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LAFAYETTE

(Continued.)

The sufferings which Lafayette was here (in the citadel of Olmutz) exposed, in the mere spirit of a barbarous revenge, are almost incredible. He was warned, "that he would never again see any thing but the four walls of his dungeon; that he would never receive news of events or persons, that his name would be unknown in the citadel, and that in all accounts of him sent to court, he would never receive any notice of his family, or of the existence of his fellow prisoners." At the same time, knives and forks were removed from him, as he was officially informed that his situation was one that would naturally lead him to suicide.

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

His friends however, all over Europe, were carefully watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should at least render his existence certain. Among those who made the most vigorous and continued exertions to get some hint of his fate, was Count Lally Tolendal, then a refugee from his blood-stained country. This nobleman became acquainted in London, with Dr. Erick Bollman, a Hanoverian, who immediately after the massacre of August 10th, 1793, had been employed by Madame de Stael to effect the escape of Count Narbonne, and by great address and courage, had succeeded in conveying him safely to England. Dr. Bollman's adventurous spirit easily led him to engage in the affairs of Lafayette. His first expedition to the continent, under the direction of Lafayette's friends in London, in 1793, was, however, no further successful, than that he learned the determination of the Prussian government to give up Lafayette to Austria, and the probability that he had been already transferred. Where he was, and whether he were even alive, were circumstances Dr. Bollman found it impossible to determine.

But the friends of Lafayette were not discouraged. In June, 1794, they again sent Dr. Bollman to Germany to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavor to procure his escape. With great difficulty, he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontiers, and there ascertained that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmutz, a strong fortress in Moravia, 150 miles north of Vienna, and near the borders of Silesia. At Olmutz, Dr. Bollman ascertained, that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half-fabulous personage in the iron mask. He did not doubt but Lafayette was one of them, and making himself professionally acquainted with the military surgeon of the post, soon became sure of it. By very ingenious means, Dr. Bollman contrived to communicate his projects through this surgeon to Lafayette, and to obtain answers without exciting the surgeon's suspicions until at last, after the lapse of several months, during which, to avoid all risk, Dr. Bollman made a long visit at Vienna, it was determined, that an attempt should be made to rescue Lafayette, while on one of the airings, with which he was then regularly indulged, on account of his broken health.

As soon as this was arranged, Dr. Bollman returned to Vienna, and communicated his project to a young American, by the name of Francis R. Huger, then accidentally in Austria, son of the person at whose house in Charleston, Lafayette had been first received on his landing in America; a young man of uncommon talent, decision, and enthusiasm, who at once entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness. These were the only two persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who had the slightest suspicion of any arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. It was therefore concerted between the parties, after the two friends had come to Olmutz in November, that, to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in sign of recognition; and then having ascertained a day when Lafayette would ride out, Dr. Bollman and Mr. Huger sent their carriage ahead to Hoff, a post town about 25 miles on the road they wished to take, with directions to have it waiting for them at a given hour. The rescue they determined to attempt on horseback; and they put no balls into their pistols, and took no other weapons, thinking it would be unjustifiable to commit a murder even to effect their purpose.

Having ascertained that a carriage, which they supposed must contain Lafayette, since there was a prisoner and an officer inside, and a guard behind, had passed out of the gate of the fortress, they followed and followed of they rode by it, and then slackened their pace, and showing it again to go ahead, exchanged words with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and passing into a less frequented track in the midst of an open coun-

try, Lafayette descended to walk for exercise, guarded only by the officer who had been riding with him. This was evidently the moment for their attempt. They therefore rode up at once, and after an inconsiderable struggle with the officer, from which the guard fled to alarm the citadel, the rescue was completed. One of the horses however, had escaped during the contest, and thus only one remained with which to proceed. Lafayette was immediately mounted on this horse, and Mr. Huger told him in English, to go to Hoff. He mistook what was said to him for a mere general direction to go off—delayed a moment to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked once more, if he could be of no service—and finally, urged anew, galloped slowly away.

The horse, that had escaped, was soon recovered, and both Dr. Bollman and Mr. Huger mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette. But the animal proved untractable, threw them; and left them for some time stunned by their fall. On recovering their horse a second time, Dr. Bollman alone mounted; Mr. Huger thinking that, from his own imperfect knowledge of the German, he could not do as much towards effecting their main purpose. These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Mr. Huger, who could now attempt his escape only on foot, was soon stopped by some peasants, who had witnessed what had passed. Dr. Bollman easily arrived at Hoff, but not finding Lafayette there, lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he too was arrested and delivered up to the Austrians. And finally Lafayette, having taken a wrong road, and pursued it till the horse could proceed no further, was stopped at the village of Jagersdorf, as a suspicious person, and detained there till he was recognized by an officer from Olmutz, three days afterwards. All three of them were brought back to the citadel separately, and were there separately confined, without being permitted to know any thing of each other's fate. Mr. Huger was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six feet by eight, without light and with only bread and water for food; and once in six hours, by day and by night, the guard cutered, and with a lamp examined each brick and each link of his chain. To his earnest request to know something of Dr. Bollman, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his more earnest request to be permitted to send his mother in America merely the words "I am alive," signed with his name, he received a rude refusal. Indeed, at first every degree of brutal severity was practiced towards both of them; but afterwards, the severity was relaxed. The two prisoners were placed nearer together, where they could communicate; and their trial for what, in Vienna, was magnified into a wide and alarming conspiracy, was begun with all the tedious formalities that could be prescribed by Austrian fear and caution. How it would have turned, if they had been left entirely unprotected, it is not difficult to conjecture; but at this crisis of their fate, they were secretly assisted by Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near their prison, whom neither of them had ever seen, and who was interested in them, only for what, in the eyes of his government, constituted their crime. The means he used to influence the tribunal that judged them, may be easily imagined, since they were so far successful, that the prisoners, after having been confined for trial eight months, were sentenced only to a fortnight's imprisonment as their punishment, and then released. A few hours after they had left Olmutz, an order came from Vienna directing a new trial, which, under the management of the ministers, would of course have ended very differently from the one managed by Count Metrowsky; but the prisoners were already beyond the limits of the Austrian dominions.

La Fayette, in the meanwhile, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated, except by his death. During the winter of 1794-5, he was reduced to almost the last extremity, by a violent fever, and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe, that he was only reserved for a public execution, and that his clamorous deliverers had already perished on the scaffold; while at the same time he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, of which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts.

Madame de La Fayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to be possible. She had been released from prison, where she, too, had nearly perished, and having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of Gen. Washington, she set out, accompanied by her two young daughters for Germany, all in disguise, and with American passports. They were landed at Altona, and, proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience of the emperor, who refused to liberate La Fayette; but as it now seems probable, against the intentions of his ministers, gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmutz; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should pass its threshold never again to leave it. Madame de La Fayette's health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe pure air, and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned; and then she was told, that no objection would be made to her leaving her husband; but that, if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination, "to share his captivity in all its details," and never afterwards made an effort to leave him. Madame de Stael has well observed, when on this point of the history of the French revolution, "antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of Geneva La Fayette, his wife and his daughters in the prison of Olmutz."

One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of La Fayette, and it was made in the place, and in the way that might have been expected. When the emperor of Au-

stria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame de La Fayette, he told her that "his hands were tied." In this remark, the emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies in the war against France. England was one of these allies, and therefore, general Fitzpatrick, in the house of commons, on the 16th of December, 1796, made a motion for an inquiry into the case. He was supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought against La Fayette in Virginia, by Wilberforce, and by Fox; but the motion was lost. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it. A solemn and vehement discussion, on La Fayette's imprisonment, in which the emperor of Austria found no apologist, had been held in the face of all Europe; and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings in the most solemn and authentic way.

When, therefore, Gen. Clarke was sent from Paris to join Bonaparte in Italy, and negotiate a peace with the Austrians, it was understood, that he received orders to stipulate for the deliverance of the prisoners in Olmutz, since it was impossible for France to consent to such an outrage on the right of citizenship, as would be implied by their further detention. On opening the negotiation, an attempt was made on the part of Austria, to compel La Fayette to receive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him; but this he distinctly refused; and in a document that has often been published, declared with a firmness, which we can hardly believe would have survived such sufferings, that he would never accept his liberation in any way that should compromise his rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or as an American citizen. He was with his family liberated, at last, on the 25th of August, 1797; Madame de La Fayette and her daughters having been confined 22 months, and La Fayette himself five years, in a disgraceful spirit of vulgar cruelty and revenge, of which modern history can afford, we trust, very few examples.

During La Fayette's imprisonment, our own government employed such means as were in its power for his release. The American ministers at the European courts were instructed to use their exertions to this end; and when Washington found that no success was to be hoped from this quarter, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the emperor of Austria interceding in behalf of this early friend of American liberty.

France was too little settled to promise peace or safety to La Fayette and his family. They proceeded first to Hamburg, and then, after causing their rights both as French and American citizens to be formally recognized, went to the neighboring territories of Holstein, where they lived in retirement and tranquillity two years. There they were joined by the eldest son, who came to them from the family of Gen. Washington; there, their eldest daughter was married to Latour Maubourg, brother of the person who had shared La Fayette's captivity; and there he first devoted himself with great earnestness to those agricultural pursuits, which have since constituted the occupation and the happiness of his life. While, however, he was thus living tranquil and happy in the midst of his family in Holstein, but anxiously watching the progress of events in France, the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, November 10, 1799, happened, and promised for a time to settle the government of his country on a safer foundation. He immediately returned to France, and established himself at La Grange, a fine old castle surrounded by a moderate estate, about 40 miles from Paris, where he has lived ever since.

When, however, Bonaparte, to whom the revolution of the 18th Brumaire had given supreme control, began to frame his constitution and organize his government, La Fayette perceived, at once, that the principles of freedom would not be permanently respected. He had several interviews and political discussions with the consul, and was much pressed to accept the place of senator, with its accompanying revenues, in the new order of things; but he refused, determined not to involve himself in changes, which he already foresaw he should not approve. In 1802, Bonaparte asked to be made first consul for life; La Fayette voted against it, entered his protest and sent a letter to Bonaparte himself and from this moment all intercourse between them ceased. Bonaparte even went so far as to refuse to promote La Fayette's eldest son, and his son-in-law Lesteysic, though they distinguished themselves repeatedly in the army, and once, when a report of the services of the former in a bulletin was offered him, he erased it with impatience, saying, "These La Fayette's cross my path every where." Discouraged, therefore, in every way in which they could be of service to their country, the whole family was at last collected at La Grange, and lived there in the happiest retirement, so long as the despotism of Bonaparte lasted.

The restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, made no change in La Fayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was very kindly received; but the government they established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, that he did not again present himself at the palace. The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, at the end of a year, brought back Bonaparte, who landed the first of March, 1815, and reached the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and his policy seemed to be to play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon the soil of France, he endeavored to win the old friends of French freedom; and the same day, that he made his intrusion into the ancient palace of the Thuilleries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment. In a similar way, he endeavored to obtain the countenance and co-operation of La Fayette. Joseph Bonaparte, to

whom La Fayette had been personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult and conciliate him; but La Fayette would hold no communication with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressing solicited, to have an interview with the emperor; and ended, when still further urged, by positively declaring that he could never meet him, unless it should be as a representative freely chosen by the people.

On the 23d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation, his act additional, or an addition, as he chose to consider it, to the constitution of 1799, 1802, and 1804, confirming thereby the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted, by the vote of the French people; but La Fayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the consulship for life. The very college of electors, however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him first to be their president; and afterwards to be their representative; and the emperor, determined to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. La Fayette was as true to his principles as he had often been before, under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, and declined the peerage.

As a representative of the people, he saw Bonaparte, for the first time, at the opening of the chambers, on the 7th June. "It is above 12 years since we have met, general," said Napoleon with great kindness of manner, when he saw La Fayette; but La Fayette received the Emperor with marked distrust, and all his efforts were directed as he then happily said they should be, "to make the chamber of which he was a member, a representation of the French people, and not a Napoleon club." Of three candidates for the presidency of the chamber, on the first ballot, La Fayette and Lanjuinais had the highest number of votes; but finding that the emperor had declared that he would not accept Lanjuinais, if he should be chosen, La Fayette used great exertions and obtained a majority for him; to which circumstances compelled Napoleon to submit. From this moment till after the battle of Waterloo, which happened in 12 days, La Fayette did not make himself prominent in the chamber. He voted for all judicious supplies, on the ground that France was invaded, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen to defend their country; but he in no way implicated himself in Bonaparte's projects or fortunes, with which it was impossible he could have anything in common.

At last, on the 21st of June, Bonaparte arrived from Waterloo, a defeated and desperate man. He was already determined to dissolve the representative body, and assuming the whole dictatorship of the country, play, at least, one deep and bloody game for power and success. Two of his council, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, and Thibaudeau, who were opposed to this violent measure, informed La Fayette that it would be taken instantly, and that in two hours the chamber of representatives would cease to exist. There was, of course, not a moment left for consultation or advice; the Emperor or the chamber must fall that morning. As soon, therefore, as the session was opened, La Fayette with the same clear courage, and in the same spirit of self-devotion, with which he had stood at the bar of the national assembly in 1792, immediately ascended the tribune, for the first time for twenty years, and said these few words, which assuredly would have been his death warrant, if he had not been supported in them by the assembly he addressed: "When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice which the friends of free institutions will still recognize, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country, which you alone have now the power to save. Sinister intimations have been heard; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tri-colored standard; the standard of '89; the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit these gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel as I do. These resolutions declared the chamber to be in permanent session; and all attempts to dissolve it, high treason; and they also called for the four principal ministers to come to the chamber, and explain the state of affairs. Bonaparte is said to have been much agitated, when word was brought him simply that La Fayette was in the tribune; and his fears were certainly not ill founded; for these resolutions, which were at once adopted, both by the representatives and peers, substantially divested him of his power, and left him merely a factious and dangerous individual, in the midst of a distracted state.

He hesitated during the whole day as to the course he should pursue; but, at last, hoping that the eloquence of Lucien, which had saved him on the 18th Brumaire, might be found no less effectual now, he sent him with the three other ministers to the chamber, just at the beginning of the evening, having first obtained a vote that all should pass in secret session. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Faubourg had been excited and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the chamber, as he had formerly marched against the council of five hundred, and disperse them at the point of the bayonet. At all events, it was a contest for existence, and no man could feel his life safe. At this moment Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light, which two vast torches shed through the hall, and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposure of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained. A deep and painful silence followed. At length Mr. Jay, well known above 20 years since in Boston under the assumed name of Stennard, as a teacher of the French language, and as a able writer in one of the public newspapers of that city, ascended the tribune, and in a long and vehement

speech of great eloquence, exposed the dangers of the country, and ended by proposing to send a deputation to the Emperor, demanding his abdication. Lucien immediately followed. He never showed more power, or a more impassioned eloquence. His purpose was to prove, that France was still devoted to the Emperor, and that its resources were still equal to a contest with the allies. "It is not Napoleon (he cried) that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made in this people to abandon their Emperor; to expose the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to severe judgment on its levity and inconsistency. No, sir, the honor of this nation shall never be compromised." On hearing these words, La Fayette rose. He did not go to the tribune, but spoke, contrary to rule and custom, from his place. His manner was perfectly calm, but marked with the very spirit of intemperance and addressed himself, not to the president, but directly to Lucien. "The assertion which shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconsistency to the Emperor Napoleon! That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of Russia; over fifty fields of battle, in disaster as faithful as in victory; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of three millions of Frenchmen. These few words made an impression on the assembly, which could not be mistaken or resisted; and, as La Fayette ended, Lucien himself bowed respectfully to him, and, without resuming his speech, sat down.

It was determined to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber, to meet the grand council of the ministers, and deliberate in committee, on the measures to be taken. This body sat during the night, under the presidency of Cambaceres, a former chancellor of the empire. La Fayette moved, that a deputation should be sent to Napoleon, demanding his abdication. The arch-chancellor refused to put the motion, but it was as much decided, as if it had been formally carried. The next morning, June 22d, the emperor sent in his abdication, and La Fayette was on the committee that went to the Thuilleries to thank him for it, on behalf of the nation.

A crude provisional government was now established by the two chambers, which lasted only a few days, and whose principal measure was the sending a deputation to the allied powers, of which Lafayette was the head, to endeavour to stop the invasion of France. This, of course, failed, as has been foreseen; Paris surrendered on the 3d of July, and what remained of the representative government, which Bonaparte had created, for his own purposes, but which Lafayette had turned against him, was soon afterwards dissolved. Its doors were found guarded on the morning of the 8th, but by what authority has never been known; and the members met at Lafayette's house, entered their formal protest, and went quietly to their own homes.

Lafayette retired immediately to La Grange, from which, in fact, he had been only a month absent, and resumed at once his agricultural employments. There, in the midst of a family of above 20 children and grand children, who all looked up to him as their patriarchal chief, he lives in a simple and unobtrusive manner, rarely granted to those who have borne such a leading part in the troubles and sufferings of a great period of political revolution. Since 1817 he has been twice elected to the chamber of Deputies, and in all his votes has shown himself constant to his ancient principles. When the ministry proposed to establish a censorship of the press, he resisted them in an able speech; but Lafayette was never a factious man, and therefore, he has never made any further opposition to the present order of things in France, than his conscience and his official place required. That he does not approve the present constitution of the monarchy, or the political principles and management of the existing government, his votes as a deputy, and his whole life, plainly show; and that his steady and temperate opposition is matter of serious anxiety to the family now on the throne is apparent, from their conduct towards him during the last nine years, and their management of the public press since he has been in the country. If he chose to make himself a tribune of the people, he might at any moment become formidable; but he trusts rather to the progress of general intelligence and political wisdom throughout the nation, which he feels sure will, at last, bring his country to the practically free government he has always been ready to sacrifice his life to purchase for it. To this great result he looks forward, as Madame de Stael has well said of him, with the entire confidence a pious man enjoys in a future life; but, when he feels anxious and impatient to hasten onward to it, he finds a wisdom tempered by long experience, stirring within him which warns him, in the beautiful language of Milton, that "they also serve who only stand and wait."

Nashville, May 7.

RECEPTION OF GEN. LAFAYETTE.

On Tuesday night, at about 10 o'clock, information was received, that the steam-boat which contained the Nation's Guest, was three miles below Nashville, where it had anchored, and would remain until morning. The sun had not risen when was heard the busy hum of preparation to receive him. Every heart beat pleasure—every eye beamed it—every tongue spoke it. The Marshals of the day, decorated with distinctive badges, were, early, seen riding in every direction, and performing their peculiar functions. The cavalry—the regiment of volunteers, under the command of Gen. Martin, and amounting to about one thousand men, put themselves in readiness to meet him into town.

Between seven and eight o'clock the banks of the Cumberland were thronged with anxious spectators, awaiting the approach of the steam-boat with