States. In this country, also, he tried to make the people feel kindly towards France; but there were some obstacles in his way. For hundreds of years the English and French had been enemies, often fighting, always laughing at and despising each other; and the Americans, being descended from the English, had inherited many of their prejudices. Lafayette was very much liked here, on account of his pleasant manners, his enthusiasm for liberty and his romantic story; and his wish was to turn his own popularity into an affection for his beloved country.

At the same time with these good tidings from France, came the news that Great Britain would send commissioners to make one more effort for peace. But still the King refused to acknowledge that the States were independent, and Congress would listen to nothing short of that.

The campaign of 1778 opened rather late. Sir William Howe was in no haste to leave Philadelphia. On the 18th of May, General Washington sent Lafayette with 2,000 chosen men across the Schuylkill River, to get infor-

mation of the enemy's movements and plans. The Marquis proceeded to Barren Hill, about eleven miles from both armies. He stationed his troops there, and on the morning of the 20th was told that some red dragoons* whom he was expecting had arrived at Whitemarsh, on the left of his force. On examining carefully into the truth of this story, he found that a column of redcoated British soldiers was advancing upon him. He had just altered the position of his troops, that he might receive the enemy better, when he was told that they were also on a road behind him. This information was brought to him in presence of the men, and, unpleasant as it was, he forced himself to smile. No general should ever *look* discouraged.

He immediately decided to march rapidly, but without hurrying, to Matson's Ford; the enemy was nearer to it than he. General Grant, commanding a detachment of 7,000 men, had possession of heights above the road; but he was deceived by Lafayette's coolness and skilful arrangement of his men, and fancied that he saw but a part of his force. While he was examining, the whole body passed by him.

* Soldiers who are usually on horseback, heavier armed than cavalry.

General Grey's column of 2,000, now in the rear, was imposed upon in the same way, and Lafayette succeeded in arranging his men on the opposite bank of the Schuylkill before any attack had been made. A third division of the British army came up, and the generals were astonished to find that they had only each other to fight with. They decided not to cross the river, but returned to Philadelphia, much disappointed that the Marquis de Lafayette was not their prisoner. Sir William Howe had been so sure of taking him, that he had invited some ladies to meet him at supper. Lafayette likewise marched back to Valley Forge, where he was received with great joy. The alarm had reached the camp, and General Washington had feared not only a repulse, but the loss of the best men in his army. The Marquis's conduct on this day added much to his reputation as a military man, for it was thought remarkable that so young a general had proved more than a match for two old ones.

In June Lafayette received the sad news of the death of his oldest child, a little girl. For a time, all his thoughts turned to France, and he would have been glad to go home to console his wife; but a soldier cannot leave his post in the middle of a campaign.

On the 17th of June the British army left Philadelphia, and began to march through New Jersey.

There was a great division of opinion among the American officers as to the propriety of attacking them, or letting them go undisturbed. General Lee, a distinguished officer, (English by birth, but who had served in many countries,) spoke warmly in favor of letting them go. He said the time was unfavorable for an attack, and that the Americans should rather help than hinder the departure of the enemy.

Lafayette took the opposite side of the question, and thought it would be disgraceful to allow the enemy to pass quietly through the State. Though Lee's opinion had great weight, on account of his age and experience, some of the officers agreed with Lafayette, and the Commander-in-chief decided that an attack should be made on the rear of the British force.

A division of the army was to be sent forward for this purpose. The command of it belonged by rank to General Lee; but, as he had never liked the plan, General Washington, with his consent, gave it to Lafayette. Lee then changed his mind and wished to take it himself, but was persuaded to yield;

finding, however, it was to be a large detachment, he again requested the Commander-in-chief to allow him to lead it. So many changes were very trying to Lafayette's temper,—he was a young general, and eager for the glory which Lee had won years before; the command of a division, any opportunity for distinction, was very rare during this tedious war, and much sought for,—but he was thoroughly obliging. General Lee said to him, "It is my fortune and honor that I place in your hands; you are too generous to cause the loss of both;" and Lafayette, after he had actually left the camp, wrote, in a note to General Washington, "Sir, I want to repeat to you in writing what I have told to you; which is, that if you believe it, or if it is believed necessary or useful to the good of the service and the honor of General Lee, to send him down with a couple of thousand men, or any greater force, I will cheerfully obey and serve him, not only out of duty, but out of what I owe to that gentleman's character." This was the more generous on his part, because he and Lee had constant little disagreements. General Lee had very strong English prejudices, and the Marquis was an ardent Frenchman. Finally the Commander-in-chief increased

the number of troops, thus making it more proper to give the command to the person next to himself in rank, and at the same time requested General Lee not to alter any arrangements which Lafayette had already made.

On the 28th of June the battle of Monmouth was fought. The Americans attacked the British army as it was leaving the town, but General Lee's conduct was very strange; he ordered his men to retreat early in the day, and at the very moment when the Commander-in-chief was bringing up the main body of the army. The meeting, of course, produced great confusion, and General Washington was exceedingly displeased. With great quickness and with the best judgment, he rearranged the troops, and the Americans gained a decided advantage. Lafayette says of him: "General Washington was never greater in battle than in this action. His graceful bearing on horseback, his calm and dignified deportment, which still retained some trace of the displeasure he had experienced in the morning, were all calculated to excite the highest degree of enthusiasm." The Marquis himself was in constant motion from four o'clock in the morning until night, when the battle ended. He was first ordered

With great quickness and with the best judgment, he rearranged the troops, and the Americans gained a decided advantage.

to cross an exposed plain to attack the enemy's left, and then to fall back; he had only to obey General Lee's orders, though he could not understand them. Afterwards, while General Washington was forming his new lines, he undertook to keep back the advancing enemy. "The heat was so intense that soldiers fell dead without having received a single wound."

At night Washington and Lafayette lay down upon the same cloak, talking of General Lee's behavior, and expecting to renew the fight in the morning. But when daylight came they found that the British had moved on, and General Washington thought his men too much exhausted to pursue them in such sultry weather.

The next important event was the arrival of a French fleet off New York harbor. Lafayette was disappointed in his first hopes that the ships would attack the city by sea, while Washington did the same by land. No pilot could be found to take the large vessels into the harbor.

A plan was then formed for an attack on Rhode Island by the fleet combined with land forces. General Sullivan was already at Providence, and Lafayette and General Greene were dispatched from head-quarters.

But this expedition was likewise unfortunate. The land forces were not ready when the fleet appeared off Newport, and while the French admiral* was waiting for them, Lord Howe, who had watched his movements, came to meet him. The two fleets immediately put out to sea, with the intention of fighting; but a violent storm scattered them, and when the French admiral returned to Newport he declared that he must go immediately to Boston to refit his ships. This was a terrible blow to the Americans who, in the mean time, had drawn near Newport, and were hoping to make the combined attack. Lafayette and General Greene were sent on board Count d'Estaing's ship to urge him to remain, but they could not prevail upon him to do so.

Lafayette's regret, deep as it was, was soon mingled with indignation. All the American officers, except General Greene, spoke of the admiral's conduct with great bitterness, and General Sullivan even went so far as to say publicly "our allies have deserted us." It was perfectly natural that they should feel vexed and disappointed, but very unwise to express their feelings so strongly; for

* Count d'Estaing.

when people of different nations are trying to act together, they must pass lightly over causes of disagreement, and do their best *to keep the peace* while they make war.

Such language touched Lafayette in a most sensitive place; his country's honor was dear to him. He wrote to General Washington: "My reason for not writing the same day the French fleet went to Boston was that I did not choose to trouble your friendship with the sentiments of an injured, afflicted heart, and injured by that very people I came from so far to love and support. Don't be surprised, my dear General; the generosity of your honorable mind would be offended at the shocking sight I have under my eyes." And further on, after a long account of the troubles, he says: "Remember, my dear General, that I don't speak to the Commander-in-chief, but to my friend; that I am far from complaining of anybody. I have no complaints to make to you against any one, but I lament with you that I have had an occasion of seeing so ungenerous sentiments in American hearts. . . . I earnestly beg you will recommend to the several chief persons of Boston to do everything they can to put the French fleet in a situation for sailing soon. Give me leave to add that I wish many

people, by the declaration of your sentiments in that affair, could learn how to regulate theirs and blush at the sight of your generosity.

"Farewell, my dear General. Whenever I quit you, I meet with some disappointment and misfortune. I did not need it, to desire seeing you as much as possible."

The Commander-in-chief did, in fact, act as peacemaker, and wrote most pressing letters to the officers, trying to infuse into their minds a little of his own patience and consideration. In spite of his indignation, Lafayette did the same, and made the best use of his influence in Boston. He was constantly sent with messages from the army to the fleet, and even followed the Admiral to Boston to arrange plans.

While he was absent, General Sullivan removed the troops from the neighborhood of Newport to the northern end of Rhode Island, and Lafayette hurried back, expecting an engagment. He traveled on horseback eighty miles in eight hours, but arrived only in time to meet the main body crossing the ferry between Rhode Island and the main land. A thousand men, the rear-guard,* had been left on the island, and were almost sur-

* Those who come last in marching.

rounded by the enemy. Lafayette took the command of them, and succeeded in withdrawing them without the loss of a single life. When Congress returned thanks for his conduct during this retreat, they also expressed their gratitude to him for undertaking the journey to Boston "at a period when he might rationally have expected an engagement."

No battle took place in the State of Rhode Island, and the British were left at Newport exactly as they had been before the expedition was proposed. Lafayette went again to Boston for a little while, hoping to be of use to his countrymen there, and afterwards rejoined the main body of the army.

At this time, Lord Carlisle, one of the British commissioners sent to Congress, made use, in a public letter, of some expression insulting to France. Lafayette, therefore, challenged him to fight a duel, which was rather a boyish act, as Lord Carlisle was not a man to fight, nor in a proper position to accept a challenge. He refused it; but even people who disapproved of Lafayette's conduct saw clearly that his high spirit and love of his country were the motives of it. Fighting a duel was not in those days, and especially among the French, the disgraceful act

that it is now considered in most civilized countries.

The campaign of 1778 drew to a close in the United States, and, as France was at war, Lafayette thought it his duty to return to his native country, and asked permission of Congress to do so. This was immediately granted, with the warmest thanks for his services. A sword was ordered to be presented to him, and a ship of war, the Alliance, chosen to convey him home.

He was to embark at Boston, and set out on horseback from Philadelphia. His journey was often interrupted by entertainments at various places, and was at last brought to an end by a severe fever. He had had a great deal of labor and exposure, besides excitement of mind, at Rhode Island; and, although he struggled hard to keep up during this journey, his strength was no longer sufficient to resist the violence of the disease. Fortunately he was able to reach Fishkill, on the Hudson, eight miles from the headquarters of the army. Dr. Cochran, the chief surgeon, was devoted to him, and General Washington came every day to inquire about him. He became so ill that his death was constantly expected for several days, and every one in the army, from the Commander-in-chief to

the private soldiers, expressed the sincerest grief. The idea of this young foreigner dying in a strange land just when he was expecting to go home, touched every one's feelings. His mind was perfectly clear; he made some necessary arrangements in case of his death, and then only regretted that he could not see again those whom he loved best.

But the fever did not prove fatal; he recovered, and at the end of three months was thinking again of his voyage. He took a most affectionate leave of General Washington, to whom he had become more and more attached, ever since he arrived in America. He respected and admired Washington as much as he loved him;—when absent, he constantly turned to him for sympathy and advice; when they could be together, he was always happy. What a fortunate man to have such a friend!

He proceeded to Boston in January, 1779. The citizens, who had always been very friendly to him, now paid him the kindest attentions, and he was supplied with excellent Madeira wine, which he found very useful in restoring his strength. He was delayed a few days, because the crew of the Alliance was not complete, and it was finally filled up with some British deserters and prisoners.

The Marquis wrote letters to Canada, sent presents to the Indians, and repeated his farewells to his friends. A long letter to General Washington ends thus: "Farewell, my most beloved General. It is not without emotion I bid you this last adieu before so long a separation. Don't forget an absent friend, and believe me, for ever and ever, with the highest respect and tenderest affection, Lafayette." As he did not sail immediately, he opened his letter to say good-by once more.

The Alliance sailed on the 11th of January, 1779, and her passage was stormy; but Lafayette had to meet a greater danger within the ship than that from winds and waves without. Eight days before they reached the coast of France, the Englishmen on board formed a design of getting possession of the ship and guns, and then killing the officers, passengers, and any of the crew who should resist. They would then have taken the ship into some British harbor, and would have received as much money as she was worth.

Fortunately, the mutineers,* mistaking an American for an Irishman, told him of their plot, and offered him the command of the vessel. He gave warning to the captain and to Lafayette just one hour before the ship was to be seized. They rushed on deck, sword in hand, and, with the assistance of the passengers and French and American sailors, secured thirty-one of the British. The rest of the crew were not strong enough to carry on the mutiny, and the ship went safely on her way.

* Men determined not to obey their officers.

As soon as he landed in France, Lafayette hastened to Paris, and was delighted to meet his own family and friends once more. He had much to tell of a world unknown to Parisians, but which he was determined to make them care for. His mind was constantly full of schemes for carrying on the war,—for annoying England and helping America. He was still out of favor with government for the way in which he had left the kingdom; but all France was proud of his bravery, and delighted with his romantic enthusiasm. We can hardly imagine how much a young nobleman who had had such uncommon adventures would be talked about. He was, as a matter of form, desired not to appear in public places, and to visit only his relations; but, as he and his wife had an enormous number of them, such an order did not oblige him to lead a very quiet life. The court ladies were eager to see him, and the ministers had many questions to ask him. He soon received the honorable appointment of colonel of a regiment of the King's dragoons, and began to correspond with the minister of war about his various plans for the benefit of his adopted country.

He had left the United States fired with the idea of a grand expedition against Can-

ada; but the French government was as slow to engage in so expensive a plan as Congress had been, and he was obliged to be content with a more moderate scheme. He next proposed that a small fleet should appear off some of the large and rich English towns, such as Liverpool; the inhabitants, for fear of injury to their houses and shops, would probably pay large sums of money, and the amount so collected should be devoted to the American cause.

But this project also was not acceptable to the ministers, and while they were taking counsel with Spain about a grand invasion of England, Lafayette asked and obtained for the United States the assistance of land troops, which had not been sent up to this time, and which Congress had not desired him to ask for. He was perfectly sure, however, that they were necessary, and that the ministers would be more ready to send a good fleet if they were interested in the officers of the army.

In August, 1779, the grandson of Dr. Franklin who was the envoy of the United States in Paris, presented to him the sword ordered by Congress, which had been made in France. It was engraved with figures representing his exploits at Gloucester, Barren

Hill, Monmouth, and Rhode Island. Dr. Franklin said, in the letter which accompanied it, "By the help of the exquisite artists of France, I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth and our obligations to you; for this, figures and even words are insufficient."

Lafayette's heart was certainly half in America, during the whole summer. He wrote to General Washington: "I cannot express to you how uneasy I feel on account of your health, and the dangers you are, perhaps at this moment, exposing yourself to. These you may possibly laugh at and call womanlike considerations; but so, my dear friend, I feel, and I never could conceal the sentiments of my heart. . . . .I know, my dear General, you wish to hear something about my private affairs. My family, my friends, and my countrymen made me such a reception, and showed me every day such an affection as I should not have dared to hope. . . . . .What I wish, my dear General, what would make me the happiest of men, is to join American colors, or to put under your orders a division of four or five thousand countrymen of mine. . . . .

"All Europe wants to see you so much, my dear Sir, that you cannot refuse them

that pleasure. I have boldly affirmed that you will pay me a visit after the peace is settled; so that, if you deny me, you will hurt your friend's reputation throughout the world. . . . . I most earnestly entreat you, my dear General, to let me hear from you. Write me how you do, how things are going on. The minutest detail will be interesting. Don't forget me, my dear General; be ever as affectionate to me as you have been; these sentiments I deserve from the ardent ones which fill my heart."

In a letter written on the 7th of October, 1779, he laments that he has not once heard from General Washington, and says: "Let me beseech you, my dear General, by that mutual tender and experienced friendship in which I have put an immense portion of my happiness, to be very exact in inquiring for occasions, and never to miss those which may convey to me letters that I shall be so much pleased to receive. . . . . Be certain, my dear General, that in any situation, in any case, let me act as a French or as an American officer, my first wish, my first pleasure, will be to serve again with you. However happy I am in France, however, well treated by my country and king, I have

taken such a habit of being with you,—I am tied to you, to America, to my fellow-soldiers by such an affection,—that the m o m e n t when I shall sail for your country will be one of the most wished-for and the happiest of my life."

During the autumn and winter he persevered in his efforts to obtain money and land forces for the American army, and he was at last successful; the money was placed at General Washington's disposal, the troops were to be commanded by Count Rochambeau, and Lafayette was to resume his station in the service of the United States.

He sailed from France the second time in March, 1780. No despatches from government delayed his departure, and on the 27th of April he wrote from Boston harbor to announce his arrival to the Commander-in-chief. The people of Boston received *the Marquis* with the greatest joy. He was taken in triumph to Governor Hancock's house, but he was too impatient to see General Washington to a l l o w himself to be long detained by any festivities. This welcome, however, was for himself: n o t h i n g was known as yet of the good news he brought.

He hastened on to head-quarters. After the first pleasure of their meeting was over,

he learned from General Washington the bad state of the American army. Money and provisions were scarce, and it was very difficult to collect men; the country was exhausted and indifferent. Then Lafayette revealed his good tidings; he had gone beyond the orders of Congress, but the wants of the United States were exactly those which he had supposed, and Washington felt the strongest hope that the timely arrival of the French fleet would rouse the Americans to fresh exertions.

Secret preparations were made for the fleet at Newport, Rhode Island. It was expected in July, and Lafayette took up his station in the front of the Commander-in-chief's division of the army, which was established on the banks of the Hudson River. He had brought from France swords, banners, and some ornaments for the officers and soldiers of his corps,*—he was so much attached to them, that it was like giving presents to his friends. Clothes, much needed by many others beside his men, had been promised in France, but never came.

The French fleet arrived at the appointed

* A body of troops used to acting together.

time, and the first plan proposed was that of a joint attack on New York; but all hopes of an action were soon overthrown by the blockade of the French fleet in Newport harbor. The English squadron was decidedly larger, and the French admiral could not move. Count Rochambeau would very gladly have joined General Washington in an attack by land; but there seemed not the smallest prospect of success, unless the ships could assist them. This state of things was exceedingly trying to Lafayette, who was Washington's messenger and secretary in all his communications with the Count, and was positively longing to see *something* accomplished.

During his first visit to Rhode Island, however, he had the pleasure of finding the allied armies on very friendly terms. He wrote to General Washington that, on the arrival of some American militia-men, "every French soldier and officer took an American with him, and divided his bed and his supper with him in a most friendly manner. . . . . The French discipline is such that chickens and pigs walk between the tents without being disturbed, and that there is in the camp a corn-field of which not one leaf has been

The French fleet arrived at the appointed time.

touched. The Tories don't know what to say to it." To understand what high praise this is, you must remember that soldiers are generally very careless in their habits, and are apt to compel farmers to give them whatever they can see in the way of food. To prevent their doing mischief requires great care on the part of the officers, as well as obedience and good-temper from the men.

While waiting for further aid from France, Count Rochambeau was very desirous of seeing General Washington, who found it difficult to leave headquarters. On the 18th of September, however, he set out for Hartford, Connecticut, where he had a most agreeable meeting with the Count. He returned to West Point on the 25th, a few hours after the escape of General Arnold, who had betrayed the place to the enemy. The arrest of the unfortunate Major Andre, the British officer who made the agreement with Arnold, prevented Sir Henry Clinton from gaining any advantage by this piece of treachery; but the first discovery of it was appalling to the Commander-in-chief, and to all those about him. Lafayette was walking up to Arnold's house with General Washington and General Knox, when Colonel Hamilton came out and said a few words to

the Commander-in-chief in a low voice, but this probably excited no surprise in the minds of his companions. In a short time, however, Washington rejoined them, and put into their hands the papers which proved Arnold's guilt. They were shocked, for, though General Arnold's character was not entirely without reproach, he had been one of the bravest and most distinguished officers of the American army. But no time could be lost in feeling,—it was necessary to act; and since it was too late to capture Arnold, all efforts were turned to the security of West Point. Lafayette shared his General's anxiety, and did not fail to observe and admire his kind and delicate attention to Mrs. Arnold, who was left alone in a most unhappy condition.

He was one of the fourteen generals who tried Major Andre, and decided that he must suffer death by hanging,—the usual fate of a spy; yet his feelings were very much touched by Andre's situation, and the cheerful fortitude with which he bore his sentence. General Washington would have been glad to have exchanged Andre for Arnold; but Sir Henry Clinton would not consent to such an arrangement, though he made great efforts to save Andre's life.

ACTIVE OPERATIONS

In October of this year Lafayette wrote a long letter to the Commander-in-chief, urging an immediate attack on the city of New York. He was very tired of reconnoitring parties, and plans which came to nothing; and he felt that some action was needed, both for the honor of America and the credit of the French army. General Washington in his heart desired activity quite as much as his young friend; but he did not think the time favorable enough for so large a scheme, and he could only recommend to Lafayette the patience which he so constantly practised himself.

In November the Marquis de Chastellux, a French traveller who visited the Commander-in-chief at headquarters, thus describes Lafayette's appearance: "We availed our-

selves of the cessation of the rain to accompany his Excellency to the camp of the Marquis. We found all his troops ranged in line of battle on the heights to the left, and himself at their head, expressing both by his deportment and physiognomy that he preferred seeing me there to receiving me on his estate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of his troops are most precious in his eyes, for he looks upon that species of wealth as one of which he cannot be deprived. But what I think still more flattering to a young man of his age is the influence which he has acquired in political as well as military circles. I have no fear of being contradicted when I assert that simple letters from him have often had more influence in some of the States of the Union than the strongest invitations on the part of Congress."

In February, 1781, Lafayette was despatched from headquarters to Portsmouth, Virginia, to oppose with but a small force the traitor Arnold. The French fleet which was to assist him was defeated at sea on its way, and Lafayette, having blockaded Portsmouth, was retreating northwards, when at Head of Elk he met despatches from General Washington. These informed him that rein-

forcements were to go from the British headquarters to Arnold, and that he must aid the Virginians. Now, like all American generals, Lafayette found himself beset by difficulties. His men were from the New England States, and were unwilling to be exposed to the southern climate; they began to d e s e r t. Lafayette told them, in a general order,* that he was setting out on a difficult, dangerous enterprise, and that whoever wished to quit him might obtain leave to do so by coming to headquarters. From that day there were no more desertions; the men felt it an honor to follow their leader, and one sergeant, who was lame and could not walk, hired a cart rather than be left behind. They were without proper clothes for a southern campaign, and Lafayette borrowed money to buy linen for them, which the ladies of Baltimore made into shirts.

He had not m e n enough for fighting battles. His objects in this campaign were to deceive and annoy the enemy, to protect the military stores which supplied the army of General Greene in Carolina, and to prevent the British from gaining any advantage from their superior troops and equipments. He

*Directions and advice from a general, which are read aloud to the troops.

immediately distinguished himself by a rapid march to Richmond, the capital of Virginia, which greatly astonished the British General Phillips. This officer died soon after, and Lafayette refused to receive a letter from Arnold, who succeeded him in the command. This spirited determination pleased General Washington and Congress.

Perhaps it seems strange that the commanders of hostile armies should have any occasion to write to each other; but there are always questions of business coming up; sometimes relating to the treatment and exchange of prisoners; sometimes to the protection of the country people near the camp, who are always in danger of being robbed; and in various ways generals can show civility and respect for each other. By refusing to hold any communication with General Arnold, Lafayette plainly showed that he did not think him a proper person for an American officer to speak to.

Virginia became at this time the principal scene of war. General Greene was active in the Carolinas, but was ill-supplied, had been defeated, and could only hope to delay Lord Cornwallis's arrival in Virginia. His lordship was fighting his way up from Charleston, South Carolina, to join General Phillips.

Between the Commander-in-chief, Greene, and Lafayette, there was the most perfect agreement both in wishes and actions. General Washington watched both divisions, and assisted both as far as he could; but he could not leave his station near New York, which was still to be attacked whenever the long-expected French fleet should arrive. General Greene was like Washington,—patient, prudent, and hopeful; but Lafayette needed a double share of discretion when in May he found himself opposed to Lord Cornwallis, the best British general in America.

From the Marquis's youth and inexperience, Cornwallis promised himself an easy victory, and was confident enough to say, in one of his letters, "The boy cannot escape me." He had one great advantage in mounting his dragoons on the fine Virginia horses which he found in abundance in the stables of the planters. Lafayette says, in one of his letters: "There is no fighting here unless you have a naval superiority, or an army mounted on racehorses"; and, again, he speaks of the "immense and excellent body of horse, whom the militia fear as if they were so many wild beasts." He was, however, joined by many of the young men of the

State, whose intelligence and high spirit were of great use to him.

After having gained possession of Richmond, he was not strong enough to remain there, and slowly retreated before Lord Cornwallis, hoping to be joined by some Pennsylvania troops. He never allowed the two armies to meet in such a way that there could be an engagement; and yet he moved as slowly as possible, leaving each place just as the British advance guard entered it. He could not continue long on this plan; for the Pennsylvanians did not come at the time they were expected, and there were some stores at Albemarle Old Court House, which it was necessary to guard. It was supposed that he must pass in front of the whole English army, and so expose himself to certain defeat; but he discovered an old road, which had been long unused, had it mended by night, and led his men successfully to the spot. Lord Cornwallis was surprised to hear of him established in so strong a position. He now turned towards Richmond and Williamsburg, and Lafayette, being joined by the Pennsylvania troops, under General Wayne, and by another reinforcement, under Baron Steuben, ventured to follow him.

There were constant skirmishes, but nothing that could be called a regular attack until the 6th of July, when the British army was crossing James River, on the march from Williamsburg to Portsmouth. Lafayette, believing that the larger part of the army had crossed, ordered an attack upon what he supposed to be a rear-guard. Lord Cornwallis, intending to deceive him, had sent forward, with great parade, only a small detachment, and received the Americans with the main body of his army. General Wayne, nick-named Mad Anthony, was in command, and when he found out his danger continued to advance, thinking it safer than to retreat. Lafayette, with fresh troops, was ready to follow, if he were needed; but, as he listened to the heavy firing, it struck him that there must be more than a rear-guard engaged,—he galloped to a place where he could see the action, and immediately sent assistance to Wayne, with orders to fall back. This was successfully done, and, as it was growing dark, Lord Cornwallis did not pursue him. The violent beginning and sudden end of the attack made him suspect a snare.

This was a severe conflict. "Our field officers," says General Wayne, "were generally dismounted by having their horses killed

or wounded under them. I will not condole with the Marquis for the loss of two of his, as he was frequently requested to keep at a greater distance. His natural bravery rendered him deaf to admonition."

A few days later, the British proceeded to Portsmouth, which they considered a very advantageous place, on account of the communication with New York. Lafayette had been hoping that they would go to the sea-coast, as he thought it would then be much easier for him to watch them on land, and believed that a French fleet would surely come, in the course of the season, to blockade them by sea. He wrote to General Washington, saying that he was glad of this arrangement; and about the same time the enemy got possession of a letter to him from the Commander-in-chief in which he spoke of his plans for an attack upon New York, and gave the Marquis permission to return to head-quarters and take part in it. This letter made the British feel very easy in Virginia, and considered New York alone as the place to be protected.

The active campaign of the last four months was now exchanged for a steady watching of the enemy at Portsmouth, and constant communication with head-quarters.

On the 20th of July, Lafayette wrote: "I am entirely a stranger to everything that passes out of Virginia, and Virginian operations being for the present in a state of languor, I have more time to think of my solitude; in a word, my dear General, I am homesick, and if I cannot go to head-quarters, wish at least to hear from thence. I am anxious to know your opinion of the Virginian campaign. . . . So long as my lord wished for an action, not one gun has been fired; the moment he declined it, we have been skirmishing; but I took care never to commit the army." And to Colonel Hamilton he wrote, "Independence has rendered me the more cautious, as I know my own warmth."

At the end of July he saw the greatest part of Cornwallis' army at Portsmouth embark on board vessels which did not immediately sail. He supposed they must be going to New York, but in less than three weeks found out they were removed to Yorktown and Gloucester Point, where they began to fortify. In the mean time he had heard from General Washington that the French fleet would arrive in Chesapeake Bay, instead of New York Harbor. The attack on New York was given up, and Virginia was to be the scene of action. Lafayette no longer

regretted that he had been sent away from head-quarters. He followed Lord Cornwallis and took measures to shut him in completely, while the British General felt so secure within his fortifications, and with only Lafayette for an opponent, that he offered to send some of his men to New York.

Lafayette wrote to his wife, when matters were thus far advanced: "It was not prudent in the General to confide to me such a command. If I had been unfortunate, the public would have called that partiality an error of judgment." But he had already proved that the Commander-in-chief had judged wisely of the capacity of his young general.

About this time Lafayette wanted a spy to send into the British camp, and a New Jersey soldier named Morgan was pointed out to him as a fit person to be employed. It is not an easy thing to find a spy: a man must be trustworthy and faithful to his own officer, and yet willing to deceive the enemy; he must be observing, and yet must not appear to be getting information. Morgan was unwilling to put himself in such a position, but at last consented, on condition that, if he should be killed, the General would have a full account of the case printed in the New Jersey newspapers, so that no reproach might fall upon

his honor. He went to the British camp and faithfully obeyed orders. After several weeks had passed, thinking he could no longer be useful, he came back, and brought with him five deserters and a prisoner. The next day the General, to reward him, offered to make him a sergeant. Morgan thanked him, but declined, saying that he thought himself a good soldier, but was not certain of being a good sergeant. He likewise refused other offers. "What can I, then, do for you?" inquired Lafayette. "I have only one favor to ask," replied Morgan. "During my absence my gun has been taken from me; I value it very much and I should like to have it back again." Orders were given that the gun should be found, and it was his only reward for this difficult, dangerous service.

On the 1st of September the French fleet, under Count de Grasse, arrived. The Marquis de Saint Simon immediately landed with three thousand soldiers. Lafayette added his force to theirs, and took up a strong position at Williamsburg. Lord Cornwallis marched out, intending to make an attack; but finding them so strong, contented himself with improving his fortifications at Yorktown. In an engagement at sea between the French fleet and the British under Admiral Graves,

Count de Grasse was victorious, and Lord Cornwallis' confidence began to waver a little as he saw himself blockaded on both sides.

Lafayette was now exposed to a great temptation, or what might have been a great temptation to a more selfish man. The French admiral and the Marquis de Saint Simon strongly urged him to make an assault upon Yorktown. They said that he had had the danger, fatigue, and anxiety of the campaign, and that it was but fair that he should have the honor of receiving Lord Cornwallis' surrender. But Lafayette would not listen to any such proposals. He told them that General Washington and Count Rochambeau were already on their way, and that the combined forces would make so large an army that Lord Cornwallis would certainly yield to a regular siege, and in that way many lives would be spared which must be lost in a violent attack made by his present force.

SUCCESS THE REWARD OF PATIENCE

The Commander-in-chief and Rochambeau arrived on the 14th of September, and Lafayette saw one of his cherished wishes fulfilled when General Washington was at the head of the united army of French and Americans. Even after their arrival, however, the whole scheme was put in peril for a day by the French admiral's declaring that it was not prudent for him to remain at Yorktown, and that he must put out to sea to meet and fight with some new British men-of-war which had just arrived at New York. Lafayette, at General Washington's request, went on board the admiral's ship, and with considerable difficulty persuaded him to wait until the seige of Yorktown should be ended. Then the works went on; the Americans gradually surrounded the town with earthworks, redoubts, and trenches, and all the

regular means of besieging a city, while Lord Cornwallis continued to strengthen his fortifications.

On the 11th of October the siege was begun by General Washington's firing the first gun. For several days a steady firing was kept up on both sides; cannon-balls were constantly crossing each other in the air, and at night red-hot shot glared out of the darkness. One English ship and some smaller vessels were set on fire by them, and as the flames ran up to the top of the masts, the sight was at once splendid and horrible. The noise of the large guns, and of the shells bursting and tearing up the ground all about them, was perpetual, and added not a little to the dreadful effect of the scene.

On the 14th it was decided to take by storm two redoubts, the only defences outside the city which the enemy still held. One was to be attacked by the French under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under Lafayette. The Baron had said once, in conversation, that in an attack of this sort he thought the French superior to the Americans. Lafayette answered, "We are but young soldiers, and we have but one sort of tactics on such occasions, which is to discharge our muskets and push on straight

with our bayonets." In making his attack, Lafayette carried out this plan exactly; he thought that only such an impetuous assault would enable his inexperienced troops to overcome the well-trained British soldiers waiting within their fortifications. In a very few minutes he took the redoubt, and, as he still heard firing from the other, he sent his aide to the Baron, to inquire if he should give him any assistance, and to say that he had won his prize. Viomenil answered, "Tell the Marquis that I am not yet master of my redoubt, but that I shall be in less than five minutes." And in less than that time he entered it with his men, in perfect order. He had followed strict military rule, and had had the way cleared for him before his onset; but while he was waiting his troops were exposed to a terrible fire from the enemy. Colonel Barber, the aide who carried Lafayette's message, had received a wound, but would not allow it to be dressed until he had executed his commission. Perhaps he had a little pride in showing the French officers how indifferent to pain an American could be.

After the taking of these redoubts, Lord Cornwallis' position become still more hopeless; the cannon continued to destroy his works, he could do but little to injure the

French and Americans, and bad weather prevented an escape in boats to Gloucester, which he had planned. On the 17th he requested an interview with an American officer, that the terms of surrender might be agreed upon, and on the 19th his army laid down their arms.

The French and American troops were drawn up in long lines, and were quiet and orderly as the conquered army passed between them; but their secret triumph and rejoicing must have been great as they saw how full the ranks were, and felt how important a victory they had won. Every one was eager to see Lord Cornwallis, but this distinguished general did not make his appearance; General O'Hara took his place.

Count Rochambeau, General Washington, and Lafayette sent their aides to offer their compliments to Lord Cornwallis; who sent a message to tell the Marquis that, after having made this long campaign against him, he wished to give him a private account of the reasons which had led him to surrender. The next day Lafayette went to see him. "I know," said the English general, "your humanity to prisoners, and I recommend my poor army to you." Lafayette replied, "You know, my lord, the Americans have always

On the 19th the army of Lord Cornwallis laid down its arms.

been humane towards imprisoned armies. He would not accept even a compliment which seemed to separate him from his adopted countrymen. The other generals also visited Lord Cornwallis, and every civility which could make his mortifying position more endurable was shown to him.

The Americans knew that they had gained a great advantage in taking this army; but they were very desirous of closing the campaign by the recapture of Charleston, South Carolina, which had been in the possession of the enemy since May, 1780. General Greene had had a very hard summer, opposed to Lord Rawdon from the time that Cornwallis had come into Virginia. It seemed easy now to give him assistance, when the fleet was ready, and the land forces so far on their way to the south. Lafayette would again have commanded the expedition and would have been glad to undertake it with a small army which might easily have been transported in a few vessels; but the French admiral declared that it was his duty to return immediately to the West Indies. It is said that when Lord Cornwallis saw Lafayette returning from his last visit to the admiral's ship, he said to some officers who were with him, "I lay a wager he has been making arrangements to ruin us at

Charleston." This remark shows that he understood Lafayette's disposition and talents. There is every reason to suppose that such a scheme would have succeeded. As it was not undertaken, the campaign came to an end, and the army went into winter-quarters.

During all the time that the French and American armies were together, the most perfect friendliness prevailed between them. The French officers admired Washington with the ardor that belongs to their nation, and only laughed at the hardships they had to bear. And doubtless their example influenced the common soldiers. On their part, all Americans felt themselves under great obligations to those who had come so far to fight for them. Lafayette mentions, as a proof of good feeling, that when the French troops under the Marquis de Saint Simon joined his, he ordered them to be supplied with flour enough to last three days before the Americans received any. The latter were obliged to live chiefly on Indian meal, but were quiet satisfied. He also gave horses to the French hussars, while the American officers had none, yet he never heard a complaint. Perhaps nothing shows more clearly that he felt as an American than his thus

treating his own countrymen as guests. He had taken the precaution before they left France to have it settled that they were always to be considered as auxiliaries,* and that French officers were always to be under the orders of Americans of equal rank.

In November of this year, Lafayette again asked leave to return to France, and, with the most cordial thanks from Congress, and the respect and gratitude of every patriot, he once more set sail from Boston. He carried with him the consciousness that his services to this country had been great and highly valued here. His friendship for General Washington was one of the delights of his life, and he felt sure that the United States would always hold a place in his affections second only to France.

No mutiny this time disturbed his voyage. He found all things prosperous in his family, and he had gained a military reputation which made him still more admired than before.

He was commissioned by Congress to make arrangements for them in Europe, and the next year was chiefly occupied with preparations for a combined expedition from

* Those who give assistance, but never take the lead.

France and Spain, which now joined in the war against England. The fleet of sixty vessels was to be commanded by Count d'Estaing; the army of twenty-four thousand men, by Lafayette. The plan was to sail from Cadiz for the island of Jamaica, then to proceed to New York, and after taking that city to go on to Canada. There were so many delays in getting together this grand army, and arranging all the points of the agreement between the nations, that Lafayette was still at Madrid when he heard the news of the Peace of Paris, which put an end to our Revolutionary war. It was signed in January, 1783, and he was the first to inform Congress of this joyful event.

FRANCE AS IT WAS

In the next year, 1784, Lafayette allowed himself the pleasure of a visit to the United States. He arrived at New York in August, went to the south as far as Yorktown and Richmond, and paid to General Washington at Mount Vernon that visit so often anticipated in their letters written by camp-fires and amid the hardships of war. He was present at the making of a treaty with the Indians of the Six Nations, some of whose chiefs called him by his old name of Kayewla, which they gave him in 1778. He also went through the Eastern States, and was everywhere, as Washington wrote to Madame de Lafayette, "crowned with wreaths of love and respect."

He was particularly interested in seeing the old soldiers of the army, and often touched by finding the children of those who

had fallen making part of the processions in his honor. Every one was eager to see him, either from gratitude or curiosity, and his reception was cordial and affectionate.

At the end of November he was again at Mount Vernon, and after their parting General Washington wrote this note, so expressive of his affection: "At the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I should ever have of you. And though I wished to answer no, my fears answered yes."

Lafayette would not admit this idea; though he saw that his beloved friend was never likely to cross the water, he promised himself the happiness of several visits at Mount Vernon. He could not foresee the political storms that were to sweep over his life, and he cared little for those he must meet on the Atlantic Ocean.

After a great public entertainment at Boston, he embarked on b o a r d of French frigate, and had a prosperous voyage, bearing home with him many bright recollections of

warm friends and happy hours in the United States, and strong h o p e s for their future prosperity.

He did not find France in an equally promising condition.

The following year, 1785, Lafayette undertook a shorter journey into Austria and Russia. Though republicans were not much admired in those countries, Lafayette's distinguished family connections, and his reputation as a young general, gained for him a polite reception. In Prussia, he went to all the military reviews in company with the king, Frederic the Great, at that time the most distinguished soldier in all Europe.

After his return to France, he gave much time and attention to a scheme in which his benevolence interested him. He bought a plantation at Cayenne, in French Guiana, and sent out an excellent superintendent, to teach the slaves and to prepare them gradually for freedom. He had been particularly pleased with a school for free-negro children, which he had seen at New York, and wished at least to try the experiment of training the blacks. Difference of color could not check his enthusiastic love of liberty. He honestly desired that all men, not merely himself and his countrymen, should be free; but he had

the common sense to see that some races of men require preparation even for freedom, and that a slave, who has all his life been fed and clothed by a master, does not know how to provide for himself in his old age.

We now come to a great change in Lafayette's life. We have seen him fighting for freedom, and interested in military affairs;—the love of liberty, from this time forth, led him to a different work,—to an endeavor to reform the government of his country. Other men's minds were full of the same idea, and there was a general feeling in Paris, and throughout France, that the hour was come for a great change.

It is difficult to explain to those who have lived only in the United States how bad the French government was, and had been for several hundred years. But one great evil, which caused many others, was, that the kings and the nobles had long believed that government was made for their pleasure and glory, not for the happiness and welfare of the common people. They did not know that a few hundred noblemen were but of small importance, compared with the hundreds of thousands who toiled for their daily bread in France; on the contrary, they thought that

the poor were created to work for them. The consequence was, that acts of cruelty to the low-born were looked upon with perfect indifference by the great lords. One must not suppose that there were not kind-hearted people among them; then, as now, there lived in the world those who delighted to make all about them happy, including the peasants; but, as a general rule, their lives were full of other occupations. Many of them were soldiers, and when they were not actually engaged in war made plans for new campaigns, or else amused themselves with hunting or other sports, never giving any time to thinking how the poor people around them lived.

The king and the royal family, including even his distant cousins, must have palaces to live in; servants, horses and carriages, and money to spend, provided for them out of the public wealth; other officials had to be maintained; and in times alike of war and of peace, there was a great army to be fed and clothed. Thus several thousands of idle people were supported by the industrious; and all these ways of pouring out money consumed it much faster than the sale of the farmer's corn, or the weaver's cloth, or the vine-grower's wine, supplied it.

But there was no less expense at the court because the nation was growing poorer. The ministers had not the courage to tell a King of France that he could not have anything he desired; and so he and all those who lived at court went on spending money for trifles, while the peasant and the shop-keeper were pressed harder and harder with taxes to pay upon everything they ate or drank, or bought or sold. A tax upon salt, which is so constantly in use, caused great distress. Any person could be licensed to sell salt, if he would pay a large sum to the government. Of course, then, the seller asked the highest possible price for it, because he wanted to secure his own profit in addition to what he had to pay over to the government. Thus hard men were more likely to undertake the business than any others, because asking such high prices made them very much disliked. France was divided into districts, in some of which the people were compelled to buy a certain quantity of salt every year; in others, they did as they chose. This made one hardship the more; for a poor man who lived in one district might be ruined by being forced to buy a great quantity, while his near neighbor was perhaps free from any restraint in the matter.

And this is only a sample of the way taxes were paid for everything. This salt-tax—the *gabelle,* as it was called—was much talked about, and was very irritating to the poor people; but the real suffering was owing to the great number of taxes.

An English traveller, passing through France at this time, says of what he saw in one day's journey, "The fields are scenes of pitiable management, as the houses are of misery"; and again, "All the country girls and women are without shoes or stockings, and the ploughmen at their work have neither sabots* nor feet to their stockings."

And, two years later, the same traveller, in walking up a hill, chanced to overtake a poor woman, who seemed unhappy, and complained of the times. When he asked questions, she told him that she was married and had seven children; that her husband had but a small bit of ground, a little horse, and a cow, yet they had to pay 42 pounds of wheat and three chickens to one great lord, and 168 pounds of oats, one chicken, and one franc to another, besides several very heavy taxes. She said she hoped something would be done for poor people, for the taxes were crushing

* Wooden shoes.

them. She was twenty-six years old, but her figure was so bent, and her face so wrinkled, that she might have been taken for sixty. And she was only a specimen of the women that were to be seen almost everywhere in France. It was not uncommon for the poor people to gather nettles to make soup of.

When a nobleman heard of some unfortunate wretch dying of hunger, no doubt he might feel sorry for a few minutes; but he was not apt to think what could be the reason, or if he himself could do anything to remedy it. And here was a point in which Lafayette was quite different from other people of his own rank and age. He did think about the condition of working-people, and longed to make them happier and better; he believed freedom would do that.

Such a state of things could not last forever; when people are perfectly miserable, they grow restless and fierce. This was the case in France. A great many people in a middle condition of life, neither very rich nor very poor, were fired with ideas of liberty and equality; they began to ask why dukes and counts were better than themselves, and why some lives were passed in ease and luxury, and others in toil and want and pain. There can be no doubt, too, that the accounts

of the United States brought home by the soldiers and officers who had served there helped to keep up the excitement. It had been proved there that contentment and prosperity could be found without a king, without a court, without an order of priests, and, above all, without so many taxes.

At this time (1787) Louis the Sixteenth, who was the king of France, was a just and humane man, who would have been very glad to do whatever he could to make his subjects happier; but he did not know how or where to begin.

One thing was certain,—that the government needed money; and in order to raise it, the king's ministers advised him to call a meeting of the Notables of France. These were the princes, brothers or cousins of the king; some dukes and counts, marshals of France, and other military officers; several bishops and magistrates. They met in February, 1787, and began to consider what could be done about the national debt and taxes. A hundred and sixty years had passed since they were last called together, and all the old rules of business were forgotten.

Lafayette took his p l a c e among the nobles, and spent much time upon a plan for reducing the debt and expenses. He also

brought forward several proposals for limiting the king's power. One of these was, that he should no longer have the right to send a person who had displeased him to prison without any accusation, and without any trial or chance to defend himself. Such a prisoner had no hope of release except from the king's mercy, and might die in his cell, forgotten. Another proposal was to grant greater liberty to Protestants, who were, however, in the enjoyment of a large measure of freedom.

Finding that the Notables were not doing much work, Lafayette suggested that the king should be asked to summon a National Assembly. "What!" said the Count d'Artois, the king's brother, "do you make a motion for the States-General?" "Yes, and even more than that," was his answer.

CHANGES

The States-General were composed of representatives from the nobles, the clergy, and the *third estate,* or common people of France. They had not met for a hundred and seventy-five years, and had in former times been most submissive to the kings; but there was little hope of making any change without them, and they only had the *right* to alter the government.

They met on the 4th of May, 1789, in a hall at Versailles which the king had prepared for them, and where he came with the queen to receive them.

It is difficult to imagine now the excitement which there was then in Paris and throughout all the large towns of France. The kingdom was poorer than it had been the year before,—everything was dear, complaints were loud. Men left their offices and

their workshops to make speeches and to become national deputies;* the newspapers were full of articles on liberty and the rights of man; new pamphlets were printed every day, and eagerly read by a few of those who were suffering under real wrongs, and by all the foolish people who fancied they should be the happier for being as idle as the counts and marquises they pretended to despise. Every one, except the court and those who were satisfied with the kingdom as it was, looked forward with hope to the meeting of the States-General, not knowing what would befall them, but trusting to secure freedom and many other good things. Politics were the one thing everybody cared for, not only in Paris, but in all the towns of France. A stranger in the city writes: "I went to the Palais Royal† to see what new things were published. Every hour produces something new. Thirteen pamphlets came out to-day, sixteen yesterday, and ninety-two last week. . . . . Nineteen twentieths of these productions are in favor of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and nobility." The coffee-houses were always open, and orators declaimed in the

* Members of the States-General, or National Assembly.
† An old palace, now used in part for shops.

most vehement manner to an excited crowd, who loudly applauded anything particularly fierce and harsh.

The king and his ministers were troubled and did not know what to do. They felt that something would have to be yielded to this extraordinary passion for liberty which had got possession of some of the nobles and common people,—they did not at all understand the power of the mob, and they were obliged to admit that their schemes had not made the debt any less. The king's natural desire to secure himself led him to collect a great many soldiers in and about Paris, and so many more mouths to be filled increased the scarcity of flour. He thought the troops would be faithful to him, but experience proved that the new ideas of liberty and equality had made their way into the army.

After much trouble in getting ready to work, the twelve hundred National Deputies (three hundred nobles, three hundred of the clergy, and six hundred of the common people) began their task; which was, to give France a new government. They first destroyed many of the bad laws which had come down from old times; they took away power from the king and nobles, and forbade many of the privileges of the rich and great which

had caused suffering among the poor. But this was not all. A kingdom cannot exist without laws; and while the Assembly was talking * and listening to speeches, people who had been kept down by fear of the laws might do a vast deal of mischief. The Deputies had no hesitation in saying that certain punishments should never be repeated in France; but then there was a long pause before they could make up their minds what should take their place. They found building up a slower work than pulling down. It was easier to make speeches, and set the nation in order by adding up figures and writing papers, than to supply food for a hungry mob, or teach the peasants not to revenge themselves on their former masters.

The French are so easily stirred up that merely reading the reports of what was done each day in the Assembly added to the excitement of distant towns and villages, and it must be remembered that while their minds were thus filled with hopes and expectations, their real wants of food and clothes and comforts had not been relieved. Nor were they likely to be during this summer (1789), for

* A Swiss, who went often to the Assembly, says that each man was vain enough to fancy himself equal to the whole labor of remodelling the government.

merchants and farmers no longer gave their whole attention to business, and the nobles began to quit France, taking with them the money they had been accustomed to spend every year.

The natural consequences of such a condition were mobs and tumults in the cities, the burning of chateaux* and sometimes killing the lords, in the country.

Lafayette took part in the labors of the Assembly with great spirit. He welcomed everything which was at all like the laws and customs of the United States, and his letters to General Washington were full of hope. He excused the outbreaks, alarming as they were, on account of the long suffering of the people.

But a more serious one took place in Paris when the citizens heard that Monsieur Necker, a popular minister, had been dismissed, and that the troops were drawing nearer to Paris, and even entering the city. The excitement was intense for several days in July, and at last, after some regiments had arrived and others were reported, it broke out into a universal demand for arms. The mob entered shops or public offices where they thought any guns could be found, and all

* The country-houses of the nobles, which had generally been castles.

smiths and armorers worked day and night. The great bells sounded the alarm; the soldiers, with strange stupidity or indifference, did nothing at all; and on the 14th of July an armed crowd of volunteers, who believed that they could no longer submit to authority, but that this day they must "do or die," accompanied by all the rabble of Paris, attacked an ancient prison called the Bastille. After a short resistance, the few soldiers who defended it were compelled to yield, and the commandant was killed in the street. The people seemed almost ready to tear down with their hands the solid stone walls. Furious as they were, however, there was some cause for their rage; for terrible deeds had been done in that prison. Men had been shut up there for half a lifetime, without even knowing whether their fathers and mothers, wives and children, were still living,—there the innocent, upon whom no sentence had ever been pronounced, had despaired of seeing again the light of day. What sufferings and what deaths those walls had concealed could never be known; but thinking of them might well have maddened a calmer people than the Parisians! The few prisoners found there were paraded through the streets on men's shoulders, and a sort of wild rejoicing

On the 14th of July an armed crowd of volunteers attacked the Bastille.

took possession of Paris. In other countries, all who loved liberty could not help being glad that such a dungeon was destroyed, and the key of the great gate was sent by Lafayette to General Washington.

While all this tumult was stirring Paris, the Assembly at Versailles were bent on making the king withdraw his troops. They sent to him three times during the day, and continued sitting nearly all night. The next day he suddenly agreed to their request; all was rejoicing at Versailles, and Lafayette with several other deputies was sent to Paris with the good news. The city, calmed from the frenzy of the day before, received them joyfully, and Lafayette was appointed, by acclamation, commander of the National Guard. * From this time forward, we find him hard at work in Paris, and seldom able to take his place in the Assembly.

He immediately published an order for pulling down the Bastille, and began to arrange and divide the National Guard. He was exceedingly desirous that they should be citizens as well as soldiers, obeying the laws and magistrates as well as their officers. Sev-

* He suggested this name for the volunteers of Paris,—citizens who were armed and drilled, and performed some of the duties of police.

eral regiments of the army insisted on joining it; but Lafayette would never allow it to be merely a military establishment. He set them the example of respect for law, by insisting upon a regular vote for his own office, several days after his public appointment. "Lafayette enjoyed at once that entire confidence and public esteem which are due to great qualities. The faculty of raising the spirits, or rather of infusing fresh courage into the heart, was natural to him. His appearance was youthful, which is always pleasing to the multitude. His manners were simple, popular, and engaging."

It was not strange that obedience was rare in these days, for no one had any authority. The king's power was growing less and less; he was obliged to let his soldiers join the National Guard, because they had already left their quarters, and were wandering about the streets of Paris; the judges and other magistrates appointed by him were disliked and suspected; the assembly at Versailles had hardly begun to "make the Constitution;" * and there was no strong hand to govern. The people, crushed by long oppression, and now

* A favorite French expression at that time; but a constitution is not a machine, to be made,—it must grow in part, at least, from the habits of a nation.

aroused to vengeance rather than improvement, were totally unfit to govern themselves.

The National Guard were needed in Paris to clear the streets, to prevent thieves from stealing by day as well as by night, to save unpopular persons from being hung upon lamp-posts, and to make the city safe for peaceable people. All sorts of vile wretches, who at common times keep out of sight in the side streets and dingy shops of great cities, now came boldly forth, and in the name of liberty sought for chances to commit crimes. The crowds of idle people constantly drawn together by street-orators were easily roused, even to the point of putting to death; and there seems no reason to doubt that men were actually hired by some of the nobles to join these crowds and stir them up to every kind of mischief and cruelty. The design was to bring the revolution into disgrace, and make it appear that liberty led to violence.

This was precisely what Lafayette was resolved to prevent. Liberty and order were connected in his mind; freedom did not mean that the wicked only were free to do all the evil they might feel disposed to, but that the good and the industrious were to have liberty to keep all they could earn, and to live as they desired.

It is hard to imagine the restlessness and excitability of the people of Paris which Lafayette was constantly made to feel. About this time there was for several weeks a great scarcity of flour, and the magistrates did not know how to get enough into the city to feed the inhabitants, and the great number of strangers who flocked thither. The bakers were in a good deal of danger, for sometimes the mob would fancy that they concealed great quantities of flour in their shops. Several notes were shown to Lafayette forbidding the millers to grind for the capital, and to his surprise he found his own name at the bottom. It was of course a forgery. But what could the poor people think, when they saw such an order? One day, a little while after Lafayette had taken command of the National Guard, a great public meeting of tailors was called. He went to it, and made a speech which probably prevented mischief. It was afterwards found that this meeting was called merely to delay the finishing of the uniform of the Guard. They would be more easily distinguished in a crowd by wearing a uniform, and so have more power to stop outbreaks; and there were people enough in Paris ready to do anything that would keep up disturbances.

Lafayette led a most active life. He was constantly on horseback, riding about the city, consulting with the magistrates, addressing the people. One day it was an oration to the officers of the National Guard,—the next, an appeal to a dirty, disorderly mob to be patient, to wait for the constitution they were making at Versailles. He had great power over them; often when they were hungry and savage, ready to throw stones, or even to hang a man at a lamp-post, a few kind words from him, or sometimes a little jest, would make them good-natured. The trouble was, that they collected in such huge groups that his voice could not be heard by the distant ones. For instance, within a week of his appointment, two men were hung in the street, in spite of his most vigorous efforts. He was so much disturbed by this violence that he resigned his office, but the entreaties of the most respectable citizens of Paris prevailed upon him to take it again.

In this manner the summer was passed in Paris. By great and steady exertion, Lafayette and the mayor succeeded in getting quietly through the weeks of greatest scarcity. The price of bread was very high and the loaves were very poor; but, in spite of hunger and impatience, the mob did not again

take up arms. They could not at all understand why the pulling down of the Bastile, and the appointment of the National Guard instead of soldiers, had not immediately given bread to the poor, and ease and comfort to every man. They wondered why the king's consenting to their demands, and being called the Restorer of French liberty, did not at once remedy all the mischief of bad government for hundreds of years. But, although puzzled, the Parisians waited for the constitution which was making at Versailles with more patience than the country-people did. Gaunt, thin, fierce-looking men attacked and burnt the country-houses of the great lords, whose families did not always escape with their lives. The peasants had suffered terribly, and it was not strange if they were at first more furious than the citizens of Paris, for they knew less of what was going on at Versailles, and had less to divert their minds. The land lay neglected and full of nettles and briers, for the peasants were so weak, so hungry, and so ill-paid, that they had no heart to work. They said that all their earnings went to buy salt, to support the nobles and to pay taxes. And so, when the time came, they took revenge on all who had oppressed them, or who belonged to the higher classes. Often

the innocent wife or child or sister of a great lord suffered with him, for not only his own hard acts, but for those of his grandfather or great-grandfather. *Brigands* was the common name for the most atrocious of these people; and at any time a panic could be caused in any city, even Paris itself, by a report that the brigands were coming. The news of all these distresses came to Paris, and added to the anxiety of the patriots.

The quietness of the city was no doubt partly due to the National Guard, who became used to acting together, and interested in keeping order. They wore a cockade of red and blue, the colors * of the city of Paris, to which Lafayette had added white, the king's color, to signify that the Guard was faithful to the throne. "Gentlemen," said he to his friends at the Hotel de Ville, ** "I bring you a cockade which will go round the world!"†

He was often pressed and urged to take command of the National Guard of other

* In former times a knight was recognized by some ornament on his armor, or the colors of the scarf or feathers he wore; and so each great family and each city had colors of its own, which were shown on banners, on the coverings of horses, on the ornaments of buildings, &c.

**The town-house, or city hall.

† It has been worn in several countries, but not always by people whom Lafayette would have approved of.

cities, which was formed on the same plan as that of Paris; but he always refused, thinking that it was not sufficiently republican for one man to have so great power, and also because the task of keeping the Parisian mob quiet was sufficient to employ all his energy and zeal. He had refused the large salary which was offered him, but he declared that he did not consider the refusal a matter to be proud of, and that he should have accepted the money if his own fortune had not been sufficient for his expenses. These must now have been great, for many Frenchmen wished to visit him, and strangers had great curiosity to see him, so that his table was often a long one.

LIBERTY IN OCTOBER

Early in October, 1789, another outbreak occurred. There was at this time a regiment called the Body-Guard on service about the king's palace, and the Versailles National Guard were sometimes admitted within court limits. In addition, the king sent for a regiment called the Flanders. On its arrival, the Body-Guard gave a grand dinner of welcome. After dinner, the king, queen, and dauphin * visited the hall, and looked graciously upon their defenders. The poor queen, whose court was very dull, whose high spirit was every day wounded by the king's inferior position, whose hopes even for her little son were beginning to be dimmed, was delighted to hear once more a hearty cheer, "Vive le Roi!"†

* The eldest son of the king of France.
† Long live the King!

Her beauty, the sight of the court ladies attending her, the music they heard, and the wine they had drunk, all excited the Guards; prudence was forgotten; the National Assembly near them and the mobs of Paris were alike out of sight and out of mind; the tricolor cockade was torn from their coats and trampled on the floor, amid shouts and cheers for the royal family.

This would have passed off at common times as merely the enthusiasm of a military dinner; but now there were spies in the court, and watchful eyes upon everything that was displeasing to the patriots or the mob. This feast was reported at Paris, and the people immediately said, "How is this? We are starving and standing in long trains before the bakers' shops, while at Versailles the idle soldiers can give dinner-parties!" The account was exaggerated, and one Monday morning, the 5th of October, the insurrection of women began. Early in the day vast numbers of them streamed all over the Hôtel de Ville, up-stairs and down-stairs, to find the Mayor. They were poor women, seamstresses, washer-women, fish-women, coarse and rude, market-women, accustomed to talk loudly in their stalls. Some of them were bold, noisy, and furious; others, more respectable and modest,

apologized for the behavior of their companions; but they all said the same thing. "Bread! bread!" was the universal cry,—"for ourselves and for our children!" Some of them had seized rusty pikes and old guns, but their real power lay in their numbers; they had been of course joined by a great many men, and they blocked up the streets and squares all about the Hôtel de Ville. Lafayette, who arrived there early, was obliged to sit still on his white charger. Many and many a time he addressed them, but they would not disperse, and cries of "Let us go to Versailles" were mingled with the shout for bread. They must have been pretty good-natured, for he managed to keep the greater part of them standing there for eight hours. But at last he could no longer resist them, and sent to inquire at the Hôtel de Ville if the magistrates would permit him to go. They were thankful to get rid of the mob upon almost any terms, and gave the permission. But this was a real proof of courage, that he dared to keep an angry crowd waiting while he showed this desire to obey the magistrates.

He provided as quickly as possible for the protection of the city, and set forth at the head of a strange procession of National Guards, accompanied by women, and un-

happily by the worst and lowest villains of Paris, the brigands.

Messengers had been already sent in haste to give warning at Versailles, and thousands of women, accompanied by armed men and a few cannon, had set out at an earlier hour. They found Versailles in a state of agitation almost equal to that of Paris. Crowds had pressed about the building occupied by the Assembly from early morning; the members had been disturbed; the courtiers knew not what to do, as it was very doubtful if the soldiers could be trusted; the king, who was out hunting, had been hastily summoned home, but had given no orders after he came.

The troops of women had crowded into the Assembly's hall and eaten sausages there, all the while noisily applauding their favorite deputies, or bidding the unpopular ones hold their tongues. The president had tried in vain to restore order. Other women flattered the soldiers, and used every kind of persuasion to make them, as they said, friends of the people. Finally they sent in a committee of twelve to speak with the king, who was very gentle and courteous to them, so that they went out again quite content and pleased, but their companions scolded them for bringing no bread.

All was confusion. There were no places for this vast multitude to sleep in, when night came on. It was almost impossible for them to get enough food, for they were very hungry after their long march—they were wet and cold and forlorn,—not in a state of body very favorable to good temper or good behavior.

Lafayette arrived a little before midnight, and went first to see the President of the Assembly, whom he found very anxious; then he proceeded to the palace, in company with two commissioners from Paris, who made their requests to the king.

He agreed to all they asked, and one point was, that he should come and live in Paris. The courtiers and attendants were alarmed and restless; the king seemed uncertain; the queen alone kept a firm countenance, however terrified she may have been in her heart. Lafayette provided as well as he could for the defence of the palace during the night, but he was not allowed to place the National Guard in any but the outer posts. Leaving all quiet there, he went to find accommodations for the Guard for the rest of the night, and consulted with his officers in a room which he intended to use as headquarters.

After so long a day of activity and anxiety, he was just throwing himself down to get a

little sleep, when an alarm came from the palace, that the brigands had broken into the queen's apartments and were massacring the Body-Guard! He rushed to the palace, and found that the mob had indeed burst in, but that only two of the Body-Guard had been killed. The queen was saved by their devotion;—while fighting desperately they had cried out, Save the queen! and an officer flew to the door of her room and alarmed her ladies. Hastily wrapping something around her, they all took refuge in the king's apartments. Lafayette by great exertions succeeded in clearing the palace, and saving the Body-Guard and other troops from the fury of the mob; but it was necessary for them to put on the tricolor cockade, which they had thrown down a few days before.

A scene took place which shows the nature of the French and of soldiers generally. The National Guard had come to Versailles indignant at the Body-Guard and their dinners; but when this alarm was given, the first company that reached the spot was one of grenadiers who had fought in former years in company with the Body-Guards. All quarrels were forgotten; they remembered only that they were brothers-in-arms, and saved them.

Lafayette now placed the National Guard everywhere, with solemn charges to protect the royal family. He then proceeded to the balcony and harangued the multitude who filled the court below; he did not hesitate to rebuke them for their violence, and assured them of the king's intention to come to Paris. The king himself appeared and confirmed it, and then Lafayette said to the queen, "Madame, what is your own intention?" "I know the fate which awaits me," she answered; "but it is my duty to die at the king's feet and in my children's arms." "Come with me, Madame," said he. "What! alone on the balcony! Have not you seen the signs they have made!" "Yes, Madame, but come." She stepped forward with her children, but a voice cried "No children!" and she gently pushed them back and advanced alone before the angry mob. She was terribly unpopular. They hated her because she was an Austrian, and because they thought she advised the king against all the plans for their good. False stories too had been cruelly told about her, years before, so that she had long been an unhappy lady; and now you can imagine her heart was almost breaking with fear and with humiliation at being in the power of the crowd whom she had been taught to despise.

They could not help admiring her as she stood before them, so beautiful, so brave, and so dignified. Lafayette could not make himself heard above the tumult, so he knelt down and kissed the queen's hand. When they saw that, they cried out "Vive le General! Vive la Reine!" *

Then the king said to Lafayette, "And now what can you do for my Guards?" "Bring one here," was Lafayette's answer, and, giving him his own tricolor cockade, he embraced him before all the people, who then shouted for the Body-Guard. By these acts Lafayette endeavored to teach them that their own liberty need not interfere with respect for the queen, and that they might be merciful to an enemy whom they had conquered. They knew well enough that he was their friend, and he wanted them to see that he meant to be the queen's at the same time.

The morning was spent in hasty preparation for the departure for Paris. Kings and queens do not generally move from palace to palace in such haste, and the ladies in waiting were too frightened to pack trunks. The mob emptied the magazines of Versailles, and fancied that they should supply Paris with

*Long live the General! Long live the Queen!

The strange procession that set out at one o'clock.

the cart-loads of grain which formed a part of the strange procession that set out at one o'clock. The National Guard walked before and behind the royal carriage; the National Assembly followed in a long line of coaches, and the mob filled up all spaces. Women seemed to be everywhere, and, though Lafayette rode by the side of the king's coach, he could not always prevent the queen's hearing some of the rude speeches of these dirty, coarse women. They were no longer furious; the city of Paris had sent out after them cart-loads of loaves, and they connected in some unreasonable way the king's living in Paris with a supply of provisions. One of them called out, "Courage, friends!—we are bringing you the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy!" This is not the language queens are used to hear, but it was much better than threats or insult.

Moving slowly, this train arrived at Paris in the evening; and the royal family were first taken to the Hôtel de Ville, where the king got out of his carriage and showed himself to the people, wearing the tricolor cockade. He desired the mayor to say that he came to live among his people of Paris with pleasure and confidence. The mayor, in repeating, forgot the word *confidence;* the queen reminded him

of it, and he, turning again to the crowd, said, "Gentlemen, in hearing it from the queen's lips, you are more fortunate than if I had not made the mistake." At last they were able to go to the palace of the Tuileries, which was not at all ready for them, but any resting-place must have been welcome after such a terrible day and night.

All the royal family, the king's aunts and sister as well as himself, expressed much gratitude to Lafayette for his services during this trying time. Even the queen, who disliked him, acknowledged that he had saved their lives. It was no easy matter in these days to serve the queen; for the aversion to her was extraordinary, and was not at all confined to the people of Paris.

DOUBTS

The royal family were now to live at the Tuileries in a monotonous, lonely way. The nobles had been for many months leaving France to seek safety by living in foreign lands, and the court was thin and small. The queen occupied herself with her children, and with writing letters; she had many plans of escaping from Paris to join the emigrant nobles and her own family. The king lamented the loss of his hunting, and amused himself as best he could. When they drove about Paris, they were always well received by the people.

For a few days after their arrival, all was joy and rejoicing; but before the end of October a baker's shop was broken into, and the baker killed. This outrage Lafayette promptly punished, but it was found necessary to put the city under martial law; that is, to give to

officers the power, if necessary, to shoot or hang a man without his being tried.

At this time clubs were beginning to come into fashion in Paris. They were not like the English one, places for comfort, but for political discussion; and generally the most fiery and abusive speeches were made at them. An immense excitement was kept up in this way. The most famous was the Breton, afterwards the Jacobin club. Lafayette's friends tried to form a milder, more respectable one; but it failed.

There was far more trouble in the country than in Paris during the winter of 1789-90; but all the outbreaks were reported in the city and to the Assembly, which went on making new laws and speeches, all the time. People must have read nothing but newspapers and pamphlets in those days, to judge by the hundreds that were sold; while in certain places the walls of the city were covered with huge placards, fresh every day.

As the spring opened, Lafayette sometimes resumed his place in the Assembly; he took part in discussions relating to the terrible riots at Marseilles, and to the conduct of the Duke of Orleans, the king's cousin, who was an exceedingly difficult person to manage.

Early in June, he brought forward a proposal that no person should ever command the National Guard of more than one department of France. This was agreed to and became a law, which proves Lafayette's forbearance, for he must have anticipated that in the course of a few weeks several commands would be offered to him. A project for the meeting of deputies from all the National Guards of the kingdom was much talked of, and the day selected for it was the fourteenth of July, the anniversary of the surrender of the Bastile.

In June, also, a decree was passed abolishing titles of all sorts, the use of liveries for servants, and some other distinctions which had been very common among the nobles. Lafayette was strongly in favor of these changes, as he desired to see republican simplicity take the place of ancient forms.

One incident of this spring shows his energy and popularity. A man who had stolen a bag of oats was beaten to death (as Lafayette thought) by a mob. He was going home in his carriage when he heard of the affair, and instantly pressed into the thickest of the crowd and inquired who had killed him. A man being pointed out by the Guards, Lafayette seized him by the collar and

dragged him to prison, reproaching the people for their offence. When he came out of the prison, he ordered the Guards to move off, and again, standing quite alone, rebuked the mob. He told them they were the dupes of artful men who endeavored to stir them up, and who hoped by such tumults to bring disgrace on true liberty, and to drive the king and the Assembly from Paris; but that he was resolved to maintain order. While he was speaking, the thief, who had appeared to be dead, came to life, and the people on the edge of the crowd were beginning to hang him, when Lafayette and the Guards rescued him. He then for the third time addressed the people, and ordered them to disperse, which they did with shouts of "Vive Lafayette!"

The 14th of July, 1790, is known under various names, as the celebration of the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, the Feast of Pikes, and the Federation of the National Guard. Guards came to Paris from twenty-three departments of France, to swear fidelity to "the Nation, the Laws, and the King; to maintain the Constitution; and to protect the lives and property of all." The oath was taken upon what was called "the Altar of our Country," which was built in the centre of an enclosure, surrounded with a

grassy bank, on which were seats for three hundred thousand spectators (it was supposed). The raising of this bank in the Champ de Mars* had been one of the extraordinary sights of the time. It was found that the hired laborers would not finish it in time, and all sorts of people had joined in the work; deputies, lawyers, courtiers, priests, mechanics, idlers, ladies, had all filled and wheeled their barrow full of earth, to prepare for the great festival. All was ready for the 14th, and the grand arch of entrance, the altar, and the royal tent were decorated with the taste for which Parisians are always remarkable. The people poured out of the city at an early hour, and the grassy banks were soon turned into a circle of gay colors; but the day was showery, and the bright dresses were often hidden by umbrellas.

Through the high gate came rank after rank of National Guards, soldiers, sailors, the mayor and magistrates of Paris, the king and queen, (to whom all this show was but a sad sight) and the National Assembly. The people cheered their favorite deputies, but Lafayette was now their idol. The king had intrusted to him the giving of all orders

* A field in the southwest part of the city, used for military reviews.

within the enclosure, and he was for that day the most powerful man in all France,—Major general of the whole National Guard, which perhaps included three millions of men. He had arranged a system of signals and expresses, by which news was to be carried all over the kingdom as fast as possible. He was the first person who mounted the steps of the altar and took the oath. As soon as he had finished speaking, the whole body of Guards cried out, "I swear!" and, as there were about fourteen thousand present, the words must have been lost in a roar. The king and the president of the Assembly also took the oath, and cannon were fired. Through the day there were shows and rejoicings, and at night there were illuminations.

On the 16th of July the representatives of the National Guard of several different places, then assembled in Paris, made an address to Lafayette, expressing their regret that the law he had himself proposed made it impossible for them to unite under his command, as they would gladly have done.

From all this rejoicing, one might imagine that the troubles of the nation were over, and that a time of ease and quiet was coming. The king seemed to have submitted to the people's will, and the National Guard might

be thought a sufficient protection against the mob. But Lafayette could not yet relax his watchful control of the city of Paris,—a very small excitement still collected a crowd ready for all mischief, and he was always suspicious of the nobles' endeavoring to rouse the bad part of the population. Those who were still in France and those who had taken refuge in other countries all hated the revolution, and some of them were ready to do anything that would make it odious.

From the country, too, still came reports of outbreaks; of crowds demanding bread and vengeance; of burning castles and fields uncultivated.

But even at this time Lafayette's whole thought was not given to his own country; he took a warm interest in a revolution in Belgium, and the liberal party there seem to have looked upon him as almost their chief.

The winter had passed away without disturbance, though not without alarms, until the 28th of February, when Lafayette received information that there was a chance of an outbreak at the old disused prison of Vincennes. He left a battalion near the palace of the Tuileries, and set forth himself for Vincennes. He found a crowd just beginning to demolish the prison, and took the ring-

leaders to jail, after having threatened to bring cannon against one of the gates of the city which was shut behind him. As he rode home, several shots were fired at him and his officers, and one man tried to bring down his horse in order to get closer aim, but a grenadier's bayonet saved him. The report, however, was spread that he was killed.

In another part of Paris, a different scene was taking place. An unusual number of gentlemen had been all day about the palace of the Tuileries, and some of them had invited the National Guard to drink with them. Towards evening it was discovered that they were armed, and no one seemed to know exactly what they had come for. The king came out of his apartments to see them, and they loudly asserted that Lafayette had been killed. When poniards were shown, the king seemed disconcerted, and the officer in command of the National Guard stoutly refused to believe the death of Lafayette. He arrived in the midst of confusion, and, seeing a great basket of weapons, immediately ordered the gentlemen to be put out of the palace.

This was done and quiet was restored within the Tuileries, but the two affairs together had given Lafayette a vexatious day. He believed that the tumult at Vincennes had

been excited by the enemies of the revolution, and that if he had been killed these *knights of the poniard,* as they were called, would have persuaded the king to go off with them.

Lafayette could not be so much at the palace and so often with the king as he was now, without seeing that there was a great chance the king would follow the example of the great lords and make his escape from France. The queen could not be contented with her present mode of life; the palace was gloomy and sad; her former friends and the courtiers she had long known had deserted her; she did not understand these new ideas of liberty for the people; she had never been taught to think of her subjects except to be kind and polite to those about her; and she had not had pleasant lessons in freedom, seeing her palace surrounded by a mob ready to kill her, and being insulted in the streets as she sometimes had been. She had sense enough to see that the king's power would never be restored to him, that her son would not succeed to such a throne as her husband had, and in her melancholy moments she was afraid for all their lives. Her brother was a powerful emperor,—was it strange that she thought, if she could but go to him, he would give the king and his old friends an army, and

they should come back victorious over their enemies? Of course she urged the king to go while yet he was able. Lafayette and other persons were always encouraging him that all would end well; and he wavered, sometimes acting on one side, sometimes on the other.

There was no reason to suppose that she or the king expected this collection of people at the palace, but they probably would not have come if they had believed the royal family were entirely content.

After this, however, the king used, in speaking to Lafayette, such strong expressions of determination to abide by the constitution, that the latter assured the public, *on his life,* that the royal family would remain in Paris.

During the spring of 1791, discussions were going on in the National Assembly which interested Lafayette very much. One related to the position of the clergy; another to the condition of the negroes in the French colonies. In both cases he was of course in favor of the greatest liberty that could exist at the same time with good order.

In April he was for the first time dissatisfied with the conduct of the National Guards. The king desired to spend a few days at Saint

Cloud, a palace in the country, about four miles and a half southwest of Paris; there he wished to pass Easter week, to hear mass and confess in his favorite church. As soon as the rumor of this got abroad, all sorts of stories were started; it was said that thousands of men with poniards lurked in ambush in the woods, and would immediately overpower the National Guard and carry off the king. When the royal carriage was driven to the front of the palace, the great bell of the nearest church began to ring, and in a moment the square was crowded with people. They poured in, crying "The king shall not go! we will not let the king go!" Lafayette came up and addressed them, rode hither and thither in vain; and when he gave his orders to the Guards, was not at all satisfied with their obedience. The king and queen took their places; the coachman cracked his whip and the horses reared, but could do no more, for many hands snatched at their bridles. There the sovereigns sat for more than an hour, waiting, hoping that the tumult would subside, while Lafayette tried his utmost. At last he told the king that if his Majesty would order him to fire on the crowd he would open a passage for the coach; but that was a thing Louis the Sixteenth never would do,—allow

a drop of his subjects' blood to be shed by his command. He said No, and with the queen got out of the carriage and went back into the palace. Neither of them ever saw Saint Cloud again.

After this, Lafayette proposed to the king to declare frankly to the Assembly that while he governed as a constitutional king he *must* have for himself, as well as for every other person, the right to worship God according to his own conscience. The king seemed touched by Lafayette's earnestness, but said that he would take a day to decide; and there the matter ended.

Lafayette, wearied alike with the plots of the nobles and the tumults of the mob, and offended by the want of discipline of the Guards, resigned his command. He was, however, induced by many requests from the Guards themselves and from other excellent persons, to resume his labors for the public quiet.

A LAMENTABLE FLIGHT

The next important event was that on the night of the 20th of June the king and his family escaped from the Tuileries. This was not discovered until five or six o'clock in the morning of the next day. As soon as Lafayette heard of it, he went immediately to the palace, but could get little information from the attendants there, and then proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville. On his way he met crowds of people, who were furious against him for having allowed the king to escape. He was perfectly calm, and, seeing his tranquility, they were a little quieted; and he talked with them until the Assembly, hearing of his danger, sent for him. The deputies asked him to provide an escort, that they might all return together; and he answered "that he would provide one out of respect for those who had been sent to him, but for himself he

should go apart, having never been safer, for the streets were full of people." Arrived at the Assembly,* he said but few words to the members; he found them quite ready to give the necessary orders; his aide-de-camp was at once sent off in pursuit of the king.

There was much excitement in the streets of Paris throughout the day. At the clubs the speeches were furious, and Lafayette was thoroughly abused.

The next day the National Guard asked leave to repeat their oath of fidelity before the Assembly, and Lafayette presented them as tried and faithful soldiers and citizens.

It was soon known that the king had been stopped at Varennes. On the 25th of June the royal family re-entered Paris, more like captives than rulers.

Their flight had been completely mismanaged. They had gone in one great party,—the king and queen, the two children, the Princess Elizabeth, (the king's sister) and the children's governess. They ought to have separated and gone in the quietest way; in-

* The king had left a proclamation, which was brought to the Assembly by a M. de la Porte. He was asked how it came to his hands, and answered, "With a note." "Where is this note?" said a member. "No, no," was called out from all sides. "It is a confidential note; we have no right to see it."

On the 20th of June the king and his family escaped from the Tuileries.

stead of that, they had a showy carriage that moved slowly and attracted attention, and the king had walked up hills to enjoy the sunshine! They were not punctual at the place where they expected to meet soldiers, and the gentlemen who conducted the business, though devoted royalists, do not seem to have made good couriers. Common travellers went faster every day. Something of the queen's suffering when they were stopped may be known from the fact that her beautiful hair turned white in one night.

Lafayette exerted himself to keep the streets quiet as the king passed through them, and was successful. There were many discontented looks, but no outcries.

While he went to meet the carriage at the gate of the city, a considerable crowd collected about the palace, and attempted to seize two of the Body-Guard, who had ridden outside the coach of the royal party, disguised as couriers. The queen, seeing him, cried out, eagerly, "Monsieur de Lafayette, save the Body-Guards!" He secured a safe entrance for them all.

It was his next duty, and a very painful one, to inform their Majesties of the Assembly's decree that there should be a separate special guard for each of them and for the

Dauphin, and that all persons concerned in the flight should be immediately examined. Also, that the acts of the Assembly would become laws without the king's consent to them being asked. The king heard all this very calmly, and then said to Lafayette: "I tell you frankly that until the last few days I thought I was in a whirpool of men of your opinion, with whom you surrounded me, but that it was not the opinion of France. I have seen clearly on this journey that I was mistaken, and that it is the common idea." The queen showed more annoyance, but after a long conversation with Lafayette was heard to say that she was satisfied with him. He assured them he would try to make them content; but his office became far more oppressive to him than it had ever been. He was obliged to put more soldiers about the Tuileries, so that the royal family felt painfully that they were watched, although a large number of their friends, well-known enemies of the revolution, were still admitted to visit them. Lafayette chose to interpret the Assembly's decrees in the mildest manner, though he knew that some of the members were not satisfied with his conduct.

After this attempt at escape, there were serious discussions in the Assembly as to

continuing the monarchy in France, and if Louis the Sixteenth should be allowed to reign. Some persons proposed to put the little Dauphin on the throne and have a regency,* but the matter was finally settled as Lafayette and his friends desired. They were already disturbed at the violence of some deputies and of the clubs, and desired to give the new constitution as fair a chance as possible under the present sovereign, and without any more overthrows.

But these events and discussions could not pass by without exciting some tumult in such a city as Paris.

The 14th of July was celebrated cheerfully; but on the 17th a dangerous crowd collected around the altar of the Champ de Mars. They pretended that they only wished peacefully to sign a petition and then disperse; but they lingered many hours, until it became necessary for the mayor and Lafayette, with a strong body of the National Guard, to march against them. With some difficulty and some loss of life, the rioters were put down; but they had formed wild schemes of attacking the Assembly, and the good citizens of Paris felt much relieved when at

* A regency consists of one or more persons who govern while a king is a child or insane,—unfit to rule, for any reason.

night all ended within the Champ de Mars, instead of spreading through the streets, as was feared. The mayor and Lafayette were both much troubled by the character of this outbreak. Barricades* had been erected, and the National Guard were fired on more freely than ever before; the beginning of the day was also bloody, for two old men concealed beneath the altar had been killed by the crowd.

The summer was much occupied with the revision† of the constition, and Lafayette took an active part in the last debates of the National Assembly. The constitution was accepted by the king in September, and in the same month the Assembly broke up. It had done a great work for France. It had destroyed many old abuses, given greater freedom to the common people than had been dreamed of before, secured religious liberty, and formed a new system of government. Some persons doubted if it had left the king sufficient power to be anything more than a name and a show; but Lafayette's chief fear was from the violence of certain public men,

* Barricades are made by piling vehicles, paving-stones, pieces of fences, anything the crowd can lay hands upon. When well made it is exceedingly hard to climb over them, or to shoot people behind them.

† Examining,—looking over to see what errors there are.

who seemed discontented with the necessary restraints of order and law, and who probably did not understand the force of their own expressions, or their effect on other people. Such men had shown, in the discussions relating to a republic, utter indifference to the condition and welfare of the king. From this time forth Lafayette endeavored to combine with his love for the people sincere efforts to save the king's power.

On the 12th of September, 1791, the day the king accepted the constitution, Lafayette proposed that all trials for acts connected with the Revolution should cease. This was adopted by acclamation by the Assembly, and set free all who were concerned in the king's flight to Varennes, as well as some of the rioters of the Champ de Mars.

Early in October Lafayette took a most affectionate leave of the National Guard of Paris. He had always intended to resign his command when the constitution should be made; and when that Assembly which he had been the first to demand broke up, he felt that a very solemn and interesting period of his own life and his country's history was past.

His journey from Paris to his home at Chavaniac, in Auvergne, was one continued

triumph. The city of Paris voted him a medal and a marble statue of Washington. The National Guard of Paris sent him, after his retirement, a sword cast from one of the bolts of the Bastile.

For a few months he lived very happily in the country, enjoying the great changes which he found in the condition of the peasants about him. The priests, however, still remained much opposed to the Revolution, and he says, in a letter, that "the peasants, released from trammels, paying one half less than they used to, hardly dare rejoice to be free, for fear of losing their souls." Lafayette was always liberal to every kind of belief and worship, but he desired that the clergy should not be opposed to the well-being of their flocks here on earth.

Shortly after his retirement some of his friends made an effort to elect him Mayor of Paris; but a more violent man was successful against him. He had not, however, a long interval in his public life, for in December the king's ministers announced that three armies were to be sent to the borders of France and Belgium. Lafayette was to command one of them. The king in council hesitated a little about appointing him; his minister, M. de Narbonne, immediately answered, "If your

Majesty does not appoint him to-day, the national wish will force you to, to-morrow."

Lafayette came up to Paris; was politely received by the king, and cordially welcomed by the Legislative Assembly, which had succeeded to the National or Constituent Assembly. It was composed of new men, and Lafayette's friends now held the place which had been occupied by the court party; that is, they were now the people opposed to changes and to new things, and wishing to stand by the government as it was. Lafayette expressed his respect for the Assembly, and determination to support the constitution. The President told him publicly that the nation with confidence opposed to its enemies "the Constitution and Lafayette." The National Guard lined the streets as their former chief left Paris to take his new command.

War with Austria was expected and prepared for; but the campaign did not immediately begin. There were several causes of quarrel between Austria and France, but they were chiefly stirred up by the emigrant nobles, who in their hatred of the new people forgot all the horrors of seeing a foreign army enter their own country. The king and queen wavered. He seems to have wished that the

constitution might succeed, and to have been ready to make great sacrifices for his people's happiness; but he could not bring himself heartily to accept this new order of things; he had no faith in it, and was always trying to avoid doing what the friends of the constitution desired. He constantly disappointed them, though they made great sacrifices for him.

The queen was more decided. She corresponded with her own family and the emigrants; she would have been thankful to have escaped long before their unfortunate attempt; and, being a foreigner and hated, she had none of the sympathy with the French nation which Louis the Sixteenth often expressed. And yet even she objected to some of the conditions of being restored by the emigrants, and she had at different times a good deal of intercourse with more violent republicans than Lafayette. She seems to have fancied herself safer if she could have a secret friend in that party of the Assembly which seemed to be her bitterest enemies, and she spared no pains to secure one. It is said that she used bribes of money freely.

Party spirit ran terribly high in the Assembly at this time. Violent language was heard on all sides, and the clubs, especially

the Jacobin, seemed almost as powerful in Paris as the Assembly itself. It was an immense association, for it had a society connected with it in every town in the kingdom. And from being the name of a club, it became the title of the most violent and bloodthirsty political party ever known in France, or it might be said in the civilized world.

The ministers, too, quarreled with each other, so that there was no peace or order anywhere.

When Lafayette arrived at Metz, his headquarters, he devoted himself to improving the condition of his army. It had been expected that, being a republican, and in favor of equality, he would be more indulgent than the former generals; but it did not prove so; —his desire was to make the army efficient, and strict discipline alone would do that. He made it understood that every kind of luxury and idleness was a sign of aristocracy, and that the republican officer or soldier would be severe in discipline and simple in habits.

He was particularly interested in introducing horse-artillery, which he had seen in Prussia, and which has since become famous.

TROUBLE AT HOME AND ABROAD

In consequence of the various disagreements already mentioned, the three generals, Lafayette, Luckner, and Rochambeau,* were summoned to Paris, and detained there for some time. It was finally agreed that Lafayette should be the one to enter Belgium, and that the minister of war should never change the positions of the three armies without giving all three generals sufficient time to arrange their movements on the same plan.

War was formally declared in April, and while the generals were engaged in the preparations necessary for entering the Low Countries, they were startled by a new plan suddenly sent to them from Paris. According to this, Lafayette was to move with his whole army from Metz to Givet, near Charlemont,

* The general of the French troops in America in 1781.

a distance of fifty-six leagues* in five days. The weather was excessively hot, the troops suffered much from their rapid march, and the officers had hard work to collect the great number of horses necessary to transport the heavy cannon and the baggage of a large army. But it was done, and Lafayette's enemies in the Assembly, who had hoped that a failure would destroy his popularity, were for the present disappointed.

He was of course becoming unpopular now with the violent party, on account of his devotion to the king, just as in 1787 he had been looked upon with horror by the royalists† for his love of liberty.

The other parts of the new plan failed, but even this slight beginning of active operations showed that the army could not be trusted. Some officers deserted in the night, —others threw the troops into confusion on the field of battle.

After these proceedings Count Rochambeau insisted on resigning. Marshal Luckner and Lafayette, therefore, remained in command. During an attack on Flanders by sea, Lafayette agreed to occupy an intrenched camp at Maubeuge, with eighteen thousand

* A French league is about two and a half English miles.
† The king's party.

men. A few days after he removed thither, some little skirmishing engagements with the enemy took place, in which Lafayette's young troops showed their excellent discipline, and prepared themselves for future distinction.

But his great interest even at camp seems to have been the state of Paris and the Assembly, or rather the Jacobinism which was spreading over the whole country. From every quarter complaints were brought to him of the constantly increasing power and violence of this party. He felt their influence keenly in the difficulties which were every day thrown in his way in relation to providing for the army.

After much thought on the subject, he decided on writing a letter to the Assembly, in which he spoke of the Jacobin faction by name, as the enemies and destroyers of real liberty. He dwelt on the dangers of France, at this moment threatened by enemies without, and agitated within, and he exhorted the Deputies to be at once constitutional and just. He appealed to the services of his own past life as proof of his sincere devotion to the people, praised the patriotism and courage of his army, and urged loyalty to the king and constitution, and the putting down of

clubs. He also explained the difficulties he had had with the ministers, so that this letter must have raised up for him many open enemies where before he had secret ones.

It cannot be said to have produced much effect on the Assembly. Seventy-five departments* of France announced their agreement with its principles, but the moderate men had hardly been at all strengthened by it when the horrors of the 20th of June filled all minds with consternation.

On this day an attack was made by the mob on the palace of the Tuileries. For several hours a great multitude marched through the apartments. They insulted the king and queen, but did not kill them, and at last withdrew in obedience to the mayor, Pétion. Both he and the Assembly behaved very ill; they would not believe that the king was in danger, or take any measures for his defence. The crowd were armed with axes, pikes, knives, or anything they could lay hands on; they also carried on high poles various inscriptions, such as "Death to tyrants!" and symbols, such as a little guillotine, &c.

The king and queen had been separated. A few attendants and some grenadiers were

* Districts.

with difficulty collected about the king; they drew him a little back into a recessed window, and put a table before him. And in this way he stood for hours watching his people as they passed through the room. Men and women, alike coarse and rough, spoke to him from time to time, compelled him to wear the red cap, called the cap of liberty, or claimed his consent to certain public measures. "This is not the time nor the manner to ask me," said the king, firmly. Louis the Sixteenth did not know how to be popular, could not win the nation by brilliant acts either in politics or war; but he had courage, and could endure. On this day a soldier standing near him said something of the alarm he must be in. "No," said the king, "I am in no terror; I have meant well; I have no fear. Give me your hand. Here," said he, putting the soldier's hand upon his heart. "Does it beat as if I were afraid?" It seems that he had expected this outbreak, and was quite prepared to lose his life in it. For several days his thoughts had been turned to heaven rather than earth.

The queen was in an agony at being separated from him, and only the entreaties of her attendants, who assured her the king's danger would be increased by her appearance, kept her in her private apartments; she was

obliged to hasten from room to room as the crowd broke down doors. The court ladies and gentlemen with her were of course unfit to resist a furious armed mob. She was not called for until some grenadiers had been got into the palace, who were ranged on each side of her, while a large council-table formed a sort of barricade between her and the never-ending multitude who swept through the rooms she might once have called hers. Protected by the faithful troops, she listened for hours to the horrid cries of the rabble, and, however distressed at heart, it is said that her face never showed disturbance. Her manner was gentle and courteous to all who spoke to her. She was obliged to bear the ignominy (to her) of putting the red cap on her own head, and then on the Dauphin's. Poor children! Imagine how frightened he and his sister must have been!

The princess Elizabeth behaved nobly on this day. Early in the affair, she was trying to join her brother, when the crowd compelled her likewise to move into a recessed window. Mistaking her for the queen, they abused her in the most shocking manner. Those about her were just on the point of exclaiming that she was not the queen, when the princess said, "No, no, don't tell them my

name; let them take me for the queen." No doubt she was ready to be killed herself in order to save her sister's life.

This outbreak was prepared by the Jacobins, who made no secret of their intention to excite it.

Lafayette understood this the moment he received the news. His grief and horror were great, for he was shocked on every point. That a mob should appear armed before the Assembly, was an insult to the liberty he cherished; that such a mob should dare to enter the palace, showed the weakness of the National Guard; and that the Assembly should make no effort to protect the prince, who was, in name at least, the head of the nation, showed a want of agreement between the two chief powers of the constitution.

He took a resolve—somewhat hopeless, indeed—to go to Paris, address the Assembly, and see what could be done;—if he could yet collect around him a band of true patriots strong enough to oppose the Jacobins.

He reached Paris on the 28th, and immediately said to the Assembly that he had come to declare himself the author of the letter of the 16th of June, which some persons had said was a forgery; to express the surprise and regret of the army at the events of

the 20th, and to entreat that the Assembly would order the punishment of all who stirred up such an outbreak,—would resist the tyranny of a party, and cause constitutional powers to be everywhere respected.

His words produced little effect; it was clear to him, in the course of a day or two, that the Assembly dared not oppose the Jacobins. He visited the royal family, who received him politely, and with thanks, but told him none of their plans.* He made vain attempts to collect the National Guard and address them; but only a few came to the appointed place, and a review which he had intended to attend was put off by the mayor.

Not exactly disappointed, because he had hoped so little, but very despondent as to the prospects of his country, Lafayette returned to camp. His popularity in Paris was evidently gone; but he thought more of the king and the Assembly than of himself. It was hard to have his bright hopes of liberty dashed just at the moment when they seemed to be fulfilled. He saw that the power of the

* The Princess Elizabeth said it was time to forget the past, and throw themselves with confidence into the arms of the only man who could save the king and his family. But the queen said, "It would be better to perish than to be saved by Lafayette and the Constitutionals!"

Jacobin club was just as much a tyranny as that of any king or emperor. And he was convinced, by the way in which he was treated as he passed through the country, that the greater part of the nation sympathized with him, and not with the Jacobins.

At camp Lafayette was again troubled by obstacles thrown in his way on purpose. No interesting military movements occupied his time and thoughts. He received orders from Paris to change his department,—that is, the region he had to defend, in a case of fighting, —and was then abused at the clubs for doing so!

In marching the necessary distance, Lafayette's army passed near Compiégne, a royal seat, and the idea occurred to him that the king, attended by him, might go to the Assembly and announce his intention of passing a few days at Compiégne; and that, once arrived there and surrounded by certain faithful soldiers whom Lafayette would answer for, he should send out a proclamation forbidding the emigrants to advance into France, declaring himself decidedly for the constitution, and ready to lead the army against Austrians and Prussians. Such a declaration would have strengthened the Constitutionals, would have given the king a party he could

depend upon, and would have silenced the Jacobins, who always declared that the royal family urged the coming of a foreign army.

But Louis the Sixteenth and his advisers could not consent to any measure so contrary to their old habits and inclinations. Lafayette was thanked and refused.*

Fresh difficulties were created between the Generals Luckner and Lafayette during a visit of the former to Paris. It was said in the Assembly that Lafayette had proposed to him to march upon Paris. Their letters were read, and fully proved that the only proposals which had passed between them were for attacks on the enemy. But the matter went so far that Lafayette's enemies ventured to propose an accusation. This, however, was voted down.

The 10th of August, 1792, was memorable for a still more alarming attack on the Tuileries. Twenty thousand armed men, followed by the mob and brigands, approached the palace, which was too large to be defended except by regular soldiers, well commanded. The king had about nine hundred Swiss, a few of the National Guard, and some

* The queen is reported to have said, alluding to the 6th of October, 1789, "It would be too much to owe our lives to him twice!"

brave gentlemen, who, knowing his danger, had come rather to die with him than to save him. The artillery-men refused to obey orders.

Defence was so hopeless that the royal family were persuaded to go over to the Assembly. This step probably saved their own lives, but the faithful Swiss whom they left behind were terribly massacred. Either the king forgot to give the order he intended forbidding them to fire, or it was not delivered by the person to whom he gave it. It is not known on which side the firing began, but they could of course do nothing against such numbers. The king and queen were distressed when they heard the noise of arms, and a brave gentleman offered to carry another order back to the palace. He did so, and a few were saved. The Swiss officers and all the attendants of the royal family had terrible risks to run, and it seems almost a miracle that any of them could escape with their lives.

Though the king and queen were not killed on this horrible day, they were ever after prisoners, and were both executed by order of the National Convention, which took the place of the Assembly.

Lafayette first heard the account of this terrible 10th of August from one of the National Guard escaped from the massacre, and from an officer who had been at the Tuileries. Finding that all was violence and tyranny at Paris, that the king was a prisoner, and the Assembly no longer really free, Lafayette declared that he put his army and himself under the orders of the magistrates of Ardennes, the department in which he then was, as they were the only authorities chosen by the people who were left for him to obey. He told the army what he had done, and was rejoiced to find that both officers and soldiers remained truly patriotic. Some of the neighboring departments joined Ardennes in its resolutions, and Lafayette did not despair of others taking the same stand. In the mean time he refused obedience to the orders which were sent to him from Paris.

Immediately after the 10th of August, the enemy, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, entered France, but not in the neighborhood of Lafayette. He had to guard the frontier, but was not concerned in any engagement.

The Assembly continued to pass decrees entirely contrary to Lafayette's principles of liberty, and sent numerous commissioners to

his camp to try to shake the fidelity of his soldiers. No towns, no magistrates showed themselves on his side; he found that by persisting in his resistance he should expose his troops to two dangers,—one from the enemy, the other from their own countrymen. On the 19th of August, he sorrowfully decided that he was no longer of use, was exposing himself and his friends to danger, and must for the present seek shelter in some *neutral country*.*

* A country taking no part in a war.

EXILE

It was not easy to find a neutral country which he could reach, and he decided to pass through Holland on the way to England. If he could hope to return to France soon, he would remain in England, where he desired his family to join him; but if his own country were not free, he resolved to make his home in the United States. After having written this to his wife, he added, "I make no apology to you or my children for having ruined my family; no one among you would wish to owe fortune to conduct contrary to my conscience."

After taking every possible precaution for the safety of his army, Lafayette set out on the 19th of August, as if he were merely reconnoitering, with his usual escort and some officers who had served with him in the National Guard of Paris. Two of his friends, Messieurs Latour-Maubourg and Bureaux de Pusy, also accompanied him, and a third,

M. Alexandre Lameth, met them on the road. He had intended to go to Lafayette's camp, but, hearing of his journey, determined to accompany him. When they reached Bouillon, on the borders of France, Lafayette sent back his escort, and all the officers dismissed their orderlies,* because they would not deprive their country of even one defender.

The little party of twenty-three exiles—for such they really were—had only reached Rochefort, seven leagues from Bouillon, when they were stopped by finding Austrian soldiers there. They had of course kept clear of the enemy's camp, but this was a sort of outpost which they had not been quite sure of. They applied to the commandant for permission to proceed the next day, representing that they no longer held rank in the French army, and therefore were not to be treated as military officers, but as private gentlemen.

The commandant agreed very readily, but insisted that they should provide themselves with a passport† from General Moitelle, commanding at Namur. This general, when he saw the letter announcing Lafayette's arrival, instead of saying anything about passports,

*A soldier of low rank, who waits upon a superior.

† A permission from government to go from one country to another. In time of war it is often given by a general.

The little party had only reached Rochefort when they were stopped.

fell into transports of joy, and cried out, "Lafayette! Lafayette! Run instantly to tell the Duke of Bourbon! Lafayette! Take post to carry this news to his Royal Highness at Brussels!" Instead of passports, an order was despatched for forwarding the *prisoners* immediately to Namur. They hoped they should not be long detained, but were soon removed to Nivelle, where a division was made. Those who had not served in the National Guard were released; the other officers were sent to Antwerp, where they had to spend two months; the four Deputies, to the National Assembly, Lafayette,* Latour-Maubourg, Bureaux de Pusy, and Lameth, were sent to Luxembourg, where they were separated, and after a week's delay, escorted to Wezel by a Prussian guard. There they spent three months in prison, parted from each other, deprived of all news and of the means of writing. They were never allowed to go out; the double doors of the prison were bolted and padlocked. Such a mode of life was enough to ruin any one's health. Lafay-

* While they were at Nivelle, an order came to take away from Lafayette the treasure which he was supposed to have brought from camp! He observed, coldly, that "doubtless the princes would agree that in his place they would have done that."

ette became very ill, and when Maubourg asked permission to see him, when he should be near death, he was told, "That could not be." Lafayette recovered, and the king of Prussia had the baseness to invite him, in order to improve his condition, to give some advice or information against France. "The king of Prussia is exceedingly impertinent," said Lafayette, when this paper was read to him.

Spending days in this utter solitude and idleness, how varied and how anxious Lafayette's thoughts must have been! Recollections of home, of the United States and the free happy life he led there, must have blended with the ideas of 1789, his bright hopes from the doings of the National Assembly,—then the scenes in Paris and at Versailles, the women in insurrection, the queen's courage, the visits at the Tuileries, the difficulty of convincing the king, the devotion of the National Guard, the outbreaks he had suppressed, the gratitude of the citizens, the obstinacy of the courtiers,—all the events of his life for the last four years must have made pictures in his mind, as he walked to and fro in his solitary cell. And many a sound must have re-echoed on his ear, from the shouts of the mob to the speeches of Depu-

ties, or the queen's firm, clear tones. But the overpowering feeling was anxiety: first, for the fate of his family and friends,—how far his unpopularity might have affected them; next for the king, a prisoner as he knew; and then for his unhappy country, with enemies coming upon her from without, and the Jacobins ruling within. The acts of those few days after the 10th of August had shown him that a terrible time was coming; but how terrible neither he nor any one else could imagine.

From Wezel they were removed to Magdeburg, on the Elbe, from whence Lafayette managed to write again. He dared not send letters to his wife in France, because his handwriting might be recognized, and then the letter would surely be stopped; but he addressed them to a friend in London, hoping that his family might have made their escape to England. He gives the following account of his situation: "Imagine an opening made under the rampart* of the citadel† and surrounded with a strong high palisade;‡ through this, after opening four doors, each armed with chains, bars, and padlocks, they come, not without some difficulty and noise,

* A strong outer wall. † The centre of a fortress.
‡ A fence made of posts set into the ground.

to my cell, three paces wide, five and a half long. The wall is mouldy on the side towards the ditch, and the front one admits light, but not sunshine, through a little grated window. Add to this two sentinels,—whose eyes penetrate into this lower region, but who are kept outside the palisade, lest they should speak, other watchers not belonging to the guard, and all the walls, ramparts, ditches, guards, within and without the citadel of Magdeburg, and you will think that the foreign powers neglect nothing to keep us within their dominions. The noisy opening of the four doors is repeated every morning to admit my servant; at dinner, that I may eat in presence of the commandant of the citadel and of the guard; and at night, to take my servant to his prison. After having shut upon me all the doors, the commandant carries off the keys to the room where, since our arrival, the king has ordered him to sleep.

"I have books, the white leaves of which are taken out, but no news, no newspapers, no communications,—neither pen, ink, paper, nor pencil. It is a wonder that I possess this sheet, and I am writing with a toothpick. My health fails daily. . . . The account I have given you may serve for my companions, whose treatment is the same."

In spite of every precaution of government, news came to the prisoners through the jailers or the soldiers. They heard of the success of the French army against the enemy, of the execution of the king, and of the shocking murders under the name of law of many of their friends and innocent persons. From their own families they could hear nothing. Their anxiety must have been cruel, but Lafayette never seems to have lost hope. He took excellent care of his health, and there is no complaint in any one of his letters. He had two comforts in his captivity; one was, the devotion of his young secretary, Felix, and the other, some money sent for him to Magdebourg by his American friends, that he might be able to buy anything which the officers would permit him to have.

In the spring of 1793, the prisoners were allowed to walk for an hour every day in a little garden in one corner of a fortification. Each one was taken out separately, and an officer was with him all the time.

Lafayette also had the great happiness of receiving some letters from his family and friends; he was not permitted to keep them, but read them once. His answers were always read by the officer in command, and he was obliged to write with the utmost pru-

dence, or else compelled to rewrite two or three times, if he said anything displeasing to Prussian notions.

In October he writes thus to his wife: "You know that for an hour every day I am taken out of my hole to get a mouthful of fresh air; I have books, and, though the unlucky power of reading fast has become a trouble to me, I have found in English, French, and Latin, the means of conversing with the dead, since I am shut off from the living. I can now even see the Leyden Gazette."

His friends were not idle during these long months of imprisonment. His former aides, now in London, and other friends were making efforts to induce the king of Prussia to set him free, and forming plans for his escape; but both were matters of great difficulty, and not to be thoughtlessly undertaken.

In January, 1794, he was much troubled by a new separation from his friends. He was sent to Neisse, on the borders of Silesia, and Maubourg to Glatz, not very far distant, while Lameth and Pusy remained at Magdebourg. It added greatly to his anxiety to be sent a hundred and fifty leagues farther from France; but immediately on arriving

he obtained leave to write to his friends, and assured them that they need feel no additional anxiety on account of the change, as his treatment was almost exactly the same.

In March he wrote to his friend Maubourg, at Glatz: "So your sister* is established in the vaults of Glatz. I have not been favored in my dungeons with any apparition, but I imagine that consoling angels must have faces like hers." Maubourg and Pusy rejoined him at Neisse, and for a little while they were allowed to see each other and Madame de Maison-Neuve.

In May all three were transferred to Olmutz, in Austria, where they were again separated. Each one was told, on entering his cell, that "he would for the future see only his four walls, that he would never hear any news from any person, that even the jailers were forbidden to pronounce his name, and in despatches sent to court he would be mentioned only by his number; that he would never know anything about the existence of his family or of his two companions, and that, as such a condition led them to think of killing themselves, knives, forks, and other articles, were forbidden. They were also de-

* Madame de Maison-Neuve.

prived of some things the Prussians had left them, viz. their watches, their knee and stock buckles, and some books in which the word liberty was found.

Lafayette again became ill, and the physician represented that air was necessary for him. Three times the answer was sent, that "he was not yet ill enough," before he was allowed to walk.

This permission encouraged two friends of his to attempt to rescue him.

These friends were Dr. Bollman, a physician of Hanover, who entered into the scheme from pure enthusiasm for Lafayette's character, and had never seen him until he came to Olmutz to arrange plans. The other was a young American, Mr. Huger of South Carolina, son of the officer at whose house "the Marquis" landed in 1778.

On the 8th of November, Lafayette drove out in company with the jailer. He got rid of the soldiers of his escort by giving them a commission and some money, so that they went to drink at a neighboring wine-shop. Then he left the carriage, and while walking with the jailer asked him to let him examine his sabre, and attempted to seize it. While they were struggling together, Bollman and Huger, who had watched for this moment,

came running up, and showed a pistol. The jailer let go his hold, but immediately ran off for help. Lafayette's deliverers mounted him on one of the two horses they had brought, but he would not ride away until he saw that they had the other. Dr. Bollman had said to him, "Get to Hoff!" but Lafayette, not knowing that there was such a town, understood him to say merely "Get off!" He missed his way, and, being uneasy as to the fate of his friends, turned back, but as he saw pursuers in the distance, again resumed his road.

In the struggle with the jailer he had got a severe strain, and had the flesh torn off his finger, laying it open to the bone; he was covered with mud and blood, his dress was out of order,—altogether, he was a strange figure to be met with as a traveler. Dr. Bollman had provided fresh horses on the road which he himself took; but he was able to reach it only in consequence of the generous devotion of Mr. Huger, who gave himself up to the first party of pursuers, hoping thereby to gain time for the others. All was in vain; Lafayette was arrested at Sternberg, about eight leagues from Olmutz, and Dr. Bollman in Prussia, after he had crossed the Austrian frontier. Both Bollman and Huger were imprisoned, and kept chained in their cells for

six months; and, in addition to all his other troubles, Lafayette had the pain of dreading what those generous friends might suffer for his sake. The general informed him that they would be hung before his window.

He became very ill again, but was left for nights fourteen hours long without any help at all, and at first without a light,—afterwards he was allowed to burn one until nine o'clock; he had but two shirts, and could not procure another for a change; and the surgeon who dressed his finger was hurried all the time by an officer, and hardly dared to talk to him.

At this time, Félix, the secretary, invented a very ingenious mode of communication, by means of musical airs which he and the servant of M. Maubourg whistled to each other. They learned to tell each other and all the prisoners news by different sounds, and Lafayette's heart was rejoiced by at last hearing that his wife and children were alive. This he would not have known, but that his wife was mentioned under another name in a letter to M. Maubourg. Whenever her name was seen, the letter was kept back, for the Austrian government seemed to have taken the greatest pains to torture Lafayette on this point.

For this very reason, Lafayette must have felt the most intense delight when in October, 1795, he saw his wife and his two daughters enter his cell. Madame de Lafayette's devotion had overcome all the obstacles which parted them, and in each other's company they felt strong to bear any trials that might lie before them.

Having procured a passport as an American lady, she had left France for Hamburg, and gone thence to Vienna. There Prince Rosemburg, who had known her family, procured for her an interview with the Emperor of Austria. All she asked of him was permission to share her husband's imprisonment, which he very politely granted. He told her that Lafayette was very well treated, and that his family's presence would be one comfort the more.

She was therefore much shocked at the strictness of his confinement, and at his extreme thinness and paleness. She shared fully in all his privations, and was not treated with any difference even the first day of her

arrival. The purses were immediately asked for, and three silver forks found among the luggage were eagerly seized. Not being satisfied with this system, Madame Lafayette asked to see the commandant. That was impossible, but she might write to him. Receiving no answer, she wished to write to the Emperor, who had given her leave to do so; that also was objected to, and she was told that her requests addressed to the commandant had been forwarded to Vienna. She had asked to be allowed to go to mass on Sundays with her daughters, to have a soldier's wife take care of their room, and to be waited on at table by Lafayette's servants. No answer ever came. A second appeal to the Minister of War, joined with a request to see Maubourg and Pusy, was refused by him.

In February her own health was so much affected by all she had endured, that she applied to the Emperor himself for permission to spend a few days at Vienna, in order to consult a physician. After a delay of almost two months, she was informed that if she left the prison at all, she could never come back. She instantly decided to remain at all risks.

This was the manner of living. The family took their daily meals together. After

Lafayette must have felt the most intense delight when he saw his wife enter his cell.

breakfast, the mother and daughters were locked up in their cell until noon; but between dinner and supper they remained in Lafayette's. At eight o'clock they were separated for the night.

The physician who visited them knew not one word of French. Lafayette translated for the ladies into Latin, in presence of an officer who understood it.

This life, and more hardships probably than have ever been made known, these ladies endured cheerfully, seeing that Lafayette was in better health and spirits since they were with him. The daughters employed themselves with studies, work, and drawing, everything which their situation allowed, to vary the days, and fortunately they had good health. But it is a great strain on the spirits of even the youngest and gayest people to lead such a life month after month.

Madame Lafayette had many a melancholy story to tell of the events that had taken place in France. Immediately after her husband's departure she had been imprisoned, but was soon released and allowed to live at Chavaniac, on her parole,—that is, her word of honor not to leave the place. In a year, however, October, 1793, she was again imprisoned, and taken to Paris the next June.

She was detained there during what was called the Reign of Terror, when her grandmother, mother, and sister were all beheaded. Nothing can be imagined more horrible than the manner in which innocent people were carried before a judge, who was no real judge; a few questions were asked, the answers hardly listened to, and the victims were hurried off to be killed. Any excuse was enough for arresting them. They might have been of high rank, or the friends of aristocrats,—they might have money, or merely be supposed to have it. Nothing would save them; neither rank, beauty, talents, innocence, goodness, age, or sex was any protection. "Blood!" was the cry of the men who had power in Paris.

Lafayette found that he had lost many dear friends and more acquaintances during this time. It was also a bitter grief to him to see that the Revolution had come to such an end. The hopes and the labors of so many patriots seemed to be blotted out.

During these melancholy months Lafayette's friends were not idle. In England speeches were made in the House of Commons,* asking the Ministers to interfere;

* Somewhat like our House of Representatives, at Washington.

President Washington wrote a letter to the Emperor of Austria, in behalf of his friend; and the success of the French army encouraged his relations in France to hope that the generals might at last be in a position to demand the release of their countrymen.

This took place at last. The French government—a Directory, as it was called, of five persons—desired Generals Bonaparte and Clark to insist on their being set free. It took five months of exchanging letters, &c., to induce the Austrian government to give them up.

Before they left Olmutz, and while this arrangement was going on, a nobleman was sent to visit Lafayette and his friends, and to require from them a promise that they would never again enter Austria.

They drew up a paper in answer, in which they denied the Emperor's right to ask such a promise. They certainly had no wish ever again to set foot on Austrian ground; but they would not engage to stay away if the service of France should require them to come within its limits. Nor would Lafayette bind himself by a promise to go to America, although he had formed such a plan many and many a time during his imprisonment.

He had said in one of his letters, "The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled with my friends; the despots of Europe and their courts are the savages for me."

On the 19th of September, 1797, the prisoners of Olmutz were set free. Probably we cannot imagine the delight with which they saw again the sky, the earth, the very road they travelled which took them out of Austria. In the first safe place, the families of Messieurs Maubourg and Pusy met them. The journey was a slow one on account of Madame Lafayette's health, which was much injured by living in two prisons. They were ordered to go to Hamburg, and although out of Austria, the prisoners did not yet feel free to return home. They did not agree in politics with those who governed France, and chose Denmark as a safe place, and one near their own country.

Lafayette found and felt that he had come back to a changed world. The King, Queen, Court, Assembly, and Constitution, were all gone! The places of the wise and good who had been killed in the Reign of Terror seemed empty still to him. A new constitution had been made, which satisfied him in some respects better than that of 1791. But the

government was in the hands of five directors with whom he had no sympathy, and he found that even his manner of returning thanks for his release gave offense. He wrote to a friend who had cautioned him as to the free expression of his opinions, after speaking of being unfit to join any party: "Thus I risk nothing in speaking as I think, because I would not and could not be employed, except according to my own ideas. The result is, that except on some very great occasion of serving the liberty of my country after my own fashion, my political life is ended. To my friends I shall be full of life, and to the public a sort of picture in a museum or book in a library." And in a later letter he says: "Those who know my views and wishes must be convinced that the services I should wish to render to my country are of a nature to be combined with the mode of living which suits my position, my wife, all my family, and myself; that is to say, with a quiet philosopher's establishment on a good farm,—far enough from the capital not to be interfered with in my solitude, and to see only intimate friends."

Lafayette established himself at a country-house near the little town of Ploën, in Holstein. Here he lived quietly with the

family of his friend M. Maubourg, whose brother, M. Charles Latour Maubourg, soon after married the eldest Mademoiselle Lafayette. He received and wrote many letters, and occupied himself with plans of a book on the French Revolution, to be written by himself and his friends. Gardening was also an amusement, and he studied books on farming with as much zeal as he had given in his youth to those on the art of war. Absence from his own country and Madame Lafayette's ill-health were the chief drawbacks to his happiness.

But he could hardly believe that he was destined to be a mere looker-on while the French army was winning the most brilliant victories everywhere; and he was proud of its glory, for there could not be a more devoted Frenchman than Lafayette. His heart was open to all who were striving to be free in every country, but France was always dear. He sometimes thought of going to the United States, but could not resolve to make his home so far from his native land. And his position in America would not have been a comfortable one, for some difficulties had arisen between the United States and the French government, and in case of war Lafayette could not have joined either side.

Early in the year 1799, he removed from Holstein to Vianen, near Utrecht. War was raging in almost every country in Europe, and he preferred living in Holland, which brought him a little nearer France. During his wife's absence,* he wrote thus to her: "Yesterday and to-day, George† and I have been arranging a farm for you, either in the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, in the State of Virginia, not far from *Federal City* and even Mount Vernon; or in the lovely fields of New England, within reach of the town of Boston, for which you know my fancy. I do not conceal from myself, dear Adrienne, the fact that I, who complain of the serfs of Holstein as a sad surrounding for a friend of liberty, should find negro slaves in the valley of the Shenandoah; for, if in the Northern States there is equality for all, in the Southern it exists only for the whites. It is true that, with our ideas of Cayenne,‡ we

* She had gone to Paris, hoping to save some of the property of her family, taken from them during the Reign of Terror.

† George Washington Lafayette, his only son, now nearly twenty years old. He had spent two years in the United States, chiefly under General Washington's care, while the rest of the family were at Olmutz.

‡ Lafayette's plantation, on which he had hoped to educate slaves was at Cayenne. In spite of his wife's efforts, they were sold, by order of his enemies, in August, 1792. All slaves in French colonies were, however, set free in 1794.

might console ourselves somewhat. I should, however, prefer New England, and at the same time I feel all the reasons which ought to draw us near Mount Vernon and the seat of government. But we only want the first dollar to buy our farm with."

Young Lafayette joined the French army in Holland this year. It was a singular state of things for the father to be unable to enter his native country while the son was fighting her battles! Lafayette, however, had agreed to his taking part in this campaign the more readily because he hoped and believed that a change in the French government was at hand. He sent letters and messages to Paris, but there seemed to be no opening for him.

Another star was rising over the French nation, which dazzled their eyes with its brilliancy; fame and glory in war were now desired, and the men and services of 1789 were forgotten. Napoleon Bonaparte, by his extraordinary military talents, had put himself in a position to govern France. In December, 1799, he caused a new constitution to be proclaimed, by which he secured great power. His title was simply First Consul, but he might have been called King.

Lafayette hastened to Paris, on hearing of this change. His friends were somewhat alarmed to see him there, and thought the First Consul was not at all pleased at his speedy arrival. He received a message from Bonaparte, through Madame Lafayette, recommending a very quiet life, which he had always intended to lead.

The family were soon established at Lagrange, an estate inherited by Madame Lafayette, about fourteen leagues from Paris. It was their home for the rest of Lafayette's life, and a very happy one. His children remained there after their marriages,* and during his son's frequent absence with the army he had the pleasure of keeping with him his daughter-in-law and grandchildren. He particularly enjoyed seeing his friends about him after his long separation from them, and though his manner of living was simple, both Frenchmen and foreigners found a most cordial welcome at Lagrange.

The estate was large enough for him to employ himself with experiments in farming, and to put in practice what he had learned and observed in Holstein and Holland.

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*M. George Lafayette married a Mlle. de Tracy, daughter of an old friend of Lafayette, both politically and in private. The youngest Mlle. Lafayette married M. Louis Lasteyrie.

FRANCE MUCH CHANGED

Shortly after his return to France, Lafayette received the painful news of General Washington's death. It was an unexpected grief and a disappointment, for through all his trials Lafayette had cherished the hope of future visits to the United States and Mount Vernon.

He wrote immediately to the family, and their answers were accompanied by a pair of pistols, which the General had left him in his will.

Washington's influence seems almost to have formed Lafayette's political character. Without knowing him, the young Marquis had the greatest enthusiasm for liberty, and wished to help all who would be free; but he learned from the Father of our Country that steady respect for law, and desire to strengthen the foundations of government,

which distinguished Lafayette from both friends and enemies during the stormy scenes of the French Revolution. He could not convince his countrymen of the wisdom of his views; the Constitution of 1791, which he liked, was destroyed in less than a year by the Jacobins;—but we need not judge him very hardly for having thought the French more fit for liberty than they really were. And considering how many enemies he had, it is only wonderful that he kept his popularity as long as he did. Perhaps, if there had been no court to thwart him in everything, the nation might have been controlled under his constitution.

In the summer of 1800, Lafayette and Maubourg were presented to the First Consul, at the Tuileries.* He received them with great politeness, and they added to their expressions of gratitude many compliments on the Italian campaign, from which he had just returned.

He seemed to like talking with Lafayette, asked some questions about America, and often discussed with him the state of Europe. One day he said to him that he "must have found the French much *cooled* on the subject

* Where he had so often seen Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

of liberty." "Yes," replied Lafayette, "but they are in a state to receive it." "They are disgusted," answered the First Consul; "your Parisians, for instance, the shopkeepers,—O, they want no more of it!" Lafayette repeated his former words, and added, "I did not use the expression lightly, General; I am not ignorant of the effect of the follies and crimes which have defiled the name of liberty; but the French are perhaps more than ever in a state to receive it. It is for you to give it; from you they await it."

Several proposals were made to Lafayette, about this time, to be a Senator, or to hold some office, but he declined. Bonaparte, notwithstanding, had the kindness to procure leave for some of Lafayette's friends to return to France and regain their property.* But all friendly intercourse between them came to an end in 1802, when a decree was passed declaring Napoleon First Consul *for life*.

Lafayette would have been very ready to vote for this appointment, if the liberty of the people had been first secured; but he was not willing to have such an office bestowed on any man, unless the government were a

* Emigrants were forbidden to come back, and deprived of their property.

remarkably free one.* He felt so grateful to Bonaparte that he was very unwilling to offend him, but he could not desert the principles which had always governed his actions. He wrote to the First Consul, explaining his motives, but no answer was ever returned.

His son felt the full force of Bonaparte's displeasure, for his promotion in the army was stopped, although two or three gallant acts ought to have been rewarded.

A fall on the ice, about the end of the year 1802, deprived Lafayette for a long time of his usual out-of-door pleasures. He broke the thigh-bone, and, in order to avoid lameness, went through a terrible process of having his legstretched in a frame. It was kept on for forty days and nights, and caused the greatest suffering, which he bore so bravely that the surgeons never suspected the mischief it was doing. When it was taken off, they were shocked to see the effects of such pressure on the muscles and blood-vessels about the thigh. The tendons of the foot were also injured, and many months passed before the wounds inflicted by the machine

* One of his German friends, Klopstock, the poet, said, soon after he came from Olmutz: "General Lafayette's character prevents him from understanding his countrymen. How can he think them capable of having free institutions?"

were cured; but Lafayette was always glad that he had tried that system, because lameness would have interfered so much with his exercise.

The accident happened in Paris, and during the weeks that he was shut up by it he had the pleasure of receiving many kind visits and messages of inquiry from both old friends and new, generals and senators. People showed the differences in their political opinions by the manner in which they came themselves to the house, or sent their servants, or inquired from others. The Americans in Paris did not fail in their attentions.

In 1803 an arrangement was made between France and the United States by which Louisiana was bought by the republic. President Jefferson, with whom Lafayette kept up a regular correspondence, proposed to him to become the governor of the new territory, and suggested that he would be both useful and happy in reconciling the French settlers to the American government. The land allotted to him, as a former major-general in the American army, was selected from the rich fields of Louisiana.

But the project does not seem to have tempted Lafayette. Much as he loved America, his native country was dearer still, and

he could not give up the hope that he might yet serve the cause of liberty in France: if not in action, at least by his character and example.

Bonaparte's power seemed a perfect barrier to Lafayette's wishes. The army was devoted to him, and France parted cheerfully with immense sums of money, and with the young men the hope of the nation, who fell by thousands on his battle-fields. The victories were wonderful, and even Lafayette watched with enthusiasm the progress of the armies, though he entirely disapproved of the spirit of the government.

In 1804 the First Consul was crowned Emperor, and all the kings in Europe courted his favor. But there was still one old republican whom all his power could not move from the fixed opinions of thirty years. The Emperor said, one day, to his Council: "Gentlemen, I know your devotion to the power of the throne. Every one in France is corrected; I was thinking of the only man who is not,—Lafayette. He has never retreated from his line. You see him quiet, but I tell you he is quite ready to begin again."

The close of the year 1807 was marked by the greatest of sorrows for Lafayette, the death of his wife. He wrote thus of her to

his friend Maubourg: "During the thirty-four years of an union in which her tenderness, her kindness, the delicacy and generosity of her soul charmed, adorned, and honored my life, I was so accustomed to all she was to me that I did not distinguish it from my own existence. . . . You know as well as I all she was, all she did during the Revolution. It is not for coming to Olmutz, as Charles Fox said, 'on the wings of love and duty,' that I praise her here; but for having waited to secure, as far as it lay with her, the well-being of my aunt and the rights of our creditors,—for having had the courage to send George to America. What a generous imprudence it was to be almost the only woman in France compromised by her name who would not change it!* Every one of her petitions began with these words, 'the wife of Lafayette.' . . . But we have all seen this woman, so lofty and brave in great circumstances, as gentle, simple, and easy, in the common intercourse of life."

His grief for his wife's death was moderated by the recollection of her sufferings from ill-health, and by the love and sympa-

* Most of the wives of emigrants went through a form of divorce from their husbands, in order to save a portion of their property.

thy of his children. Her room at Lagrange was always kept sacred, and Lafayette, every morning of his life, spent a few minutes in looking at her miniature. There was no part of his life, private or public, in which she had not sympathized with him. But in the bitterest days of political strife she had never been heard to utter a harsh word, although she had missed no opportunity of defending her husband.

She was a truly religious person, and her reverence, joined with great sweetness and kindness, seemed to set her apart from earthly passions. She was almost worshipped at Lagrange, and left a bright example, which her daughters and her son's wife endeavored to follow in her home.

Bonaparte's career after his coronation was still wonderfully successful. The first disappointment was his invasion of Russia, in 1812. The Russians defended their country obstinately, and the French army suffered terribly during its retreat from cold, as well as the usual distresses of an unsuccessful army in an enemy's country. Prussia joined Russia and England against him, and the battles were doubtful, instead of being certain victories for the French. Twice they tried to settle matters by agreement, but

Napoleon's pride and confidence were not yet shaken. Austria joined the Allies, they entered France, and, in spite of some successes on Napoleon's side, the city of Paris was surrendered to them in March, 1814.

The Emperor had worn out both power and popularity. He had governed kings, and had flattered French ambition and love of glory; but the desire to rule over every one had become a passion with him, and he had indulged it until French blood had watered the plains of Europe, and the nation had nothing more to give. He was now reduced to ruling over the little island of Elba, which was given to him by the Allies.

On the 20th of April, 1814, Bonaparte left Fontainebleau.* The allied sovereigns, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, decided to recall to France and place upon the throne the brother of Louis the Sixteenth, under the name of Louis the Eighteenth. The poor little Dauphin, who had died in prison, was counted as Louis the Seventeenth.

* A country palace, near Paris.

In spite of all the opposition he had met with from this family, the feelings of his youth revived again in Lafayette's heart, and he was glad to see the king and his brother, the Count d'Artois, once more. The recollection of Louis the Sixteenth's sorrows and death no doubt touched him; but the feeling of loyalty to the royal family is stronger in people who live under a king than we Americans can imagine.

He, however, did nothing but pay his respects once at the palace. The court was composed of people with whom it was impossible for him to have any connection. The princes soon proved that during their long absence they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Their whole desire was to restore France to its ancient condition. They were, however, obliged to agree to a charter

which secured certain conditions to the common people. They gave up, much to the regret of the nation, a great many forts, guns, and other things gained in Napoleon's campaigns, and they seemed in many ways to have more feeling for the crowned heads who had assisted them than for the French people. They did nothing, either, for military glory; and the French, who had enjoyed the idea that their Emperor set kings upon half the thrones of Europe, and had welcomed back the victor of many a campaign, found it dull to see, on public days, a gouty old gentleman, who sat in an arm-chair at parade, and had nothing to say to them but, "I am pleased, very well pleased."

Notwithstanding all these objections, however, Lafayette preferred this form of government to the Empire, and was sorry to hear of Bonaparte's escape from Elba and landing at Cannes, in the south of France, on the 1st of March, 1815.

He had been for a little time in Paris, and found that the king was now only ready to make some efforts to please the people. Lafayette's friends hoped to gain something for the cause of liberty by taking the royal side; but he had seen too much of the

obstinacy and slowness of that party, to have any hope of working with it.*

The National Guard of Paris was ready to protect the Tuileries, and a great many people who had deserted Napoleon the year before now dreaded his return, and were quite ready to fight for the king.

Still all was confusion and disagreement at Paris, while Bonaparte, joined everywhere by his old soldiers, and welcomed by the country people, advanced to the capital without firing a shot.

On the 20th of March the king and royal family left Paris and went to Ghent, travelling quietly by post through a country sufficiently friendly to him, had he only been willing to accept a new order of things.

This was what Napoleon was trying hard to do. In every proclamation he spoke of "the people," of "owing all to the people," and used as often as possible republican words, although his real feelings of despotism would occasionally peep out.

Under his government, of course, Lafayette could not hold any public station. After

* One of the king's ministers said, "All is lost! There is no extremity, no endurance, to which the king would not submit." "What!" said some one, "even Lafayette?" "Yes," cried he, "Lafayette himself!"

spending three days more in Paris, in order not to appear alarmed, he returned to Lagrange and his happy home-life.

It was to be interrupted sooner than he supposed. The Allies immediately rose against Napoleon, who found he must in some way gratify the people, who were balancing the advantages of having him on the throne and another war to carry on against the Allies, or of having Louis the Eighteenth, with all his defects, ruling over them once more.

His brother Joseph sent for Lafayette, who could only suggest his invariable remedy for all national difficulties, a National Assembly. To this the emperor gave a most unwilling consent, and Lafayette was elected a deputy.

The chamber of Representatives was opened by Bonaparte with great pomp, but, though his words were satisfactory, his face had a constrained look, as if he were acting a part that was odious to his nature. He could not speak to National Deputies so cordially as poor Louis the Sixteenth had done in 1789.

During the reception of the emperor he spoke to Lafayette in private, and began by saying, "It is twelve years since I had the

pleasure of seeing you." "Yes, sire," replied Lafayette, rather dryly, "it is, fully that time."* Later in the day, the emperor remarked, "I find you grown young; country air has done you good." "It has done me much good," answered Lafayette, who could not return the compliment.

On the whole, he was pretty well satisfied with the Assembly, finding more independence than he had expected among the members.

War being declared, the emperor left Paris on the 12th of June, 1815, and the battle of Waterloo was fought on the 18th. It was a total defeat for the French. Napoleon came back to Paris ready to dissolve the Assembly and seize all authority for himself.

Lafayette insisted that the Assembly should declare that it would not be broken up, and would try to protect the city. This was agreed to, and the Emperor's abdication† was proposed. After a great struggle to keep his power, he consented to resign the throne in favor of his son. The Assembly accepted his abdication, but said nothing of his successor.

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* Thirteen years, in fact,—since 1802, when Bonaparte was appointed Consul for life.

† Giving up the throne.

Some of his friends were desirous that he should go to America, and Lafayette tried to secure a safe passage for him.

The Assembly now appointed a sort of committee to govern France from day to day. It was expected that Lafayette would be a member; but he was sent instead to meet the victorious generals, and, if possible, prevent them from coming to Paris. They had declared that they waged war against Bonaparte alone, and not in favor of the royal family.

It was, however, impossible to induce them to agree to any terms of peace until they were near Paris, and they insisted on having Napoleon in their safe keeping. When Lord Stewart first said to Lafayette, "I must inform you, sir, that there can be no peace with the allied powers, unless you deliver up Bonaparte to us"; he replied, "I am surprised that, to propose so base an act to the French nation, you address yourself by choice to a prisoner of Olmutz."

There was nothing to be done but to return to Paris, and Lafayette was sorry to find the French army in too broken a condition to surprise the Prussian force on its way to the capital. There was one favorable moment for such an attempt, and military

ardor awoke again in Lafayette's mind at the sight of the enemy marching upon Paris for the second time within a year.

They entered the city, and Napoleon, who had lingered too long in France to make his escape now, gave himself up to the captain of an English ship of war. He was banished to Saint Helena. The Assembly was dissolved on the 18th of July. Lafayette was therefore free to return to Lagrange.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

Louis the Eighteenth was replaced on the throne of France, and the nation had again to bear the mortification of giving up some forts and pulling others to pieces. It was a bitter thing to the French to see other nations triumphing over them; but rest was needed, at last, after all their efforts.

Whatever might be the troubles that disturbed France, or however great Lafayette's disappointment in the form of government, Lagrange was always to him a haven of peace, content, and happiness. He lived on the best terms with his poor neighbors, who thought of him as the country gentleman interested in his farm, and not as the "hero of two worlds," the soldier and public man. Here he received his guests with the greatest cordiality, and enjoyed the liveliness and affection of his grandchildren, who were edu-

cated chiefly by their mothers, and were constantly to be seen in the drawing-room with their grandfather.

Many distinguished persons, artists, literary men, and all foreigners who were liberal in politics, came to see him at Lagrange, so that his quiet life was never a dull one. An English lady, who spent several days in his house in 1818, describes the pleasant conversations in which Lafayette was sometimes led to speak of the scenes and people he had seen in past years, his cordial, cheerful manners, and the happiness of the family. "Charming days, more charming evenings, flow on in a perpetual stream of enjoyment here." In the mornings Madame George Lafayette, the Countess Lasteyrie, and the Countess Maubourg, were "busy with the children and did not appear." The visitors amused themselves, or were with the General, unless his occupations prevented. Then came a walk or drive,—sometimes a long excursion. After dinner, at four o'clock, conversation; in the evening, music, or talking.

She speaks thus of the grandchildren's education: "Before breakfast I find all the young people at their easels, painting from models, in the ante-room; then they go to

their music* (there are three pianos); then they all turn out into the beautiful park for two hours, and then resume their studies for two hours more. But I never saw such happy children; they live without restraint, and, except while at their lessons, are always with the grown people. If the little ones are noisy, they are sent into the ante-room; but their gentleness and good conduct are astonishing, considering, too, that eleven of the twelve are always with us."

It seems as if they must have inherited something of their grandfather's sunny temper.

This very pleasant mode of life was sometimes exchanged for a long visit in Paris. Lafayette was chosen deputy to the Assembly of 1818, and began to work with all his old diligence. The national expenses for the army, navy, and public education; the law of elections; the forming of the National Guard, and the freedom of the press, were the principal subjects which occupied him. His speeches were marked by his usual independence and openness. His enemies were numerous and powerful, and some attempts were made to accuse him of a share in secret

* A music-master and an English governess lived in the house.

plots against the government. But such efforts failed, although Lafayette was connected for a short time with a secret society. He was too frank and open in his nature, and his views were too moderate, ever to satisfy politicians who work in underhand ways.

In the summer of 1824, Lafayette accepted the invitation of President Monroe to visit the United States. Congress voted to send a man-of-war for him; but he declined it, and came in a packet-ship, landing at New York on the 16th of August. He was accompanied by his son and his secretary, M. Levasseur. From New York he proceeded to Boston, and as far north as Portsmouth, N. H.; then returned to New York, and went south to Yorktown, Washington, Charleston, and New Orleans; then came up the river Mississippi, and through Kentucky, Ohio, and New York, to Boston again, in order to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, which took place June 17, 1825. He then went once more to the south to take leave of his friends in Virginia, and sailed from the Potomac on the 8th of September, 1825. Thus he travelled through almost every state in the Union, and saw many a flourishing town where there had

been an unbroken forest in 1777, or even at his last visit in 1784.

It is impossible to describe the welcome the nation gave to its guest. From the moment of his landing until his embarkation, there was a constant succession of processions, speeches, public dinners, military reviews, balls, fireworks, rejoicings of every kind at every place. Old soldiers of the Revolution were collected to see him, schoolchildren often formed a part of the processions, private houses were thrown open, committees from one town escorted him to the next, barouches with four or six horses met him everywhere for his entrance into the towns, all the streets and houses were crowded with eager faces, wherever he went the day of his arrival was celebrated as a holiday, and the whole United States showed their joy at receiving him.

No such event is recorded in history. It was most extraordinary that the man who devoted himself in his early youth to helping a nation in the days of poverty and weakness should live to come back to a new generation of men, living under the government which he had helped to establish, and prosperous in every way.

No pains were spared to please him and to do him honor. On his first arrival at New York, the Governor, Mayor, and other important persons, went to meet him in a steamboat, followed by several others, two of which towed up the ship Cadmus, that had brought him over.

In Boston he received the highest honors, and went to Commencement at Cambridge, and also to hear the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The church was crowded with people more eager to see him than to hear the performances, and the whole audience listened breathlessly when the orator, Mr. Everett, turning to him, addressed him in these words: "Hail, Friend of our Fathers! welcome to our shores! Enjoy a triumph which is reserved neither for conquerors nor monarchs; the assurance that here, throughout all America, there is not a heart which does not beat with joy and gratitude in hearing your name. You have already received, and will soon receive the greetings of the small number of ardent patriots, wise counsellors, intrepid warriors, with whom you were associated for the conquest of our liberty; but in vain you will look around you for those who would have preferred a single day like this, passed with their

old companion in arms, to years of life. . . . You will again visit the hospitable roof of Mount Vernon; but he whom you revered will no longer be on the threshold to receive you; his voice, that consoling voice, which reached you even in the cell of Olmutz, will no more break silence to bid you sit at his hearth; but the children of America receive you in his name, and cry, 'Welcome, Lafayette! thrice welcome to our land, friend of our fathers and our country!' "

On his return to New York a very splendid public ball was given to him at Castle Garden, a large hall built just on the water's edge, at the foot of the Battery. It was beautifully ornamented; and as the General took his seat, what appeared to be a painting in front of the gallery was lifted up, and showed a transparency with a view of Lagrange, and underneath it these words: "His Home." Not only Lafayette, but many a person who had never seen Lagrange, was moved. At two o'clock in the morning, a steamboat came to take him from Castle Garden up the Hudson River to West Point.

At Philadelphia an equal enthusiasm was shown, and at Baltimore he was particularly touched by being received in Washington's

tent, where he found several veterans of the war waiting for him.

His visit to the tomb of Washington was private and most solemn. Mr. Custis (Mrs. Washington's grandson) gave him on the spot a ring containing Washington's hair.

Pleasing and painful memories, of course, came crowding upon his mind as he revisited the battlegrounds of the Revolution, or the places where he had lived, and found himself almost alone,—that he had survived his companions. He arrived at Yorktown on the 19th of October, the anniversary of Lord Cornwallis' surrender, and saw the field again white with tents; but this time there were no batteries, and the place of the redoubt which his troops had stormed was marked by a triumphal arch. The names of other French heroes besides Lafayette were not forgotten in the inscription. A review of militia did not exactly recall the perils of the siege; and a great public dinner, fireworks, &c., closed the day.

Lafayette went to Monticello to visit Mr. Jefferson, whose health was too infirm to allow him to take part in any of the festivities, but who welcomed him heartily to a home. And a little rest was very pleasant after so much motion and excitement. The

mere effort of making so many speeches and shaking hands with so many strangers would have been fatiguing under common circumstances; but Lafayette's health was perfectly good through the year; enjoyment seems to have enabled him to bear every exposure.

At Washington he was received in the most respectful manner by the Senate and House of Representatives, who voted him a present of two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land, "in consideration of his services and sacrifices in the Revolutionary War." He spent several weeks of the winter at the capital, and then proceeded further south.

At Fayetteville, N. C., a town named for him, a part of his escort consisted of a troop of cavalry that had traveled a hundred and fifty miles, a great part of the time in the rain, from their homes in the country.

At Charleston, S. C., he met once more Mr. Huger, the faithful friend of Olmutz. What a contrast to the time when he had mounted Lafayette on horseback, and quietly given himself up to the jailers!

At Savannah, he laid the corner-stones of two monuments to General Greene and Count Pulaski, both friends of his youthful days. On the Chatahoochee River, in

Georgia, a number of Indians were collected to see him, and greeted him with yells as he crossed. On his landing they took the horse out of the sulky* provided for him, and dragged him up the hill, after which they entertained him with one of their games at ball. Red men and white alike exerted themselves to gratify the nation's guest.

In going to Louisville, Ky., Lafayette met with the only accident which interrupted the pleasure of this journey. The steamboat he was in struck a snag and was wrecked. No lives were lost, but it was impossible to get out the luggage; and Lafayette lost six hundred letters, besides the other contents of his trunks.

He accomplished one object on which he had set his heart,—that of getting back again to Boston in time for the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument. It was fifty years from the day of the battle, and the hill was crowded with free, happy New Englanders, who looked back to that hard fight as to the first step on the path of liberty. The procession was formed as usual, with the military, various societies, the Governor, Mayor, and guests from a distance. Lafay-

* A vehicle like a chaise, which holds but one.

ette's place was of course a conspicuous one, and he was accompanied by ninety-six survivors of the battle in carriages, and others on foot.

Mr. Webster was the orator of the day, and when he addressed Lafayette and this band of veterans, they all rose. The interest of the scene was very great, and the whole ceremony of laying the corner-stone was successful. The weather was fine, and Lafayette wrote to his family, that afternoon, that he had just come from "one of the finest patriotic celebrations there could be." At the dinner which was given after the morning's work, his toast was, "Bunker Hill, and the sacred resistance to oppression which has already freed the American Hemisphere!—The toast on the jubilee of the next half-century will be, *Europe free!*"

Towards the close of the summer, there came some painful farewells to be said to his American friends. In Virginia he took leave of ex-Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. The election of a new President had taken place during the past year, and Lafayette pleased himself with the hope that his presence had softened a little the harshness of party spirit. The new President, Mr. John Quincy Adams, invited him to dine at

The laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument.

the White House on his birthday (Sept. 6th), with a large party. It is contrary to custom to give toasts at the President's table, but on this occasion Mr. Adams rose and said, "The 22d of February and the 6th of September: Birthdays of Washington and Lafayette!" The General, much moved at hearing his name thus associated with Washington's, gave, in return, "The 4th of July: Birthday of liberty in both hemispheres!"

The next day, September 7th, Lafayette received and answered a farewell address from the President, and then, followed by a long procession, went to the steamboat which waited to take him on board the frigate Brandywine.

It was a solemn parting; for few of the persons there present could hope to see Lafayette in France, and he was too old a man to think of ever coming to America again. The visit had been a happy time in his life, and one that can never be repeated in the history of the United States.

A HAPPY HOME

After all his enjoyment, however, he was glad indeed to find himself at home at Lagrange, where he was welcomed with a "fête," a few days after his arrival. The house was decorated, and all his neighbors danced merrily in the park. Young girls came to see him and to sing a few little verses, which is a French fashion of rejoicing, and perhaps quite as good a one as the American style of making speeches.

During Lafayette's absence, Louis the Eighteenth had died and was succeeded by his brother, Charles the Tenth; but the system of government was not much changed. In fact, Charles the Tenth was still more attached to the old aristocratic system than his brother. He said, himself, "Lafayette and I are the only two men in France who have remained perfectly firm in their principles through the Revolution."

At this time Greece was in a state of revolt against the Turks; Spain and Portugal were at least half way towards revolutions; Italy was far from being quiet; General Bolivar was laboring to make Columbia a republic, and Mexico claimed some interest from the lovers of freedom. Lafayette corresponded with the various generals, and Lagrange was always open to unfortunate politicians who were banished from their native country, wherever that might be. No limits of sea or mountains ever shut off his sympathy from a people who loved freedom and he was ready to give any help in his power to those who were resisting oppression.

He seems never to have known fatigue, either of body or mind. He was again elected to the Assembly in 1827, and took up all his habits of business. The care of so large a farm as Lagrange would have been thought by many people occupation enough for a man of his age. It included about five hundred French acres of land, partly in plantations, and partly in meadows for sheep and cattle. Lafayette took great pleasure in collecting fine animals, and he had many presents of good specimens. All his barns and sheepfolds were kept in the neatest manner, and

the accounts of the produce and expenses of the farm were put down in large books, as accurately as the accounts of a merchant's business. It was not intended for a show place, and the chief ornament was the beautiful park, and the long, shady avenue which led to the house.

This was an old castle, but comfortable enough for a modern family. Five towers* were the most striking part of it to a stranger, as he approached; one in the middle of the house, two at the end of each wing. Around three sides of the house was a moat, or deep ditch, full of clear water, in which fishes might be seen. Large weeping willows and other fine trees hung over the edge. On the fourth side it had been filled up, and the front of the chateau looked out on a smooth lawn, with a few flowers growing near the house. In the lower story of the house were a small chapel, a large dining-room with a stone roof, a hall, kitchens, etc.; above, the drawing-rooms, the General's private apartments, and the rooms used by the various families and the guests.

Lafayette's own habits were very simple and regular. He slept usually but seven

* One of them was covered with ivy, planted by Mr. Fox, a very distinguished Englishman.

hours, and was called by his servant at five o'clock. He read or wrote in his own apartment until the ten o'clock breakfast, after which he always went about the farm for two hours at least, then returned to his writing until dinner-time. In the evening, if there were visitors, he remained in the drawing-room, talking; if the family were alone, he sometimes went back to his own occupations,—but he reappeared to bid his children good night.

His management of his farm served as an example to his poor neighbors. The peasants laughed when they first saw his large plantation of apple trees; but by and by, when they found the cider from Lagrange was good and sold well, they also began to set out orchards.

His neighbors, and even strangers, were allowed to walk freely on his grounds, and all visitors at the house were at liberty to amuse themselves with walks, boating and fishing on the pond, or anything else they preferred. The spirit of genuine kindness governed the whole family, from the General down to his youngest grandchild, and made them a great blessing to the neighborhood. The physician of the place had the best means of knowing their charities, for he was

often sent to visit the sick at their expense. He says: "All Lafayette's moments at Lagrange resemble each other, for they are all marked by good feelings or kind actions."

Every week two hundred pounds of bread were given out to the poor, of the same quality as that used at Lafayette's table; and in times of scarcity the quantity was increased to six hundred pounds, and soup was added. In 1817 there was a famine, and the distress was great near Lagrange. Seven hundred persons might have been seen at the chateau every day,—they received soup and bread, but the supplies fell short before the end of the season. A family council was held, and Lafayette proposed that they should all go to his old home at Chavaniac, in Auvergne, and thus leave for the poor what they usually consumed themselves. This plan was joyfully agreed to and carried out by the family.

During the cholera season of 1832, Lafayette and his son and daughters devoted themselves to the care of the sick. His son brought down a physician from Paris. Medicines, ice, blankets, flannel, everything in the house was used for them, and by day and by night the family gave their whole strength and efforts to relieving pain, and curing the disease, if possible. The peasants, who had

at first been so frightened that they deserted all who were attacked, took courage from such an example, ventured into the houses, and nursed their own relations.

Was it strange that, after many years of such thoughtful kindness, the country people loved him?

The house was a perfect museum of presents. Swords from the United States and the National Guard; busts and portraits of Washington; rings containing the hair of celebrated people; flags, boxes made from old or famous trees, canes, silver vases, portraits of patriots of all nations, Indian weapons, stuffed birds,—everything which people had imagined he might like to keep, had been showered upon him. And he had the pleasantest way of answering questions upon the various parts of his life,—from his acquaintance with the Queen to the habits of the Indians. To young people he was almost a volume of history. And if a little vanity mingled with his frankness in speaking of what he had done, it could be easily excused in one whose services had been so great.

In the summer of 1829 Lafayette took a little journey in France, which was almost the repeating of some of his days in America. He went first to Chavaniac, in Auvergne, his

native place, and thence on to Vizille, near Grenoble, to visit one of his granddaughters. He received everywhere a public welcome; banquets were given to him, followed by patriotic speeches; processions escorted him; fireworks and illuminations made the nights brilliant.

The Government was displeased with this expression of admiration for Lafayette, and with the liberal sentiments and wishes he did not hesitate to utter; but there was no excuse for interfering.

The king and his son made themselves constantly more and more unpopular, by doing everything in their power to interrupt elections, to restrain the freedom of the press, and to blot out all traces of what had been gained by the Revolution. The king wished to govern alone, and he preferred ministers who would allow him his own way in everything. "Where will this end?" asked some timid politicians, and Lafayette lived to see the end. You might think there was to be nothing more in his life but quiet home-scenes, and the happiness of being beloved and honored in so many places; but a second Revolution called his powers once more into active use.

In July, 1830, certain decrees relating to elections appeared, which the people of Paris decided not to submit to. On the 27th they took up arms and began to resist the king's troops. Lafayette was sent for, arrived at night, and immediately gave the assistance of his name and character to the Parisians fighting in the streets.

The next day the Deputies to the Assembly met, and, after much discussion, decided what to do. Some of them proposed merely to act as mediators between the king and the people, who were taking the Hôtel de Ville, and having sharp conflicts with the soldiers all over the city. Others said it was too late; that some committee must take command for a few days, and give orders to the party that was resisting at the barricades, and that the king must go. Lafayette was indignant at any delay while his countrymen were dying around them with the cry "Vive la Liberté!"* on their lips.

On the 29th he was asked to take command of the National Guard, which he did very cheerfully. His thoughts went back to the hopeful days of 1789; and when he went up the great staircase of the Hôtel de Ville,

*It is not easy to translate these words. "Hurrah for Liberty!" means almost the same thing.

he said to some person who offered to show him the way, "I know every step." He had not been there for nearly forty years.

On the third day the fighting came to an end. Lafayette gave his orders to the National Guard with as much ease and interest as he had in 1789. He was proud to command the Parisians. In a letter written on the 30th, he says, "The people of Paris have covered themselves with glory; and when I say the people, I mean those who are called the lowest classes of society, who this time have been the first;—for the courage, the intelligence, the devotion and virtue of the citizens have been admirable. . . . We are admirably barricaded. If the enemy should venture again into the streets, he would have cause to repent of it."

On the 31st the Deputies decided to invite the Duke of Orleans—the son of the wicked Duke of Orleans, who was cousin to Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X.—to be Lieutenant-General of France. He had fought under the Republican flag nearly forty years before, and was believed to be far more reasonable and sensible than the king's sons. He came to visit Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville. Proclamations containing his name had been torn down, and the immense crowd

Lafayette gave him a tricolor flag, and led him to one of the windows.

which filled the square did not show him any favor as he rode along. Lafayette received him at the foot of the staircase; they went up together, and the proclamation announcing him as Lieutenant-General was coldly received. Lafayette held out his hand to the duke, gave him a tricolor flag, and led him to one of the windows. The crowd below instantly cheered them.

Lafayette was very anxious to find out clearly the opinions of the duke, who was to hold so important a position, and returned the visit quickly. He said to the duke: "You know I am a republican, and I think the constitution of the United States the most perfect one there has ever been." "I think as you do," answered the duke; "it is impossible to have passed two years in America and not be of that opinion; but do you think it fitting for us to adopt it, in the situation of France, and considering the general opinion?" "No," said Lafayette; "what the French want to-day is a throne surrounded with republican institutions,—entirely republican." "So I understand it," replied the duke.

During this time the royal troops were collected near Rambouillet, about twenty-five miles southwest of Paris, where the king waited, uncertain what to do. A large body

of the National Guard set out for Versailles, intending to keep on to Rambouillet; but the king, hearing of their march, agreed to give up the diamonds of the crown, and to go to Cherbourg to take passage for England.

The Duke of Orleans invited Lafayette to take command of the National Guard of the whole kingdom. This proposal, although like the one which he had prevented in 1790, he now thought it best to accept.

On the 9th of August the Duke of Orleans was invited to fill the vacant throne. He agreed to the conditions the Assembly proposed, and became King under the name of Louis Philippe, first King of the French.

Lafayette gave the following account of this short Revolution: "The victory of the people has been as admirable, rapid, and complete as the most romantic imagination could have dreamt. Tuesday we were breakfasting at Lagrange, receiving the Moniteur* containing the decrees; you can imagine that I did not dine there. They began to fight the same evening; the two next days there were combats, barricades, heroic actions, everywhere. I was able to establish myself at the Hôtel de Ville, which had been taken and

* A Paris newspaper.

retaken; and the royal family, crossing France without receiving the least insult, are to embark to-day (Aug. 12). The people have done the whole. Courage, intelligence, disinterestedness, clemency towards the conquered,—everything has been incredibly fine. How different from even the first moments of '89!"

THE OLD SOLDIER

Lafayette continued to take great pleasure in arranging the National Guard, which the king often reviewed, and in which he expressed much satisfaction. He devoted to it all the time which could be spared from his duties as Deputy.

His orders were full of spirit, and it pleased the people to see this veteran general of seventy-two as active in his habits as any young officer. He was always greeted with cheers and many signs of favor when he appeared on public occasions.

He had been in the habit of receiving his friends and strangers at his house one evening of every week, and after this revolution his rooms were much fuller than before. He then put on his uniform, and in many little ways showed much of the spirit of his early days. His manners were always cordial, and

his face readily lighted up with smiles. He was tall and had a good figure; but his face was plain, though his complexion preserved its freshness to the end of his life.

The company on these occasions was not select, but often included many distinguished persons. Americans especially enjoyed them, as almost all nations might be seen there. Poles, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese, and Irish patriots, met on friendly ground under Lafayette's roof.

The General was particularly fond of going to the dinner given by the Americans in Paris every Fourth of July. He would sometimes come up from Lagrange for the purpose, and always had a patriotic toast ready.

In December the Guard was called out in great force during the trial of Charles the Tenth's ministers, for having ordered the troops to fire during the three days of July. Order was maintained by great efforts; for the crowd who filled the streets were not those who had fought at the barricades, but the dregs of Paris. Lafayette was, however, respected by them, and did not hesitate to go freely among the groups and disperse them. It was expected that the ministers would be condemned to death, but their sentence was perpetual imprisonment.

He received from the king most affectionate notes of thanks for his own services and those of the Guard.

It was therefore an unpleasant surprise to him to find that on the 24th of December a law was passed forbidding the appointment of any such officer as Commandant-general, and allowing only very small divisions of the Guard to have a commandant.

Under such a law Lafayette could not hold his office, and he refused the title of honorary Commandant which was offered him as a compensation. The king accepted his resignation with many words of regret.

In the Assembly Lafayette was soon engaged in discussions respecting expenses, nobility, elections, and above all the treatment of foreign nations. The Revolution of July had been a sort of summons to the discontented all over Europe to rise against the governments. In Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, and the north of Italy, there were either revolutions or attempts at them, and Lafayette wanted the French people to sympathize with and help all who were struggling to be free. It seemed to him only right that those who had used barricades to secure their own liberty should hold out their hands to their brethren in other countries.

When the revolutions failed, he desired that France should be a place of refuge for all the unfortunate.

But Lafayette was destined always throughout his long life to stand alone. His speeches were of course listened to with respect on account of his age, but he seldom saw one of his plans carried out. The king and his ministers were afraid of being dragged into wars if they adopted his views, and showed themselves rather more attached to the principles of the last reign than to what Lafayette thought the true meaning of the Revolution of July, 1830.

The activity of his mind was more surprising at his age than that of his body. Nothing that concerned France was in any way a matter of indifference to him, and he was as ready with a speech about a new law as about the treatment of exiles.

The troubles of the summer of 1832 distressed him much. At the funeral of a Deputy and distinguished general, M. Lamarque, some person unfortunately carried in the procession a red flag with the red cap of liberty above it, and the motto *Liberty or Death.* These words and the cap were associated in the minds of many Frenchmen with the horrors of the Reign of Terror.

Some wreaths were thrown upon the flag, and about the tomb there was more excitement than Lafayette liked to see. Some addresses were made; he said a few words, and withdrew. Not being able to find his carriage, he hired a vehicle to go home in; but the crowd, principally young men, took out the horses and insisted on dragging him home. They urged him violently to give the signal for an attack by the people, which he refused to do.

The troops were called out, fighting began, and for two days Paris was bristling with bayonets. The king appeared on horseback, and ordered out the cannon, in order, as he said, "to put an end to it sooner"; some persons were arrested, a few newspapers stopped, and at last Paris was declared to be in a state of siege.*

Lafayette thought a great deal of this show of power very unnecessary, but blamed severely the violence of the young men of the liberal party, and the bringing forward of the odious red cap.

Another event which gave him much pain was the arrest at Lagrange of a Mr. Llewel, a distinguished Pole whom he had invited to

* Under the government of officers, just as if there were an enemy's army all around it.

his house after an order from the ministers banished him from Paris. It was suspected that Llewel had again shown himself in the capital, and for this offense he was arrested.

Lafayette was faithful to his Polish friends at all times. The last speech he made in the Assembly was in support of petitions relating to Polish refugees.

His last appearance in public was at the funeral of a Deputy, M. Dulong, in January, 1833. He was on foot for several hours, and was, as usual, much gratified by the expressions of the people. He seemed tired after his return, and was soon taken ill. He bore confinement to the house patiently, though he wished to be at his place in the Assembly, and was disappointed at not being allowed to see the many friends who came to inquire after his health. He amused himself with reading newspapers and pamphlets, writing or dictating letters, and talking, when he was not in pain, of America,* or his friends, or anything except his own condition. He regained sufficient strength to drive out, and his family hoped that he might recover, or at

* In many trifles he showed his love for everything American. When he was ordered to take a little Madeira wine, "Give me that from Lagrange," he said; "it will do me more good." It had been sent him from the United States.

least live comfortably for some time. But on the 9th of May he took cold from exposure to a thunder-shower during his drive, and from that day there was no hope. The physicians who attended him proposed consulting others, and one of them said to Lafayette that they felt responsible, not only to his family, but to the French nation, of whom he was the father. "Yes," said the General, with a smile, "their father on condition that they never follow a syllable of my advice."

He submitted cheerfully to everything his physicians ordered, and was most gentle and grateful to all who waited on him.

One of his last letters, dated May 1st, was on the subject of the emancipation* of negroes. He spoke hopefully of its progress in the United States, beginning with Maryland and Kentucky; congratulated the English on their management in their colonies, and regretted what had been done in the French ones; he also expressed warm approval of Liberia.

On the 20th of May, without having had much suffering, Lafayette died peacefully. Just before he drew his last breath, he opened his eyes and fixed them on his children who

* Setting free.

stood about his bed, as if to look the farewell he was no longer able to speak.

Their grief can be imagined at the loss of a father so illustrious, so loving and tender. Mourning was not confined to his own family, but was shared by an immense circle of friends and admirers.

His funeral procession was long, and the streets were lined with the National Guard. After services in the Church of the Assumption, he was buried, as he had desired to be, in the cemetery of Picpus, by his wife's side. Lamentations were general, especially from the poor. One person, who seemed to be a stranger, observed that this must have been a very rich person, who had so many people at his funeral. "No," answered a laboring man, "but he gave us everything; the French people are not ungrateful, and they are here to thank him." Another poor man endeavored to make his way to the bier, to walk directly behind it. "Don't you see," said one of the National Guards, "that none but the family are admitted there?" "We all belong to his family," replied the man, "for he loved us all as his children." He was allowed to pass.

It was fitting that Lafayette's funeral train should pass through the streets of Paris,

the scene of his greatest successes and hardest labors. He did not obtain his heart's desire; France is not to-day what he would wish to see her; and if we measure the value of a life by its success, Lafayette's might be pronounced a failure. But if we look deeper, we shall see that his country owes to the Revolution of 1789 some social and political blessings; and turning to Lafayette's own character, we cannot fail to be impressed with the beauty of his generous, disinterested, enthusiastic, loving, upright nature. He was proof against many of the temptations other men yielded to, and in his frank simplicity went through the changes and trials of a most varied life, always deserving the praise of seeking "whatsoever things are honest."

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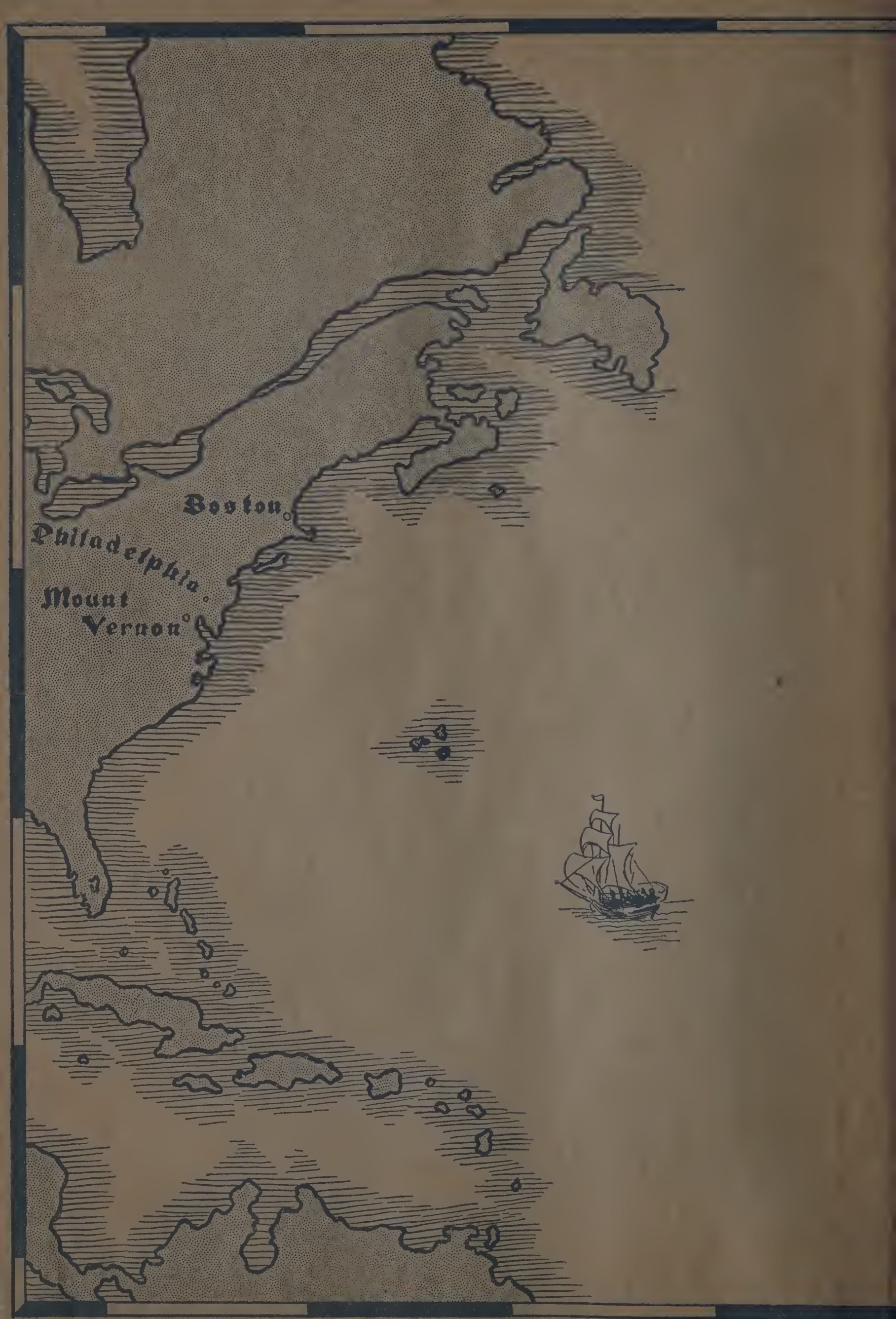
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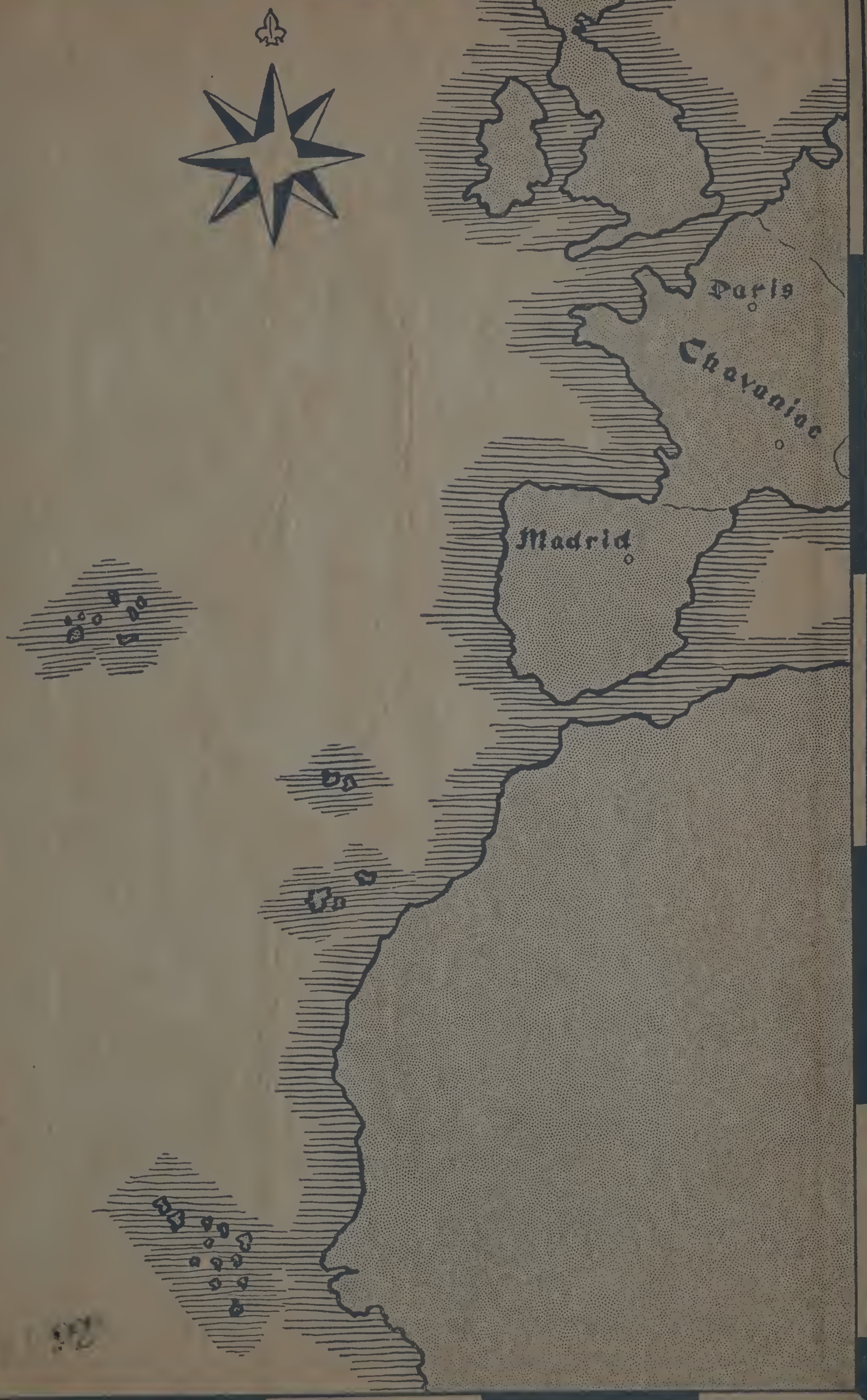
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