LORD PALMERSTON IN PARIS IN 1815.

[EXTRACTS FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNALS.]

PARIS, September 3.—I went at 8 to a review of Prussian troops at Champ de Mars. There were about twenty thousand infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and the Duke of Wellington were present. Many English, but scarcely any French. The sovereigns rode round, the troops standing in close columns, the cavalry drawn up with their backs to the Invalides. The staff then took post, and the troops marched by.

The Prussians are remarkably fine-looking men, and extremely neat in their dress. The guards are particularly tall and well-sized, so that the whole front rank of each company looks as if it had been sized by a ruler. The cuirassiers are fine troops, the rest of the cavalry are rather slovenly in their appearance, and mounted upon strong but not very active-looking horses. The lancers, with their little black-and-white striped flags at the end of their lances, have a very singular and pretty effect at a distance. The foreign troops all march with a shorter and more constrained and stiff step than ours. The Emperor of Russia was so much struck with the active, swinging step of our men that he ordered his troops immediately to adopt it. In two days afterwards he had a body of them out in the Champ de Mars. The men, as might naturally have been expected, were confused and puzzled between the step they were used to and that which they were now required to march with; the consequence was, they did neither one thing nor the other, and marched remarkably ill. The Emperor was in a great passion, and put three colonels of regiments into close arrest in one of our guard-rooms. His aides-de-camp thought themselves lucky that he did not order them to dance, like Vestris, at twenty-four hours' notice, under pain of a visit to Siberia.

Monday, Sept. 4.—I went at 8 to a sham-fight of the Prussians in the plain of Grenelle, about two miles out of Paris. There appeared to be about twenty thousand men of all arms. They were drawn up in two bodies, and, after some evolutions of cavalry, one line advanced and the other retired; they did not fire. The manœuvres were said to be meant to represent the late attack of the Prussians upon Paris. The troops manœuvred with great quickness and accuracy, and the Duke of Wellington was much pleased with their manner of deploying from column. I was observing to him the different practice of our army and that of other nations in their manner of advancing to an attack: they always advance in column, we in line. He said he was satisfied that this was one reason why we had always beaten the French; that if troops are steady, and the line well formed, the line will always have an advantage over the column, from presenting so much larger a front of fire; and that, by attacking the column rapidly, they are prevented from deploying, which is an operation that cannot be performed under a close fire. The object of the column attack is to penetrate into the enemy's position and deploy in their rear; if it succeeds in this, the result is certain. Twice in the Peninsula the French had established a column on our position, at Busaco and Albuera, but in each instance they were immediately charged by fresh troops and the column destroyed. At Busaco the duke had had a regiment of Portuguese militia to make a road. The work had, however, been done before they came, and he was going to lead them back. They begged that, as a battle was likely to take place, they might be kept. He consented, and desired them to remain on the very ground where they were. This happened in the course of the action to become an important point, and the French made a great effort to gain possession of it. The militia soon found that they had made a hard bargain of it, and lost no time in debating who should go away first. The duke, however, immediately brought up two British regiments, and before the French column could deploy on the ground it had seized, it was cut to pieces. He said he had not above sixteen or eighteen thousand British infantry at Waterloo; that he started with the very worst army that ever was got together; but that four or five regiments who had been in the Peninsula soon gave a tone and character to the whole army, and the result was known. The other troops under his command did very ill. The Nassaus ran away, and fired at him when he rode up to rally them. The Prussian army started with double his force, but, by the time they reached Paris, he was as strong as they were, though he had received no reinforcements, and they had not lost any great number in battle. But their discipline was so relaxed that their numbers rapidly diminished during the march. He had brought sixty thousand to Paris, and they not more than that force. The system of individual plunder had been the ruin of the French army, and would be the destruction of the Prussian. When officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves; and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow. War then assumed a new character, the profession of arms became a mercenary speculation, and the officer's thoughts grew to be directed to the acquisition of plunder instead of the attainment of glory. The duke had succeeded in keeping his army well in hand. No officer was permitted to make any requisition himself, but was obliged to state his wants to the commissary, who applied to the agents of the French Government for the articles required; and the supply being made through channels known to the people, and by authorities recognized by them, the burden was not felt to be so oppressive as if the exaction had been made by the immediate order of an enemy, and at the caprice of individual officers. The consequence was that, though both the Prussians and ourselves lived equally at the expense of the country, the first are detested and the latter liked. * * * * * *

The Louvre has not as yet been deprived of any pictures of importance, but Lord Clancarty (British ambassador at the Hague) has marked above a hundred which are claimed as the property of the King of the Netherlands; and Canova is arrived from Rome to claim both the pictures and statues that belong to the Pope. The Venus de Medici is also preparing to return to Italy. The *basso-relievos* upon the arches and public buildings, in which anything is contained that relates to Bonaparte, have been chiselled off, and the number of plain entablatures is daily increasing. This is perhaps the best compromise that can be made.

September 19.—The dispersion of the gallery was begun to-day, and yesterday it was shut for the purpose. The Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the King of the Netherlands, begins by taking down all the pictures belonging to Holland and the Low Countries; and Austria will take all the pictures and statues that belong to her Italian dominions, and will assist Canova in receiving those which are the property of the Pope. The French are extremely indignant at this restitution, and accuse us of a breach of faith, founding themselves upon the articles of the capitulation between Wellington and Blucher on the one hand, and the French army which evacuated Paris on the other. The facts of the case, however, as told me by the duke himself, entirely fail them in making out their case.

When the sovereigns arrived, a negotiation was commenced for a general restitution; but the most powerful parties, England and Russia, being little interested in the question, the matter was not very warmly pressed; and the French Government continued evading the demand in hopes of procrastinating the business till the sovereigns should have left Paris. The Dutch, however, were with much warmth urging their demand, but found some difficulties in their way. In the mean time Canova arrived from Rome to claim the property of the Pope; and Charles Long and Hamilton uniting with him in strong and urgent reeresentations, the attention of the allies was drawn to the question. A disinclination, however, was found to exist, and a suspicion that our eagerness arose from interested motives. In order to remove this impression, Lord Castlereagh sent in a note to the Emperor of Austria, to state that, as one objection urged against a general restitution was that some of the parties, and particularly the Pope, were too poor to be able to defray the expense of removal, we were willing, in order to prove the sincerity as well as the earnestness of our representations, to engage to pay this expense for the Pope, rather than that he should not have his property restored to him. At length the objections of France and the disinclination of Russia were overruled, and a general restitution was resolved upon. The first claimant to be satisfied was the King of the Netherlands, who had indeed an unfulfilled promise from Louis XVIII, of a year's standing. Wellington was sensible that the measure must be unpleasant to the king, and endeavored to carry it into effect in a manner at least likely to hurt his feelings. He said he had never taken more pains about any thing in his life than to make a satisfactory arrangement on this subject. His efforts, however, were fruitless. Talleyrand always evaded answering his propositions, and never would fix upon any day or manner for giving up the pictures. At length the Duke's patience was exhausted; and, being called upon by the ambassador of the King of the Netherlands, of whose army he was Commander-in-Chief, to bring the matter to an issue, he aent word to Talleyrand and Denon that he should, on the following morning, send a party of workmen to take down the pictures, and that the party would, if necessary, be accompanied by a British regiment. This step was taken yesterday, and the gallery shut to the public. This afternoon, however, it has been opened again by the order of Muffling, the Russian commandant; but the workmen who are taking down the pictures are protected by British sentries, posted at every fifty feet along each side of the gallery, and a British detachment mount guard in the square at the entrance of the Musee. This signal proof of the triumph of our arms and of the justice of our principles, in the very palace of the capital, is a remarkable sight. It was well observed by Hamilton, as one reason among many for the general restitution, that it was almost the only gratuitous and unequivocal proof of victiry within the reach of the allies. The mere presence of their armies in Paris might be explained away by arrangements and conventions; the cession or deposit of fortified places, or the payment of sums of money by the French, must be the stipulations of a treaty to which the government of France might consent from motives of policy or justice, but in which it acts at all events as an independent power; but, when history shall record that those works of art, which were brought to Paris by victories and held there by the sword, were sent back to their respective proprietors by an allied army in possession of Paris, there will exist no doubt that such a measure would not have been submitted to, unless it had been enforced by arguments more sharp and weighty than the mere principles of reason or of justice.

Friday, 22d.—Went to the review of the British army. The troops were on the ground early, and I got to them about 9 o'clock. They were posted in a line parallel to the great road to St. Denis, with their left on Montmartre and their right on St. Denis. There were sixty thousand men, including three thousand cavalry and five thousand artillery, all red-coats and subjects of the king, British or Hanoverian. The cavalry consisted only of the Life Guards and Blues, two regiments of heavy dragoons, and one of the hussars of the German Legion. The bulk of our cavalry being stationed in Normandy and Picardy, it was not thought worth while to march them in for this sole purpose. The Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and Emperor of Austria were all present.

The Duke of Wellington told me afterward that he had not even looked at the ground; that he had intended to have done so, but never could find time, and had only a sketch of it made by one of his officers, whom he sent to reconnoitre it. The Duke had given no orders but to appear upon the ground, and there was not a general of division who knew what was to be done. The first thing the Duke did was to change the position of the whole line, advancing it some little distance forward from the ground they had originally taken up. He then gave a sort of representation of his manœuvres at the battle of Salamanca. He supposed his object to be to gain possession of some heights in front of Montmartre, or rather the brow of the hill itself. He detached part of two divisions from the right towards St. Denis to go round and take the supposed enemy in flank, while he himself attacked them in front. He marched the army about a couple of miles across the country, describing a sort of quarter circle round Montmartre; and the manner in which the columns of infantry advanced, with occasional charges of cavalry and of bayonet, gave one a perfect representation of the attack of an army in an engagement, with the exception that there was no firing. At last, when those who did not understand his evolutions the least expected it, he suddenly deployed the whole into two lines in the most beautiful order imaginable. There was then a general salute. The sovereigns having taken part, on the spot where they happened to be, the whole army marched by, in about an hour and a half. Nothing could exceed the steadiness, and precision, and rapidity with which the manœuvres were performed. There was no confusion at any point. The men got over the ground at a surprising pace; and, when the deployment was made at last, the lines were as correct as they could have been when on parade. The foreigners who had been to the Prussian review, where the whole thing had been diligently rehearsed for two days beforehand, and where the plain was covered with little posts with bunches of straw on the top of them, to point out to each division the ground it was to occupy, were surprised and astonished to find that no such preparations had been made on our part, and that Wellington set out to move about an army of sixty thousand men with as much ease as he would have done to move a set of chessmen on a board. It was some time before they would believe that no order had been given or plan formed; and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein did not seem to credit it till he had been assured of the fact by almost all our generals of division, whom he successively asked. They were also much struck by seeing the Blues and Life Guards charge over two very deep and wide ditches that ran on each side of a road which they were ordered to cross, and which they effected with very little loss, having only three or four tumbles. That which our men did least well was marching by. The army was very much admired for its steadiness, its lightness and regularity, and the care with which it was manœuvred. The Highlanders and the horse-artillery seemed particularly to excite attention; and, though the proceedings at the gallery had put us out of favor with the Parisians, still there were a considerable number of French spectators, and many carriages full of ladies, a thing never seen at any of the Prussian reviews.

Thursday, 26th.—Dined at Verey's with Bruce L. Nervins Mont Breton, a man who had been chief of police under Bonaparte for three years. He looks like a thief as much as a thief-taker, and has the most remarkable side-look out of the corner of the eye I ever saw. He told us some amusing anecdotes of the Bonaparte family. He said that Napoleon was very much swayed and influenced by them, and particularly by his sisters, who were very clever and ambitious women, and who often made him change determinations which he had formed with apparent obstinacy. He said the brothers were most of them weak and foolish, and had all of them the inconceivable folly to imagine that when they were sent to be sovereigns of conquered states, they were really meant to be independent kings, and that it was often difficult to convince them of their mistake. He was at Cassel when Jerome came to take possession of the kingdom of Westphalia, and he said the little man strutted about and gave orders to the right and left just as if he was fixed there for all eternity; and, when Nevins hinted to him something about the emperor, he replied, with admirable dignity, "Sachez que je suis empereur chez moi." Nervins, however, whose particular business it was to keep him in order, suggested that perhaps the emperor might send a general of division to take possession of his kingdom if he gave himself too many airs; and Jerome appears at length to have been accessible to the force of such persuasive reasoning. One day at a *levee* a courier arrived with despatches from Bonaparte. Nervins, who had sent complaints of Jerome, and entreated Bonaparte to give him a lecture, was curious to see how it would be taken, and maliciously pressed the little king to let them know what the emperor said. Jerome opened the letter, and, with the utmost coolness and self-possession, read it aloud to the ministers and persons present; and, as he read it, it ran that Bonaparte was delighted to hear how well he went on; that his administration was so prudent and popular, his finances so flourishing, and his army so well established, that he every day saw fresh reason to approve the choice he had made of him for that kingdom, and ended by assuring him of his undiminished affection and regard. Nervins smiled at the manœuvre, and, having observed that a tall officer of hussars had taken advantage of his superiority of stature to crane over little Jerome's shoulders while he was reading the letter, he asked him as they went out what he thought of the letter.

"Think of it," replied the officer. "I never was so thunderstruck in my life. Why, would you believe it, I read the letter over the king's shoulder, and it was word for word the direct contrary of what he read in so unhesitating a manner to us!"

Thursday, 28th; Friday, 29th.—Usual Paris life: going to the gallery, or the buhl-shops, or the sights in the morning; taking an early dinner, and visiting one of the theatres and Lady Castlereagh's in the evening. On the evening of Friday we were much amused by the hereditary Prince of Bavaria, a very well-disposed man, but of very singular manners and appearance. He has some defect in his palate, and a considerable deficiency in his intellect, so that, what with the original absurdity of his ideas, and the inarticulate manner in which he gives vent to them, it is difficult to preserve a decorous gravity when conversing with him, especially as he is very fond of talking English, which he speaks extremely ill. Lady Castlereagh told me that he came up to her one day in the gardens at Versailles, and said, "Madame, you Lord Cassele's wife?" She assented, upon which he exclaimed, with a tender and engaging look, "Dahm de French!" His fondness for the English and his detestation of the French seem the only interesting parts of his character.

Saturday, 30th. — To-day the Austrians made their long-talked-of attack upon the brass horse attached to the gilt car on the top of the triumphal arch in the Place de Carrousel. As, however, they had no workmen or tools with them, they were obliged to apply to us, and we lent them a detachment of our staff corps under Captain Todd. Parties of Austrian cavalry guarded the approaches to the square, and in the inside of it a battalion of Hungarian grenadiers were drawn up.

It had been intended to take the horses down in the night, by way of avoiding an apparent insult upon the king, as the arch is so close to the windows of the Tuileries; but it was found impossible to take them down with safety in the dark, and it was also thought that any disturbance that might arise would be less easily dealt with at night than by daylight. There had been some little symptom of a disposition to resistance on the part of the mob, and a brigade of British troops were under arms at the entrance of the Champs Elysees, ready to march in at a moment's notice. The display of force, however, prevented the necessity of using it, and no interruption was offered to the workmen; indeed, no persons on foot, except English or allies, were allowed to enter the square, so that the mob was kept aloof. A triangle was hoisted up and fixed upon the top of the arch, the horses were slung by a pulley fastened to it, and, the cement which held their feet having been cut away, they were hoisted up and then lowered just in the same manner, and with as much care as live horses are embarked on board a ship from a pier in a harbor. The erection of the triangle, however, having taken a considerable length of time, only one of the horses were got down before sunset, and the remaining two were left to be got down to-morrow morning. The operation was performed with the greatest success; they were lowered into wagons loaded with straw, and placed under the arch to receive them, and then drawn away under an escort of Austrians to the place where they were to be properly packed. I ascended the small staircase which leads to the top of the arch to see them before they were taken down, and was much struck with the exquisite beauty of the workmanship, which, of course, was lost to the eye when one looked at them from below. Their age and master are not well known, but it is generally believed they were made by Lysippus, a contemporary of Alexander. They were originally at Corinth; from there they were carried to Rome; when the seat of empire was moved they followed the Emperor to Constantinople, where they were placed in the Hippodrome. There they remained from the days of Constantine till the Venetians entered Constantinople. They were then transported to Venice, and in the further lapse of ages the victories of Bonaparte brought them to Paris, to remain there, as he said of the Apollo, forever. They are now returning to Venice, and are at least likely to continue there as long as they have done at Paris. The triumphal car to which they were attached was soon stripped of the gilt-lead ornaments and wreaths with which it was decorated. I was lucky enough to get to the top of the arch before the plunder was completed, but I was told that pieces of the spoil sold in the course of the afternoon for a napoleon apiece. A magnificent spread-eagle, which was stuck to the front of the car, was claimed by the staff corps for the sideboard of the messroom.

Sunday, October 1.—The remaining two horses were taken down early this morning, and the car and angelic grooms left looking most forlorn. I met in the evening, at Lady Castlereagh's, a dark-looking man, whom I imagined to be Alava, the Spanish Minister, and a great friend of Wellington's. We were talking of the descent of the horses; he said it had enraged the French, and regretted the manner in which it had been done. He said the King of France ought to have had another lot of horses made as like them as possible, but of lead. He should then have taken down these in the night, and have put up the others, and by that means all parties would have been satisfied; the Venetians would have had their own, and the French would not have found out their loss. I stared, and said to myself, "Who you are I know not, but I am sure you are not Alava." I found out he was the Sicilian Minister.

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JOHN ROMMEL, JR.,
J. M. ROMMEL,
W. J. MANN,
} Executors.

Philadelphia, March 28, 1871. 3 23th6t*

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The Auditor appointed by the Court to audit, settle, and adjust the fourth and final account of JOHN GEGAN, Guardian of THOMAS B., TERESA, and JOHN BURKE, minor children of JOHN F. BURKE, deceased, and to report distribution of the balance in the hands of the Accountant, will meet the parties interested for the purpose of his appointment on MONDAY, the 17th day of April, 1871, at 3 o'clock P. M., at his office, No. 433 WALNUT Street, in the city of Philadelphia. 4 4 tuths6t*

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