

O D E.

THE FAREWELL.

HOPE, holy sister of the cherub Peace!
Thy path celestial thro' the heavens I trace,
As now, reclining on the amber breast
Of yor far-falling cloud,
Thou deign'st thy ballow'd form to rest,
Thy beauties half enshroud.

Yet, tho' thy glories faintly fill the sight,
Fair Queen I know thee, and adore thy might.
Thy robes of snowy white I know;
The golden lock that o'er thy shoulder strays,
And on the skirting of the cloud doth throw
The splendor of the solar blaze;
Thy flakey mantle now I spy,
That, backward floating, on the breezes plays;
The dim mists now thy visage fly,
I meet the comfort of thine eye.

Offspring of Virtue, Consolation's child!
Thy power, thy kindness, and thy love, I blest;
And with adoring heart thy care confess,
Whose condescension mild,
Hath spread new calmness o'er my BIRTHA's soul,
Bid new-born transport thro' her bosom stray,
Their tides fresh spirits thro' her vessels roll,
And sweet Contentment o'er her features play.

Henceforth my idle song shall cease,
No higher comforts can I give
Than those which in her bosom live,
Thy voice serene hath spoke, and all her soul is peace.

Go little Lyre, unbend thy useless chords,
Untune each speaking string;
No more my voice of youth shall give thee words,
My feeble touch responsive bid thee ring.
For now feverish Study lifts her voice,
And chides the lingering accents of my lay;
Points to the waiting object of my choice,
That shuddering trembles at each fond delay.

Now cares await me, and the frugal toil
That builds, of Competence the peaceful dome,
And gives, at length, the happy haven home.
Perchance, in days to come, may Leisure smile,
And fond Remembrance give thee to my fight,
Not all unused thy warblings to awake,
Not unacquainted to arouse delight,
To soothe the sad, the warm to love excite,
And bid, with deepest dread, the soul severely shake.

And then, perchance, in happiest union join'd,
Thy chords, kind answering to my song,
May pour some happy strain along,
And please, of Wisdom's Sons, the taste refined.

E L L A.

L O N D O N, May 19.

REVOLUTION IN POLAND.

IN different foreign letters, we have already laid before our readers details of the events which have lately taken place in Poland, and which have entirely changed the Constitution of that Republic. It cannot, however, prove unacceptable to our readers to have the whole proceedings laid before them in one connected view.

At three o'clock in the morning of May 3d, a number of patriots, who had preconcerted the great objects which they meant to accomplish in the sitting of the Diet that day, assembled in the King's chamber. There, in the presence of the King, they engaged to effectuate the Revolution that day, and they pledged themselves to each other, by a solemn engagement, not to separate until they had accomplished their end.

The assembly was opened at the usual hour.—The galleries were crowded with spectators, and the House was surrounded with thousands who could not gain admission. Instead of the Marshals, the King himself opened the session. He said in substance, that "notwithstanding all assurances to the contrary, there was an alarming rumour, confirmed by the advices daily received, that the three neighbouring Powers would make up and terminate all their jealousies and divisions at the expence of the possessions of the Republic; that the only method of assuring to Poland the integrity of its possessions, and of preserving it from the ruin which foreign politics were preparing for it, was to establish a Constitution, which should secure its internal independence. That in this view there had been prepared a plan of a Constitution, founded principally on those of England, and the United States of America; but avoiding the faults and errors of both, and adapting it as much as possible to the local and particular circumstances of the country." In support of the information relative to the foreign powers, the King communicated to the Diet some dispatches received from the Ministers of the Republic at foreign courts, stating how eager they were to oppose all settlement of the Constitution, and that every thing seemed to announce their hostile designs on Poland. The King desired that the plan, which he submitted to them, might be read, and that they should proceed forthwith to enact it into a law, if they approved of it. The plan was accordingly read, and a very long and important debate took place.

All the representatives of the Provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, declared themselves against the new form of constitution.

M. Suchorzewski, who so recently distinguished himself in so brilliant a manner as an advocate for the people, and who is justly regarded as the principal author of the movements that have

brought about the Revolution, opposed this plan with great zeal. The patriotism by which he was animated, was alarmed, by the Crown's being made hereditary. He advanced, and threw himself on his knees at the foot of the Throne, supplicating and conjuring his Majesty, "to renounce his ideas of the hereditary succession to the Royalty, as it would be the tomb of the Liberty of Poland." Many Representatives, who were on the same side, alleged the instructions of their provinces, which prevented them from agreeing to make the Throne hereditary. They insisted that at least the plan should be taken *ad deliberandum*, as every other new law was taken; but a great majority of voices refused to agree to this. "We must pass the whole this day; we will not depart from this place until the whole is accomplished." The majority requested the King to be pleased to unite with them for the acceptance and support of the new Constitution in a solemn oath. The King called to him the Bishop of Cracovia, and took the oath from his hands. They cried out, "All those who desire the welfare of their country will join their King, assist and support him." They surrounded the throne on all sides. The King, to be seen by the Assembly, could not remain seated; he mounted on the seat, and swore aloud. A great majority of the Diet held up their right hand, followed his example, and swore the same. "Every man that loves his country," exclaimed his Majesty, "follow me to the Church, and thanking God, let us repeat the oath at the altar." All the Bishops, all the secular Senators, with a great number of the Nuncios or Representatives, accompanied the King to Church, and there again solemnly engaged, before the Supreme Being and their Country, to maintain a Constitution, which, combining liberty with subordination, and subjecting the first citizen as well as the last to the law, secures to all the means of happiness, and gives to each citizen the true enjoyment of his rights. It was that time seven o'clock in the evening, *Te Deum* was sung, and the new Constitution was announced to the people by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon. There were between thirty and forty Nuncios who did not follow the King to church. The King, with his suite, returned to the Assembly House, and adjourned the Diet to the 5th of May, after charging the Marshals to give the oath to all the Departments. The opposing Nuncios, seeing that all resistance was useless, resolved to protest against the new Constitution, by the publication of a Manifesto, after which they retired without noise to their own houses. There was no attempt made to interrupt them, nor was any insult whatever offered to their persons. Cries of joy filled the streets, but this joy was the expressions of pure and calm patriotism. Through the whole day there was not the smallest confusion, nor disorder, nor riot. At eleven o'clock the streets were so perfectly calm, that one would scarcely believe that it had been the epoch of a new order of things.

It is pretended, that on the eve of this memorable day, a certain foreign Minister had endeavoured, by the dextrous application of 50,000 ducats, to avert the revolution; but all was foreseen and prevented. The business was executed in every point with as much address as it was framed. On the 4th inst. eighteen Nuncios published their Manifesto against the proceedings of the day before; and Mr. Suchorzewski returned the *Gordon bleu*, with which his Majesty had invested him fifteen days before. On the 3d May, the post was stopped, and even foreign Ministers submitted to the general order; but on the 4th, expresses were sent off in all directions.

The following is an authentic copy of an address, presented to W. WILBERFORCE, Esq. on Thursday the 5th of last month, by the Africans in and about London.

SIR,
WE are sensible that the acknowledgments of a few humble natives of Africa, can add but little to the satisfaction of a gentleman, who finds his generous exertions amply recompensed in the consciousness of worth; yet we have presumed to gratify our own feelings at least, by presenting this small tribute of thankfulness, as well on our own behalves as on that of our kindred in misery and chains.

We are, sir, as you well know, though participating of personal freedom, yet in very low stations, claiming however, and not unworthily we hope, to be considered as sober, and diligent and just: with faces of colour indeed, but unknown to the magistrate, and with names not to be found in the list of offenders of any kind; yet, lowly as we are, if, upon the question lately agitated in Parliament (involving the fate of our whole race) we were without the sensibilities of admiration, and gratitude and hope, we should in good truth not be men.

As concerning the event of this question, it may not, perhaps, become us to speak; yet strong and lively is our hope, that the principles explained, and the sensations excited by you can never be satisfied till they have obtained their end.

By Authority.

CIRCULAR.

TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS.

Copy of a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed by order of the King, to all the Ambassadors and Ministers of his Majesty, in Foreign Courts.

SIR,
THE King has charged me to inform you, that it is his will that you make known his sentiments respecting the Revolution and the French Constitution to the court at which you reside. The same orders are transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of France, at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his Majesty's intentions, his free acceptance of the new form of government or his irrevocable oath to maintain it.

His Majesty had convoked the States General of his kingdom, and resolved in his council that the commons should, in that assembly, have a number of Deputies equal to those of the two other orders then existing. This act of provisional legislation which the circumstances of the moment did not allow to be more favorable, sufficiently announced his Majesty's wish to restore the nation to all its rights.

The States General met, and took the title of the National Assembly; and in a short time, a constitution fitted to secure the happiness of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the king only served to conceal the real power of certain aristocratic bodies.

The National Assembly adopted the representative form of government, conjoined with hereditary monarchy. The legislative body, was declared permanent; the choice of the ministers of public worship, of magistrates, and judges was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legislative body, and the power of sanction on the Monarch. The public force, both internal and external, was organized on the same principles, and in conformity with the fundamental basis of a distribution of powers. Such is the new constitution of the kingdom.

That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuses that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the ministers, which was never the power of the king. Those abuses were no less prejudicial to the nation than to the monarch, Authority, under happy reigns, had never ceased to attack these abuses, but without being able to destroy them. They exist no longer; the nation, now the sovereign, has no citizens but such as are equal in rights; no despot but the law; no organs but public officers, and of those officers the king is the first. Such is the French revolution.

This must naturally have for its enemies all those who, in the first moment of error, regret, on account of personal advantages, the abuses of the ancient government. Hence the apparent division which shewed itself in the kingdom, and which is daily becoming less; hence perhaps some severe laws and circumstances which time will correct; but the king, whose true power can never be distinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happiness of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him, the king has adopted without hesitation, a happy constitution, which will at once regenerate the nation, the monarchy and his authority. All his powers are preserved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. It remains charged with the power of negotiating with foreign nations, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies, but its aggressors; no internal enemies but those who, still flattering themselves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of men, restored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in such a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient forms and abuses, is not an immovable and irrevocable constitution.

The most dangerous of those enemies are they who affect to disseminate doubts of the intentions of the Monarch. These men are much to blame, or much deceived. They suppose themselves the friends of the King, and they are the only enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the King of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been less known. What has the King not done to shew that he considered both the revolution and the French constitution as his titles to glory! After having accepted and sanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of causing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the last year, he has promised in the bosom of the National Assembly, to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do so, in the midst of the general federation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Restorer of French Liberty, he will transmit to his son more than a crown; he will transmit a constitutional royalty.

The enemies of the constitution are constantly repeating that the King is not happy; as if it were possible for a King to enjoy any happiness but the happiness of his people. They say that his authority is lessened, as if authority, founded on force were not less powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. Finally that the King is not free; a calumny atrocious, if they suppose that his will could be constrained; absurd, if they take for a want of freedom the consent repeatedly expressed by his Majesty to remain among the citizens of Paris, a consent that was due to their patriotism, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Those calumnies however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen, who are voluntary exiles from their country, instead of sharing its glory, and who, if they are not enemies, have at least deserted their stations as citizens. The King, sir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their projects. The same calumnies, while they spread the falsest ideas respecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of French travellers suspected by several neighbouring nations; and the King expressly orders you to protect and defend them. Represent the French constitution in the same light as that in which the King views it; and leave no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmost of his power. By securing the liberty and the equality of the citizens, that constitution founds the national prosperity on the most immovable basis; it confirms the royal authority by the laws; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, a revolution which the abuses of the old government would probably soon have effected by a dissolution of the empire; and finally, it will constitute the happiness of the King. To justify it, to defend it, and to consider it as the rule of your conduct ought to be your first duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his Majesty's sentiments on this head; but after the information he has received of the opinion endeavoured to be established at foreign Courts, respecting what is passing in France, he has ordered me to charge you to make known the contents of this letter to the government with which you reside; and that it may be still more public, his Majesty has ordered it to be printed.

(Signed)

MONTEMORIN.

Philadelphia, July 25, 1791.

The above is a faithful translation of a letter communicated to me officially by Mr. Otto, Chargé des Affaires of France, and rendered public at his desire.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.