


JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS

OSHUA REED GIDDINGS, an American publicist and anti-slavery leader, was born at Athens, Bradford Co., Pa., Oct. 6, 1795, and died at Montreal, Canada, May 27, 1864. While a youth he removed with his parents to Ashtabula Co., O., where his education was obtained with difficulty and largely from books that he was able to borrow and study at home. He served in the army in 1812, subsequently taught school, studied law, and, securing admission to the Bar in 1821, eventually reached a high rank in his profession. In 1827, he sat in the Ohio legislature and in 1839 entered Congress, where he became a zealous and fearless opponent of the slave power; he spoke also on the tariff and other important measures. In a notable speech which he delivered in Congress in 1841 he declared that the Indian war in Florida was being waged in behalf of slavery, and in 1843 his "Pacifcus" essays on slavery attracted much attention. Giddings opposed the annexation of Texas, was a strong supporter of the Wilmot Proviso, and, when Taylor was nominated for the Presidency, in 1849, he abandoned the Whigs for the Free Soil party. As a Free Soil advocate he strenuously opposed the Fugitive Slave Bill. His staunch anti-slavery opinions made him the object of much denunciation and abuse, and he was twice assaulted in Congress and once pursued by a mob in the streets of Washington. In 1859, he retired from Congress, and, in 1861, was appointed Consul-General to Canada. He was the author of "The Exiles of Florida," "The Rebellion: Its Authors and Its Causes," besides the "Essays of Pacifcus," above mentioned, and a collection of his own "Speeches in Congress."

DENUNCIATION OF SLAVERY

DELIVERED JUNE 23, 1852

MR. CHAIRMAN,—The two great political parties of the nation have held their conventions. From all parts of these United States delegates have assembled, deliberated upon their platform of principles, avowed their doctrines, nominated their candidates for President and Vice-President, and now have entered upon the presidential campaign. Preparatory to this state of things many speeches were made here, to which the Free Democrats, the advocates of liberty, listened with commendable attention. And now I rise to occupy a brief hour in vindicating the position of

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the party to which I am attached. Often, during the last six months, the question has been propounded to me, whether we should vote for the candidates of the Whig or the Democratic party? This question, so far as I am concerned, will probably be answered satisfactorily before I take my seat.

It is not my purpose to examine very critically the principles of those parties. It may be sufficient for me to remark that they agree as to the policy which ought to control our government. . . .

This is the first time, for many years, that these parties have each put forth an avowal of their doctrines. In the change of times and the ordinary course of events they now find themselves in perfect harmony with each other. The day of their contention and disagreement has passed away. The issues which once really existed between them have become obsolete, or surrendered. Their usefulness is at an end and their history will soon be written. The increase of intelligence, the improvements of the age, demand new organizations and new parties. For years the old parties have intermingled constantly and no influence has been able to keep them separate. Here, and throughout the country, some Whigs act with the Democratic party, and some Democrats act with the Whig party.

For the last four years there has been no matter of legislation before this body on which the members have arrayed themselves according to their party character. On every question a portion of Whigs have acted with the Democrats and a portion of Democrats have acted with the Whigs. Indeed, sir, those who have watched the proceedings here for the past few years could not fail to see that slavery constitutes the only question of interest before us. . . .

The motto of Free-Soilers is "No more slave States." This

is our unyielding, determined position. We wage an exterminating warfare against every party which would extend the curse of human servitude or increase the slave power in any degree. The Democratic party and the Whig party unite in the extension of slavery and of the slave power, and then ask the friends of liberty to vote with them! I shall not do it.

Another measure of the last Congress was a law entitled "An act to abolish the slave-trade in the District of Columbia." A flagrant falsehood was sent to the people in this title; for the law itself does not profess to abolish the slave-trade in this district, and only excludes from this market the slave-breeders of Maryland and Virginia, leaving the sale of men, women, and children to continue here. And this commerce in the image of God is to go on and continue forever. The Whigs say it shall not be disturbed and the Democrats say they too will protect it. These parties have taken position between us and the slave-dealers, and say we shall not discuss the morality of their vocation; that we shall not agitate the cause of freedom.

You, sir, lately saw an advertisement in the leading Whig paper of this district, in these words: "For sale, a handsome and accomplished lady's maid, aged just sixteen years." Except in this city and New Zealand I do not think any government within the bounds of civilization would have permitted such an outrage upon decency. I speak of New Zealand without intending any disrespect to the people of that island by comparing their habits with ours. They buy men and women for food only. The object is far more honorable and Christian-like than that for which the young women of this city are advertised and sold.

Mr. Chairman, General Scott and General Pierce are both

pledged to maintain this traffic in the bodies of women, and the advocates of liberty are asked to aid in electing them. Sir, let those parties revel in such moral and political wickedness; let them pledge themselves and their candidates to perpetrate crimes thus revolting to humanity; but I beseech them not to insult honest men, philanthropists and Christians, by asking them to participate in such transcendent iniquity.

Another of the compromise measures is the fugitive-slave law. Of the character of this law I have spoken on former occasions. Of its unconstitutionality I think no unprejudiced mind can doubt who listened to the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Rantoul]. Of the crimes committed under this law, of the enormities of sending free men into slavery under color of this law, of the barbarous and savage character of the agents selected by this administration to carry it out, I have no time to speak. I noticed in the address of a clergyman, lately delivered before the Home Missionary Society, a statement that the reverend speaker was in the central parts of Russia during the last summer; that an intelligent nobleman taunted him with the character of this fugitive law, saying: "You can find nothing in the legal code of Russia, nor in the decrees of her emperors, equal to that barbarous law."

No, sir, I do not believe that any despot of Russia, or of Austria, was ever guilty of putting forth so barbarous a law; yet the Democratic party and the Whig party tell us that this law shall remain as a final settlement of this subject. The Whig party, it is true, reserve to themselves the right of making it more barbarous. But it is to remain a law and continue in force while time shall last. Yes, when the "archangel shall descend from heaven with a rainbow upon his head, and, placing one foot upon the earth and the other upon the sea,

shall swear by him who liveth for ever and ever, that time shall be no longer," the dread summons shall find the people of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston upon the *qui vive*, hunting for slave-mothers who have fled from all else they hold dear in life, in order to enjoy liberty. The Whigs and Democrats will be found supporting this law; and when they shall close their eyes upon terrestrial objects they will be listening to the baying of bloodhounds, the clanking of chains, shrieks of slaves, and the roar of muskets; while the dying groans of slave-catchers and their wounded associates, the bloodhounds, the last death-sighs of murdered fugitives, will all rise from this earth and mingle with the archangel's voice as he shall summon us all to the bar of final retribution. I would speak of the future with solemnity; but if men are to carry with them into the coming world their leading traits of character, as some hold, it would seem that their residence in the spirit land will be made vocal with the sighs and groans and shrieks of associated beings.

But both parties and their candidates are pledged to maintain this infamous law. And they will "resist" and "discountenance" all agitation in regard to it, "in Congress or out of it." The policy of silencing discussion upon it must be apparent to every man. The slave-holders demanded the passage of this law, Northern doughfaces submitted, some voted for it, others fled the hall. They then knew it would be death to the measure and political obliteration to themselves to discuss it; and therefore voted against its discussion, against all agitation, and a minority of this body actually passed it under the previous question; and now Whigs and Democrats say it never shall be discussed. That when our people of the North see a fellow being seized, chained, dragged into slavery, and sold and flogged, they shall say nothing about it, here or else-

where; that they shall look upon the murdered corpses of fugitives shot down by the agents of government, and may moan over their barbarity, but they must not discuss, they must not agitate the repeal of this law. Well, sir, I assure them the people will discuss these things.

But it is said, through the Whig press, that we cannot repeal this law. I saw this morning an article, in some respects an able article, denouncing this law, in a Whig paper, professedly anti-slavery. The editor, however, admitted that the law would not be repealed, perhaps, for twenty years. Sir, the admission shows the author to be unconscious of the people's power.

It is this miserable, cowardly submission to the slave interest which has degraded Northern men. Let the people send to this body forty members whose hearts are devoted to freedom, who have confidence in the power of truth, and this law will be repealed in six weeks. It will be swept from our statute book, and curses deep and loud will rest upon its authors.

The editor to whom I alluded proposes that we shall contribute from the national funds to pay for fugitives. I could have forgiven the editor for almost any other political offence. What, sir! are we, the descendants of the Pilgrims, of those who bled at Bunker Hill and on every battlefield of the revolution rather than pay a paltry tax on tea and on stamped paper, are we supinely to become tributary to Southern taskmasters? When the barbarians of Algiers seized and enslaved our people we sent an armed force there and slew them, holding them unworthy of a place upon God's footstool. No, sir; by all the hallowed associations which cluster around the memory of English and American patriots, I avow that I would sooner see every slave-holder of the nation hanged

than to witness the subjugation of Northern freemen to such a humiliating condition.

Sir, when it comes to that, I, for one, shall be prepared for the *dernier ressort*,—an appeal to the God of battles. I am a man of peace, but am no non-resistant; and I would sooner have the ashes of my hearth slaked in my own blood and the blood of my children than submit to such degradation. And here I will take occasion to say that if this law continues to be enforced civil war is inevitable. The people will not submit to it. Why, sir, civil war already exists. At Christiana, civil war, with all the circumstances of force, under color of law—resistance in defence of natural right—bloodshed and death took place. In my own State a similar transaction occurred; and I assure gentlemen that other instances will occur if attempts be made to enforce that law. In my own district are many fugitives who have informed their masters where they may be found. These men have become desperate. They desire to see the slave-catchers. They pant for an opportunity to make their oppressors “bite the dust.” Sir, send on your commissioners and deputy marshals and bloodhounds, and I assure you that a civil war will soon be in active progress.

Gentlemen talk of enforcing this law. It cannot be done. The people have already passed sentence upon it and upon its authors; and that sentence will be speedily executed. Nor can you stop agitation in regard to it.

Agitation, discussion, and examination are the agents, the instruments, for carrying forward all reforms. The Saviour of man spoke truths boldly. They fell harshly upon the ears of scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites. They denounced him as an agitator; seized, tried, condemned, and crucified him as an agitator. From that day to the present every man who has boldly avowed truths unwelcome to the ears of despots,

tyrants, and the oppressors of our race have been denounced as agitators. Jefferson, in the Declaration of American Independence; Samuel Adams, in the Continental Congress; Washington, on the battlefield, were “distinguished agitators;” John Quincy Adams, while in this hall, for years maintained and defended, with inimitable powers, the right of petition, and was denounced throughout the country as an agitator. He was arraigned at the bar of this House and tried as an agitator. Every member of this body who defends the rights of the people is denounced as an agitator. To me these epithets have lost their terrors.

For hundreds and for thousands of years the instruction and elevation of mankind have been carried forward by agitation. By means of it tyrants and despots have been driven from power and popular rights have been extorted from barbarous rulers. Without agitation no people ever gained their rights, or retained them after they had been extorted from their oppressors. Now, suddenly, to prevent the progress of liberty, Whigs and Democrats unite to suppress this element in all reforms. They declare that discussion shall cease, and the slave-trade and slavery shall continue forever, and the fugitive law shall be rendered perpetual. . . .

Mr. Chairman, I have served in this hall some fifteen years. During that period I think at least two thirds of the time of this body has been occupied by the subject of slavery and other matters connected with that institution. For the last three years we can scarcely be said to have done anything else but discuss and legislate for slavery. This, sir, is all wrong. Slavery is a local institution, existing only in a portion of the States. The attempt to nationalize it is unwarranted and unconstitutional. To do this is now the object of both the Whig and Democratic parties. Against these attempts, we, the

Free Democracy, wage unceasing, undying, unyielding hostility. This war we shall never give up. We shall never lay aside our arms until victory shall crown our efforts,—until this government shall be redeemed and disenthralled from the foul stain of chattel slavery. Against oppression in all its forms, and in all places, we have sworn eternal hostility. Our sympathy for suffering humanity is broad as creation, reaching to all climes and embracing all who bear the image of our Creator. To persecuted Hungary we tender the assurance that “we feel for those in bonds as bound with them.” On this subject the Democrats have spoken oracularly.

The Whigs talk about “entangling alliances and standing on foreign soil;” but they dare not take distinct issue on the propriety of exerting our moral power, our political influence, to maintain the law of nations. Substantially, both Whigs and Democrats are opposed to us on this subject. They would permit Russia or Austria to swallow up Hungary without any protest or expression of our disapprobation. We sympathize with the oppressed of all nations; and we, the Free Democracy, literally constitute the party of progress. At Buffalo we adopted the policy of “cheap postage for the people;” and inscribed it upon our banner, and unfurled it to the breeze. We foresaw the advantages of increasing the facilities of communication among the masses and determined to confer upon our country these benefits, while Whigs and Democrats were too timid to take a position either for or against it.

I am aware that we are often charged with being men of one idea, indeed, we are sometimes called the party of one idea,—and I refer to these facts to vindicate ourselves from that charge. We dared go where neither of those parties were willing to follow us, nor to oppose us; and in less than

three years the correctness of our position has been acknowledged before the country.

“Lands for the poor, homes for the destitute,” free of expense to all who will immigrate to the West, was another article in our political creed. To this policy neither the Whig nor Democratic party dared express their consent, nor dared they oppose it. At this session a bill carrying out our views on this subject passed this body by a vote of nearly two to one. The Senate will doubtless comply with the popular will of the nation by passing this measure of benevolence which will cause thousands of hearts to swell with gratitude and joy. Sir, the Free Democracy believe that governments were constituted to protect, elevate, and render our race, our whole race, more happy. That it is our duty as statesmen, as philanthropists, as Christians, so far as we have constitutional power, “to raise up the bowed down,” “to exalt the humble,” “to inform the ignorant,” “to comfort the distressed,” and increase the prosperity and happiness of all who come within the sphere of our political, our moral, or our religious influence. Of course, we are hostile to those compromise measures which the Whigs and Democrats are pledged to sustain.

In 1848 nearly three hundred thousand freemen cast their votes for our presidential candidate. Since that period our moral and political power has greatly increased. Probably one third of the members on this floor are indebted to men who sympathize with us for their seats, and many were elected solely and entirely upon our principles. Three members of the Senate were elected as Free Democrats, while others are partially indebted to the votes of the Free Democracy. In several State legislatures we hold the balance of power; but this is but little evidence of the rapidity with which our principles are extending.

Our progress is marked by the change of feeling toward our doctrines in both the other parties; their hostility is diminishing daily; they are becoming acquainted with our views, and, of course, respect our motives. In all elections now throughout most of the free States candidates are selected whose doctrines and principles are not obnoxious to us. The cloud which in 1848 was like unto a man's hand in size has now overspread the whole North, and will soon extend over the nation, and finally over the world.

But it is said that those friends in the State of New York who came from the Democratic party have returned to it. I deeply feel and deplore this fact. I loved and honored them,—I still respect them; but I must say that, in my judgment, they have erred in departing from us. I, however, will not judge them; to their own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my opinion, no doubt that we should, in November next, have effected the election of a President favorable to our views. That they are friends of liberty I know; that they will sustain the doctrines laid down in the Democratic confession of faith, or vote for Pierce and King under the circumstances attending their nomination, I do not believe. The members of our party, generally, entered upon an organization with a deep feeling and conviction that such an organization was necessary.

Time and experience has confirmed us in that opinion. I have stated the basis of our doctrines; they are permanent, eternal as God himself. While standing on those principles we cannot be wrong. The political and moral regeneration of our country, the entire reformation of this government from its practice of sustaining oppression, slavery, and crime, is our object. To effect this great and holy purpose must require time and perseverance. In what I have said and done

on these questions I have but reflected the sentiments and feelings of those I represent,—indeed, among them are many, very many, “older and better soldiers” than myself. That people, sir, will stand firmly, steadfast, and immovable, upon the doctrines and the organization which they have adopted.

I am aware of the arguments so often used to persuade Free-Soilers to vote for this or that man, for this or that party, in order to gain some supposed temporary advantage. But, sir, we organized for the maintenance of doctrines important not merely to the people of a township, a county, or a state, but to man wherever he is found,—important not merely to-day, at this election, or next year, but in all coming time. Can we leave such a position to unite with either of the other parties in order to elect this or that man to office while he stands pledged to maintain slavery and the slave-trade in this district, and in our territories,—to continue the infamous fugitive law,—to uphold and support all these measures as a final settlement of the subjects to which they refer, and to discountenance all examination, discussion, or agitation as to the propriety of these measures? Sir, were we to unite with either party to elect a President thus pledged we should lose our own self-respect,—we should lose the respect and confidence of the world. Politically, sir, we are “a city set upon an hill, which cannot be hid.” Throughout the country our influence is felt. In this hall we wield a moral power far beyond our numbers. Let no man charge me with indelicacy when I assert that the Free-Soilers of this body exert all the influence to which their numbers entitle them. Whigs and Democrats have confidence that we shall in all cases be guided by judgment, by reason and justice, and not by the paltry considerations of party.

The effect has been most salutary. Ten years since no

man here dared separate from his party. No matter what was the subject, or his own judgment, every member was compelled to fall into line and vote with his party leaders. Free-Soilers have set an example here of independence. The commencement of our trials on this subject were severe. We were frowned upon, vilified, and denounced; but, thank God, we had the firmness to bide our time, and now for years many Whigs and Democrats have followed our example and dared to vote as their judgments and consciences dictated. In short, sir, here party lines upon most subjects of legislation have become obliterated. This of itself constitutes a great reform.

At Baltimore a portion of the Whig party contended manfully against committing themselves to the outrages and crimes of the fugitive law and compromise measures. In that respect they did more than the Democrats. My sympathies, and the sympathies of our party and of all good men were with them.

And had the anti-slavery Whigs in this House and the Senate promptly and energetically met the supercilious pretensions of the slave-power with decision and firmness, I have little doubt they would have inspired a feeling at Baltimore which would have repudiated a platform that has stamped indelible disgrace upon their party. In this hall, the Democrats have sustained the constitutional rights of the free States more ably and faithfully than the Whigs have during the present session.

But I am aware that a strong effort is making to induce our Free Democracy to sustain the Whig candidate at the coming election. With the gentleman nominated I have long been acquainted. To him nor to the Democratic nominee have I any personal objection; but, if elected, he is pledged

to maintain the outrages, the revolting crimes, pertaining to the compromise measures and fugitive-slave law to which I have called attention,—to render them perpetual, so far as he may be able,—to prevent all discussion relating to them. To vote for him is to vote for this policy,—to identify ourselves in favor of the avowed doctrines which he is pledged to support,—to give proof by our votes that we approve the platform on which he stands. But, sir, why vote for Scott in preference to Pierce?

The doctrines of the Whig party, as I have shown, pledge them and their candidate to maintain slavery; the breeding of slaves for market; the sale of women in this district and in the territories; to uphold the fugitive law in all coming time; to admit as many slave States as shall apply from New Mexico and Utah, and to silence discussion on all these subjects. This is as far, I think, as human depravity can go. If the Democratic party has dived deeper into moral and political putridity, some archangel fallen must have penned their confession of faith. If there be such a distinction, it can only be discovered by a refinement of casuistry too intricate for honest minds to exert. Sir, suppose there were a shade of distinction in the depths of depravity to which these parties have descended, does it become men,—free men, men of moral principle, of political integrity,—to be straining their visions and using intellectual microscopes to discover that shade of moral darkness? No, sir; let every man who feels that he has a country to save, a character to sustain,—that he owes a duty to mankind and to God,—come forward at once and wage a bold and exterminating war against these doctrines so abhorrent to freedom and humanity.

But it is said that the Democratic party, if defeated again by the anti-slavery sentiment, as they were in 1848, will dis-

band, and the masses will then unite with us in support of justice, truth, and liberty. The defeat of the Democratic party might disband them and it might not. There is no certainty on that point. If we were to unite with the Whigs, we might, or we might not, defeat the Democrats. If we were to try the experiment and fail, Whigs and Democrats would despise us. We should despise ourselves. If we should succeed we should become identified with the Whig party and swallowed up by it. In every aspect in which I can view such a policy we must lose the moral power which we possess. Standing upon elevated principles,—professing, avowing; and proclaiming the political gospel which we present to the people,—we cannot descend to mingle in such a contest without a sacrifice of that moral and political influence which now commands the respect of all honest men and of our own consciences.

Mr. Chairman, I know not the course which the people whom I represent will pursue. From the past only can I judge of their future action. A residence of half a century among them has given me some knowledge of their character. Their past action on this subject is “known and read of all men.”

That people do their own thinking and their own voting. They know their rights and will maintain them so far as moral and political action on their part will do it. They are at all times prepared to discharge their duty. Sir, in 1848 there was more political effort made to induce our friends there to vote for the present Executive than was ever put forth on any other occasion. Distinguished gentlemen from other States, of great ability and of anti-slavery sentiments, were imported to show us the propriety of voting for men who feared to speak in favor of free principles. But those

efforts failed and few men can now be found who will admit that they ever cast a vote for the present Executive—a man who has prostituted the power of his office to the support of slavery and crime. Now they are to be called on to vote for men openly pledged and committed to the work of eternizing slavery and the slave-trade and the fugitive law. I will leave the Free Democracy of the Reserve to speak for themselves. They have always done that.

Sir, we are in the midst of a revolution. The two great parties are striving to convert this free government into a slave-holding, a slave-breeding republic. Those powers which were delegated to secure liberty, are now exerted to overthrow freedom and the constitution. It becomes every patriot, every lover of freedom, every Christian, every man, to stand forth in defence of popular rights, in defence of the rights of the free States, of the institutions under which we live, in defence of our national character.

Sir, I am getting old,—the infirmities of age are coming upon me. I must soon leave the scenes with which I am surrounded. It is uncertain whether I shall again address this body; but one thing I ask,—that friends and foes, here and elsewhere, in this and in coming time, shall understand that, whether in public or in private, by the wayside or the fireside, in life or in death, I oppose, denounce, and repudiate the efforts now put forth to involve the people of the free States in the support of slavery, of the slave-trade, and their attendant crimes.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV



FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, King of Prussia (1840-61), was born Oct. 15, 1795, and died at Sans Souci, near Potsdam, Prussia, Jan. 2, 1861. He succeeded his father Frederick William III, on his death, in June, 1840. He at first granted many minor reforms and pledged himself to radical changes, but, being possessed by exaggerated ideas of the kingly office, kept evading the fulfillment of his promises. His reign is marked by the persistent demands of the people for a constitutional form of government, which though the King at first refused was granted in 1850, meanwhile opposing the revolutionary movements of 1848 and refusing the imperial crown offered him by the Liberal Frankfort Diet. In 1850, the people stormed the arsenal and seized the palace of his brother, William, Prince of Prussia, afterward William I, when he was forced to grant a representative parliament. In 1857, his mystic pietism developed into pronounced insanity, and he resigned the administration to his brother, who, at his death, became king.

OPENING OF THE PRUSSIAN DIET

DELIVERED ON THE OPENING OF THE DIET, APRIL, 1847

ILLUSTRIOUS NOBLE PRINCES, COUNTS, AND LORDS, MY DEAR AND TRUSTY ORDERS OF NOBLES, BURGHERS, AND COMMONS,—I bid you from the depth of my heart welcome on the day of the fulfilment of a great work of my father, resting in God, never to be forgotten, King William III, of glorious memory.

The noble edifice of representative freedom, the eight mighty pillars of which the king of blessed memory founded deep and unshakably in the peculiar organization of his provinces, is to-day perfected in your assembly. It has received its protecting roof. The king wished to have finished his work himself, but his views were shipwrecked in the utter impracticability of the plans laid before him. Therefrom arose evils which his clear eye detected with grief, and, before all, the uncertainty which made many a noble soil susceptible of

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weeds. Let us bless, however, to-day, the conscientiousness of the true beloved king, who despised his own earlier triumph in order to guard his folk from later ruin, and let us honor his memory by not perilling the existence of his completed work by the impatient haste of beginners.

I give up beforehand all co-operation thereto. Let us suffer time, and, above all, experience, to have their way; and let us commit the work, as is fitting, to the furthering and forming hands of Divine Providence. Since the commencement of the operation of the provincial Diets I have perceived the defects of individual portions of our representative life, and proposed to myself conscientiously the grave question how they were to be remedied? My resolutions on this point have long since arrived at maturity. Immediately on my accession I made the first step toward realizing them by forming the committees of the provincial Diets, and by calling them together soon after.

You are aware, lords and gentlemen, that I have now made the days for the meeting of those committees periodical, and that I have confided to them the free working of the provincial Diets. For the ordinary run of affairs their deliberations will satisfactorily represent the desired point of union. But the law of January 17, 1820, respecting the state debts, gives, in that portion of it not as yet carried out, rights and privileges to the Orders which can be exercised neither by the provincial assemblies nor by the committees.

As the heir of an unweakened crown, which I must and will hand down unweakened to my descendants, I know that I am perfectly free from all and every pledge with respect to what has not been carried out, and, above all, with respect to that from the execution of which his own true paternal conscience preserved my illustrious predecessor. The law is, however,