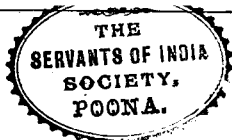


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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY

M. A. THIERS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST PARIS EDITION,

WITH NOTES.

2299

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCCLV.

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P R E F A C E.

I PURPOSE to commit to writing the History of a most extraordinary Revolution, one that has caused a deep sensation, and upon which public opinion is still divided. I have not concealed from myself the difficulties of my task; for strong political feelings, which it was considered had expired under military despotism, are now awakening from their slumber. All at once, men, borne down with age and toil, have experienced the revival of passions apparently extinct, and have imparted those passions to us their descendants and inheritors. But although we may have to maintain the same cause with them, we are not, therefore, obliged to defend their errors, more especially as we have the faculty of distinguishing between liberty and those who, whether with good or evil intentions, have devoted themselves to her service, possessing also, as we do, the advantage of having seen and conversed with those veterans who, yet absorbed in their recollection, and impressed with the emotions of the past, instruct us to identify our associations with the memory of long past events. Perhaps the moment when the actors of this great drama are about to quit the scene, is the most proper period to write their history, for then we can receive their testimony without being made parties to their prejudices or political inclinations.

Be this as it may, I have done my best to soften in my own bosom every feeling of personal bias. I have alternately supposed myself as either drawing my earliest breath in a cottage, inspired with a laudable ambition, and striving to attain that eminence from which I was debarred by the pride of the higher classes; or else as having been brought up in a palace, the inheritor of ancient privileges, feeling the mortification of being compelled to disclaim a possession which I had reason to consider as conferring a lawful title. The moment I entered on this train of reflection, all partiality or bias lost its hold upon my mind. I have mourned for the losers in the conflict, and have consoled myself by the admiration of elevated characters.

APPENDIX.

NOTE 1. Page 10, col. 2.

I should not cite the following passage of the memoirs of Ferrieres, if base detractors had not endeavoured to vilify every scene of the French revolution. The passage I am about to extract will enable my readers to form a judgment of the effect which the national solemnities of this period produced on the hearts of those who were the least affected by the general exultation of the people.

"I recall, with pleasure, the impression which this august and touching ceremony made upon me. I shall copy the relation I then wrote, which is full of the sensations it excited; and if this fragment is not historical, it will possess, perhaps, on that account, a more lively interest for some readers.

"The nobility were dressed in black coats, waistcoats, and breeches, richly embroidered with gold, silk cloaks, lace cravats, and hats mounted with feathers à la Henri IV.; the clergy in gowns, large mantles, and cornered hats; the bishops in their purple robes and surplices; and the third class in black suits, with silk cloaks and cambric cravats. The king was seated in a vehicle in the form of an alcove, richly decorated; Monsieur, the count D'Artois, the princes, the ministers, and the chief officers of the crown, took their place beneath, the queen opposite; and Madame, the countess D'Artois, the princesses, and the ladies of the court, gaily attired, and sparkling with diamonds, formed his brilliant suite. The streets were hung with tapestry; the regiments of the French and Swiss guards formed a line from Notre-Dame to Saint-Louis; immense crowds observed the procession in respectful silence; the balconies were ornamented with the most expensive drapery, the windows filled with spectators of every age and both sexes, particularly with beautiful women, elegantly dressed; every variety of hats, feathers, and apparel was displayed on this occasion; a most amiable emotion was painted on every countenance, and joy sparkled in all eyes. Clapping of hands and expressions of the most cordial interest welcomed us, and followed us after we were out of sight. How vainly do I endeavour to describe this ravishing and enchanting scene. Bands of music, placed at convenient distances, filled the air with melodious sounds; and military marches, the beat of drums, the flourishing of trumpets, and the noble chant of the priests, alternately succeeding each other without discord or confusion, animated this triumphant procession."—*Memoirs of the Marquis de Ferrieres*, vol. i. p. 18.

NOTE 2. Page 13, col. 1.

The following is an enumeration of those considerations which determined the third class to adopt this first revolutionary measure. As this was the act with which the revolution may be said to commence, and was of great importance in itself, I do not think I can do better than by relating the grounds and motives which governed the decree of the commons: they emanate from the pen of the abbé Sieyès.

"The assembly of the communes, deliberating concerning the overture of reconciliation proposed by the commissioners of the king, have thought it, at the same time, incumbent on them to take into consideration the resolution which the nobility have entered into with respect to that same overture.

"They have observed that the nobility, in spite of their first acquiescence in the proposal of the king, modified it immediately afterwards, which almost entirely nullifies its intention; and that thus their resolution on the subject under consideration can be regarded as nothing less than a positive refusal.

"In consideration of this conduct, and the continued perseverance of the nobility in their preceding determinations, which are opposed to every project of reconciliation, the deputies of the communes think it absolutely useless to occupy themselves any longer in a project which can no longer be called conciliatory, since it has been rejected by one of the parties whose object it was to conciliate.

"In this state of things, which replaces the deputies of the communes in their first position, it appears to them that they can no longer remain in inaction, waiting for the junction of the privileged classes, without rendering themselves culpable towards the nation, which has, without doubt, a right to require a better employment of their time.

"The deputies of the communes therefore deem it the pressing duty of all the representatives of the nation, to whatever class of citizens they may belong, to form themselves, without delay, into an active assembly, capable of commencing and fulfilling the object of their mission.

"They therefore direct the commissioners, who have been the mediators in the several conferences called conciliatory, to draw up the recital of the repeated and wise efforts which they have made to bring to an equitable arrangement the differences which have arisen between them; and direct them also to detail the motives which have forced

them to pass from a state of attendance to one of action; and, finally, resolve that these motives shall be printed at the head of the present deliberation.

"But since it is not possible to form an active assembly without recognising previously those who have a right to compose it, that is to say, those who have the faculty of voting as representatives of the nation, the deputies of the communes believe it their duty to make a last attempt to induce the clergy and nobility, who possess the same powers as themselves, yet have hitherto refused to confirm them, to join them.

"Further, the communes deeming it necessary to gain proof of the refusal of those two classes of deputies to join them, in case they persist in their present determination, judge it their indispensable duty to give them a last invitation, which will be carried to them by deputies ordered to read it in their presence, and to leave them a copy of it, which is herewith subjoined.

"Messieurs, we are ordered by the deputies of the communes of France to inform you that they can no longer defer the fulfilment of the obligation imposed upon all the representatives of the nation. It is assuredly time for all who acknowledge this title to confirm it by a common verification of their powers, and to commence finally to occupy themselves in the consideration of the national interest, which alone, and to the exclusion of all private interests, presents itself as the great object which all the deputies should endeavour to promote by their united efforts. In consequence of this obligation, and the necessity which calls upon the representatives of the nation no longer to remain in inactivity, the deputies of the communes call upon you again, gentlemen, to join them; and their duty obliges them, as much individually as collectively, to give you this last invitation to concur in, and submit yourselves to a common verification of powers. We are at the same time ordered to inform you that the general calling over of all the convoked bailiwicks will take place in an hour, that the verification will then immediately take place, and all absentees will be deemed in default."

NOTE 3. Page 18, col. 1.

I support nothing by notes or citations but that which is liable to be disputed. This question of whether we possessed a constitution or not, appears to me one of these; and a more respectable and less suspected opinion on this subject cannot be cited than that of Lally-Tolendal. After some preliminary observations, he thus goes on.

"You have not certainly a law which establishes that the states-general are an integral part of sovereignty, for you demand one, and hitherto, sometimes a resolution of the council has forbidden their deliberations, and sometimes the decree of a parliament has annulled their decisions.

"You have not a law which necessitates the periodical assembling of your states-general, for you demand one, and a hundred and seventy-five years have elapsed since they were assembled.

"You have not a law which protects individual liberty from arbitrary arrests, for you demand one, and during the reign of a king, whose justice is acknowledged, and whose probity is respected throughout all Europe, ministers have dragged

your magistrates from the sanctuary of the laws by military force.

"You have no law which establishes the liberty of the press, for you demand one.

"You never had, or have no longer, a law which makes your consent necessary to levy taxes, for you demand one, and, for the space of two centuries, you have been loaded with three or four hundred millions of taxes, without having assented to a single one.

"You have not a law which renders the ministers of the executive power responsible, for you demand one.

"Finally, you have no general positive written law, a code at the same time national and royal, a grand charter of a fixed and invariable nature, by which every individual may learn what portion of his liberty and property he must sacrifice for the preservation of the remainder, and which ascertains the nature of civil rights, and defines the nature of civil power.

"I limit myself to these details, for I could extend them to infinity; but if all these facts are true, if you have none of those laws which you demand, or if in possessing them, (pay attention to this,) or if in possessing them, you have not one which enforces their execution, which ensures their accomplishment, and which maintains their stability, define what you mean by the word constitution, and agree at least that some indignities should be extended towards those who cannot help entertaining some doubts concerning the existence of ours."

NOTE 4. Page 18, col. 1.

I deem it necessary to recite in this place the recapitulation of the papers made to the national assembly by M. de Clermont-Tonnerre. It furnishes a correct statement with regard to public opinion at this period, through the whole length and breadth of France. In this report, the recapitulation is of extreme importance; and although Paris had been prejudiced upon the digesting of these papers, it is not the less true that the provinces were for the greater part quite as much so.

Report of the Committee of the Constitution, containing a Recapitulation of the Contents of the Papers relative to the formation of a Constitution, read at the National Assembly by the Count de Clermont-Tonnerre, on the 27th of July, 1789.

"Gentlemen, you are called together to regenerate the French empire, and you bring to this great work both your own wisdom and the wisdom of your constituents.

"We have thought it our duty first to collect together and present to your consideration the opinions contained in the greater number of your papers; we shall then state to you the particular views of your committee, and those which it has, or may become acquainted with, from the several plans and observations, which have or may be communicated to it by the members of this august assembly.

"It is of the first part of this task, gentlemen, that we are now about to give an account.

"Our constituents, gentlemen, are all agreed on one point; they all desire the regeneration of the state; but some look for this as the result of a simple reform of abuses, and of the re-establishment of a constitution which has stood for fourteen

centuries, and which appears to them capable of reparation; while others regard the social system at present existing as so perfectly vitiated, that they demand a new constitution, and, with the exception of a monarchical form of government, which is respected, and cherished in the hearts of all Frenchmen, they have given you every power necessary to create one, and to establish on the surest principles the prosperity of the kingdom of France. These persons, gentlemen, think that the first chapter of the constitution ought to contain a declaration of the rights of man, of those imprescriptible rights, the maintenance of which alone can make any system of society a blessing to its members.

"The demand for this declaration of the rights of man, the nature of which has been so constantly mistaken, is the only real difference which exists between those papers which demand a new constitution, and those which merely require the re-establishment of that which they regard the present constitution.

"Both the one and the other equally desire a monarchical government, a legislative body, the national consent for the imposition of taxes, a new organization of all administrative bodies, and the inviolability of the rights of citizens.

"We shall now, gentlemen, recapitulate the particular topics on which our constituents express their sentiments, and distinguish those on which they all agree, from those on which their opinions seem to be divided, by presenting to you the former as decisions, and proposing the latter as questions.

1st. "The monarchical form of government, the inviolability of the sacred person of the king, and the hereditary descent of the crown from male to male, are equally acknowledged by the greatest number of your papers, and not questioned by any.

2nd. "The king is declared the depository of all the plenitude of the executive power.

3rd. "The responsibility of all the agents of power is generally demanded.

4th. "Some papers acknowledge the legislative power of the king, limited by the constitutional and fundamental laws of the kingdom; others declare that the king, during the interval of the sessions of the states-general, can alone make laws of police or administration, to be afterwards enreregistered in the sovereign courts; one bailiwick has maintained that this record should not take place without the consent of two-thirds of the intermediate commissioners of the assemblies of the districts. The majority of the papers acknowledge the necessity of the royal sanction in the promulgation of the laws.

"As to the legislative power, the plurality of the papers acknowledge it as residing in the national representation, authorized by the royal sanction; and it appears that this ancient maxim, *Les jés comans populi et constitutionis regia*, is almost generally adhered to by your constituents.

"As to the organization of the national representation, the questions on which you have to decide relate to the convocation, the duration, and the composition of this representation, or to the mode of deliberation which your constituents propose.

"As to the convocation, some have declared

that the states-general can only be dissolved by themselves; others, that the right of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving, belongs to the king, under the single condition that, in case of dissolution, he must immediately summon a new convocation.

"As to the duration of the states-general, some demanded that it should be periodical, that its periodical re-assembling may depend neither on the will nor interest of authority; others, but a less number, advocate its permanency, that the separation of its members may not bring on the dissolution of the states.

"The question of the periodical return of the states has given rise to another; whether an intermediate commission during the interval of the sessions would not be expedient! But the majority of your constituents regard the establishment of an intermediate commission as a dangerous institution.

"As to the composition of the states, some decidedly favour the distinct existence of the three orders; but with respect to this, the extension of powers which many representatives have already obtained, leaves undoubtedly a much greater latitude for its solution.

"Some bailiwicks have demanded the union of the two first orders in the same chamber; others the suppression of the clergy, and the division of its members between the two other orders; others that the representation of the nobility should be double that of the clergy, and that both together they should be equal in number to the commons.

"One bailiwick, in demanding the union of the two first orders, has required the establishment of a third, under the title of the order of the country. It has been also demanded that every person possessing a place or employment at court should be excluded from becoming a deputy of the states-general. Finally, the inviolability of the persons of the deputies is acknowledged by the majority of the bailiwicks, and is contested by none. As to the mode of deliberation, the question of individual voting, or voting by order, has been decided in favour of the first; some bailiwicks demand two-thirds of the opinions of the whole assembly to form a resolution.

"The necessity of the national consent for the imposition of taxes is generally acknowledged by your constituents, and established by your papers; they all limit the duration of every tax to the term which you may fix, a term never to extend further than from one session to another; and this imperative clause appears to your constituents the surest guarantee for the perpetuity of national assemblies.

"Loans, being but indirect taxes, ought, in the opinion of your constituents, to be subjected to the same regulations.

"Some bailiwicks except these taxes from the foregoing regulations which have for their object the liquidation of the national debt.

"As to administrative bodies, or provincial states, all the papers demand their establishment, and the majority leave their organization to your wisdom.

"Finally, the definition of the rights of citizens, individual liberty, and the security of property, are loudly called for by the whole French nation.

She demands for her members the inviolability of their private possessions, and for herself the inviolability of public property. Individual liberty, in the broadest sense of the word, is claimed: the liberty of the press is also demanded; lettres de cachet are denounced with indignation, as the most infamous invention of despotism."

In this multitude of claims, gentlemen, we have remarked some particular modifications relative to lettres de cachet, and the liberty of the press. You will consider them in your wisdom; you will undoubtedly encourage those sentiments of honour which animate the French nation, and will assuredly find that those who are the first to resist those laws which crush the weak, will be the readiest to yield obedience to those which bind the strong; you will calm the inquietudes of religion, so often outraged by libels in times of persecution; and the clergy, recollecting that licentiousness has long been the companion of slavery, will acknowledge that the first and natural effect of liberty is the return of order, decency, and respect for objects of public veneration.

Such, gentlemen, is the account which your committee have thought it their duty to give you of that part of your papers which treat of the constitution. You will find there, without doubt, all the foundation-stones of the edifice you are appointed to raise to its complete height; but you will look in vain, perhaps, for that order and harmony of combination, without which the social system will always contain numerous defects; all the great objects we have in view are certainly pointed out by our constituents, but are not detailed with sufficient accuracy; the organization of the national representation is not marked out with the necessary precision; the requisites of eligibility are not stated; and it is by your wisdom that all these hints must be matured into efficient measures. The nation wishes to be free, and it is on you that the work of emancipation has devolved. The genius of France has hurried on the march of public spirit. It has acquired by a few hours' experience that which could have hardly been expected from the reflection of many ages. You are empowered, gentlemen, to give a constitution to France; the king and the people demand it; and both have merited it.

Results of the examination of the papers.

AVOWED PRINCIPLES.

Article 1st. The French government is a monarchical government.

2nd. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable.

3rd. His crown is hereditary, descending from male to male.

4th. The king is the sole depositary of the executive power.

5th. Agents of authority are responsible.

6th. The royal sanction is necessary in the promulgation of the laws.

7th. The nation and the royal sanction combined makes the law.

8th. The national consent is necessary for the levying of loans and taxes.

9th. Taxes can only be imposed for the space of from one holding of the states to another.

10th. Property is sacred.

11th. Individual liberty is sacred.

Questions concerning which all the papers are not in agreement.

Article 1st. Does the king possess legislative power, limited by the constitutional laws of the kingdom?

2nd. Can the king make provisional laws of police and administration during the intervals between the holding of the states?

3rd. Are these laws to be submitted to the free record of the sovereign courts?

4th. Can the states-general only be dissolved by themselves?

5th. Can the king alone convoke, prorogue, and dissolve the states-general?

6th. In case of dissolution, is not the king obliged immediately to convoke a new assembly?

7th. Are the states-general permanent or periodical?

8th. If they are periodical, is an intermediate commission necessary?

9th. Are the two first orders to be united in the same chamber?

10th. Are the two chambers to be formed without distinction of orders?

11th. Are the members of the clerical order to be divided between the two other orders?

12th. The representation of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, is it to be in the proportion of one, two, and three?

13th. Is a third order to be established under the title of the order of the country?

14th. Can the persons possessing employments or places at court be deputies of the states-general?

15th. Are two-thirds of the votes of the whole assembly requisite to form a resolution?

16th. Are the taxes which have for their object the liquidation of the national debt, to be gathered till its extinction?

17th. Are lettres de cachet to be abolished or modified?

18th. Is the liberty of the press to be indefinite or limited?

NOTE 5. Page 33, col. 1.

At the commencement of the history of the legislative assembly*, the reader will find some opinions concerning the faults imputed to the constitution of '91, which appear to me just. I have only one word to say here concerning the project of establishing in France, at this period, the English constitution. This form of government is a reconciliation between the three interests which divide modern states, royalty, aristocracy, and the people. And this reconciliation cannot possibly be effected before the strength of the contending parties is exhausted, that is to say, before a contest, or a revolution. In England it was in fact brought about by a long struggle, and after the reign of democracy and usurpation. To wish to effect it before a contest, is, in fact, to wish to make peace before war is declared. This is a lamentable truth, but it is incontestable; men never enter into treaties till they have exhausted all their resources. It was not therefore possible to establish the English constitution in France till after the revolution. It was well no doubt to propose it as an example, but this task was clumsily executed; and even if it had been more ably managed, it would not have suc-

* Post, p. 72.

ceeded better. I shall add, to diminish the regret of the partisans of the English constitution, that even had it been fairly written on the tables of our law, it would not have appeased the passions of men; that the ensuing struggle would nevertheless have been engaged in, and the battle been fought in contempt of this preliminary treaty. I repeat, therefore, that war, that is, the revolution, was inevitable. Justice is not to be obtained without fighting for her.

NOTE 6. Page 34, col. 1.

I am far from blaming the unyielding firmness of the deputy Monnier, for nothing can be more respectable than a man who acts from conviction, but the fact is sufficiently curious to call for proof. The following is a passage extracted from his report to his constituents:—

"Many deputies," said he, "had resolved to obtain from me the sacrifice of this principle (*the royal association*), and by abandoning it themselves, thought to engage me, from feelings of gratitude, to grant them some compensation; they conducted me to the house of a zealous partisan of liberty, who was desirous that a coalition should take place between them and me, that the cause of liberty might meet with fewer obstacles, and who requested to be present at our conference, though he declined taking part in our decisions. For the purpose of endeavouring to convince these gentlemen of their errors, or to gain conviction of my own, if I was mistaken in my principles, I accepted this invitation. My opponents declaimed violently against the pretended inconveniences which would accrue from the king having an unlimited power of hindering the passing of any new law, and declared that if this power was acknowledged by the assembly, there would be a civil war. These conferences, twice renewed, had no success; they were resumed afterwards at the house of an American, well known for his talents and his virtues, who possessed at the same time a theoretical and experimental knowledge of those institutions which are adapted to maintain liberty. He decided in favour of my principles; and when my opponents found that all their efforts to make me abandon them were useless, they declared that they considered the question of the royal association as of little importance, although they had represented it, a few days before, as involving consequences which would lead to a civil war; they offered them to vote for an unlimited association, and also for the two chambers, but on condition that I would not defend, in favour of the king, the right of dissolving the assembly of representatives; that I would merely require, for the upper chamber, a suspending veto, and that I would not oppose a fundamental law which went to establish periodical national convocations, to be convoked either by a requisition of the assembly of representatives, or by that of the provinces, for the purpose of revising the constitution, and making those alterations they might judge necessary. By national convocations was understood assemblies into which all the rights of the nation were to be transferred; who would unite in themselves all the powers of the state, and consequently would annihilate, by their simple existence, the authority of the monarch and the ordinary legislature; who would have the power of disposing arbitrarily of all kinds of authority, overthrowing, at their will, the constitution, and re-

establishing despotism or anarchy. Finally, my opponents wished to commit to one single assembly, which would have borne the name of the national convention, the supreme dictatorship, and thus expose the kingdom to a periodical return of factions and tumult.

"I testified my surprise at my opponents inviting me to enter into treaties with them concerning the interests of the kingdom, as if we alone were its absolute masters; I observed, that in granting merely a suspending veto to the upper chamber, if it was to be composed of eligible members, it would be difficult to fill it with persons worthy of the public confidence; since every citizen would prefer being nominated a representative; and that that chamber which was to be judge of the crimes of the state ought to possess great dignity, and that consequently its authority ought not to be less than that of the other chamber. Finally, I added, that when I believed a principle to be true, I was obliged to defend it, and that I could not dispense with this obligation, since truth was the inviolable property of every citizen."

NOTE 7. Page 36, col. 1.

The particulars of the conduct of Mirabeau are not yet well known, but they soon will be. I have obtained from those who intend to publish them, positive details; I have seen many important papers on this subject, and especially that written in the form of a profession of faith, which formed part of his secret treaty with the court. I cannot at this moment give any of these documents to the public, nor even point out where they are deposited. I can only affirm that of which the truth will be demonstrated when the above-mentioned details are published.

Thus far I can sincerely state, that Mirabeau had never been party to the supposed conspiracies of the duke of Orleans. Mirabeau, when he set out from Provence, had but one single object in view, that of exerting himself against arbitrary power, which in his case had severely injured him, and which his reason as well as his sentiments induced him to consider as detestable. I have said, and I repeat it, he belonged to no party. The duke of Orleans alone has been able to make it appear that he had some connection with him; and the public were willing to believe, that because the duke and Mirabeau were on familiar terms, and both of them ambitious characters, the one as a prince, the other as a man of the people, they must necessarily have been on some footing of political intimacy. The pecuniary distress of Mirabeau and the opinion of the duke might seem an adequate motive for such an association. Nevertheless, Mirabeau, up to the time of his connection with the court, remained poor.

NOTE 8. Page 38, col. 1.

The letter of the count d'Estaing to the queen is a curious record, which ought always to be consulted in regard to the events of the 5th and 6th of October. This brave sailor, a most faithful and independent spirit (qualities apparently contradictory, but often united in the character of sailors), had been in the habit of stating all he knew to those princes for whom he felt regard. His testimony ought not to be involved in doubt at the time when, in a confidential letter, he acquaints the

queen of the intrigues he had discovered, and which caused him alarm. The reader will observe whether, in point of fact, the court had not some object in view at this period.

The Letter of Count d'Estaing to the Queen.

"My duty and my fidelity exact it, and I must therefore lay at the feet of the queen, the account of a journey I have made to Paris. I have been applauded for sleeping soundly on the eve of an assault or a naval combat. I can assure you that I am not timid. Being brought up with M. le Dauphin, by whose favour I was much distinguished, accustomed to speak the truth at Versailles from my infancy, both a soldier and sailor, and acquainted with the forms of society, I respect them, but suffer them not to deprive me either of my frankness or firmness.

"Alas! I must avow to your majesty that I did not close my eyes the past night. I have been told in good society, in good company, (just heaven, what would be the consequence if it should spread among the people!) it has been repeated to me, that the nobility and clergy have assumed party signatures. Some pretend that the king acts in concert with them; others believe that he is ignorant of the whole matter. I have been assured that a plan is formed; that the king will either flee from Paris, or be carried off by the road to Champagne or Verdun, and will finally go to Metz. M. de Bouillé is named, and by whom? by M. de Lafayette, who told it me in a whisper at the house of M. Junge, at table. I trembled lest a single servant should overhear him; I observed to him that a word of his mouth might become the signal of death. M. de Lafayette is deliberately positive; he told me that at Metz, as elsewhere, the patriots were the strongest party; and that it was better that one should die than that all should be sacrificed.

"M. le baron de Breteuil, who delays his departure, is said to be the chief director of this project. Money is said to be accumulated, and a million of francs per month is to be furnished for the furtherance of the concerted plan. M. the count de Mercy has, unhappily for his reputation, been cited as one of the actors. These are the particulars; if they spread among the people, the mischief that may result from them is incalculable; the project as yet is only whispered. All good men appear to me to be alarmed at the consequences which may result; if a suspicion of its reality transpires, they may be dreadful. I have been to the house of the Spanish ambassador, and certainly I shall not conceal from the queen that my alarm has been redoubled by an interview with him. M. Fernand Nimes conversed with me about the reports I have mentioned, expressed his horror at the supposition that such a plan was possible, which would cause the most disastrous and humiliating of civil wars, which would dreadfully weaken, if not totally overthrow monarchy, because the prey of civil discord, and foreign ambition, and which would bring irreparable misfortunes on the persons the most dear to France. After having spoken of the fugitive court, persecuted and deceived by those who would not support it when they could, and who actually wish to see its dissolution, afflicted by a general bankruptcy, become inevitable, and dreadful to be contemplated . . . , I

exclaimed that no other evil consequence could happen from these false reports except their propagation, because in reality they were without any foundation of truth. M. the ambassador of Spain cast down his eyes at this last expression. I became urgent; and he at last declared that a person of very considerable importance, and who was worthy of credit, told him that he had been asked to sign a bond of association. He would not mention his name; but either through inattention, or for the good of the public welfare, he happily did not demand that secrecy from me which had not been imposed upon himself. I therefore did not promise to keep this fact secret. It has filled me with more terror than I have ever before experienced; but it is not for myself that I feel it. I supplicate the queen in her wisdom to calculate all the consequences that may happen from such an evil line of conduct: the first false step will cost sufficiently dear. I have seen the queen, in the goodness of her heart, shed tears at the lot of condemned criminals; but in the present instance, rivers of blood vainly shed will be to be regretted. A simple indecision may be remedied. It is only by sailing with the stream, and humouring its waywardness, that she can escape wreck. Nothing is as yet lost. The queen may conquer the kingdom for the king. Nature has given her the means; they are the only possible ones. She may imitate her august mother: if not, I am silent. I supplicate your majesty to grant me an audience for one of the days of the present week."

NOTE 9. Page 41, col. 1.

The province of history is not sufficiently extensive to descend into minute particulars for the justification of individuals, especially in revolutions where even first-rate characters are extremely numerous. Yet as M. Lafayette has been so much calumniated, and as his character is nevertheless so pure, and was so well sustained throughout the arduous contest in which he acted, one note at least must be devoted to his vindication. For this purpose, it will be only necessary to observe, that there is a wide distinction between a general who has long led his soldiers to victory, and so acquired the authority of absolute command, and one whose influence over his troops depends upon his political opinions. In the latter case, all control would cease upon suspicion of change of sentiment in the general. Lafayette, therefore, could not assume the tone of imperative authority, yet he resisted the entreaties of his soldiers for a whole day; and did not at last comply with them till his compliance became a duty of prudence. It is certain that had not the national guard arrived when they did at Versailles, the châteaux would have been taken by assault, and what might have been the fate of the royal family in the midst of a popular insurrection, it is impossible to conjecture. Had it not been for the assistance of the national guard, the garde du corps would have been repulsed; and upon the whole it is evident, nothing but the presence of M. de Lafayette could have insured the safety of the king and his family. But, having arrived at Versailles, he has been bitterly reproached with retiring to rest. It must however be remembered, that he remained up till five o'clock in the morning, during which time he was incessantly employed in sending out patrols, and

taking every other precaution to prevent tumult. It was not till every thing appeared calm, that he did what every one in his situation would likewise have done, flung himself on his bed, to take that repose of which he had been deprived for four-and-twenty hours. The testimonies of his contemporaries must also be attended to. Madame de Staël, who certainly was no friend of Lafayette, declares she heard the gardes du corps cry, "Live Lafayette." Mounier, whose testimony is equally free from suspicion, praised his disinterested devotion; and M. de Lally-Tolendal regretted that he had not been invested with a species of dictatorship. The opinions of these two deputies, who were so decidedly hostile to the transactions of the 5th and 6th of October, should be received with confidence.

NOTE 10. Page 42, col. 2.

I have already shown how slender the connexion between Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans really was. The following is an explanation of the famous expression: *that ——— does not deserve the trouble that is taken for him!* The restraint imposed by Lafayette on the duke of Orleans displeased the popular party, but more particularly irritated the friends of the prince condemned to exile. These persons, taking advantage of Mirabeau's aversion to Lafayette, thought to make him advocate the cause of the duke against the general. Lauzun, a friend of the former, came to his house one evening to urge him to speak in the assembly the next morning on the subject of the duke's banishment. Mirabeau, who often allowed himself to be persuaded, was about to yield to his solicitations, when his friends, more careful of his reputation than he was himself, pressed him not to interfere in the business. He was then resolved to be silent. The next day, at the opening of the sitting, the departure of the duke of Orleans was reported; and Mirabeau, who was angry at his yielding to Lafayette, calling to mind the useless efforts of his friends, exclaimed: *that ——— does not deserve the trouble which is taken for him.*

NOTE 11. Page 43, col. 1.

Mirabeau possessed, as many other great men, much littleness as well as much grandeur of character. It was necessary to feed his ardent imagination with hopes. Although it was impossible to give him the ministry without destroying his influence, ruining his reputation, and enfeebling the assistance which could be derived from him, it was still necessary to hold out this allurement to his imagination. Those, therefore, who mediated between him and the court, counselled the latter to give him at least hopes of the ministry. Nevertheless, the personal interests of Mirabeau were never particularly mentioned in the several communications which took place; neither money nor favours were ever spoken of, and it was difficult to make Mirabeau understand that which the court wished to insinuate. For this purpose a very adroit method was pointed out to the king. Mirabeau had so bad a reputation, that very few persons would associate with him as a colleague. The king, addressing himself to de Lamoignon, for whom he entertained a particular friendship, asked him if, for the purpose of being useful to him, he would accept of the ministry with Mons. de Mirabeau. M. de Lamoignon replied, that he was ready to do

any thing which the interests of his majesty's service required. This conversation was quickly reported to the orator: it gave him great satisfaction, and he doubted no longer that, if circumstances permitted it, he should be nominated to the ministry.

NOTE 12. Page 46, col. 2.

It will not be uninteresting to learn the opinion of Ferrières concerning the manner in which the deputies of his own order conducted themselves in the assembly.

"There were not in the assembly," says Ferrières, "more than three hundred truly upright members, exempt from party spirit, unassociated with both clubs, desiring the public good for its own sake, independent of the interests of any order or body of men, always ready to support the most just and useful propositions, without caring from what quarter they might come, or by whom they were espoused. These men were worthy of the honourable part they were called upon to act, and it is from them that every good law which was established by the assembly proceeded. Adopting every salutary, and rejecting every evil measure, they often gave a majority to motions, which, but for them, would have been discarded by the spirit of faction; and frequently repulsed propositions, which, unopposed by them, would have been adopted through motives of private interest.

"I cannot on this subject help noticing the impolitic conduct of the nobility and bishops. As their only object was to dissolve the assembly, and to throw discredit on its proceedings, far from opposing evil decrees, they manifested an indifference in this respect which it is hardly possible to conceive. They left the chamber the moment the president proposed any question of this nature, and invited the deputies of their party to follow them; or, if they remained, they declared their resolution of not entering into the deliberation. The clubbists, who, by their abandonment of their duty, became the majority of the assembly, carried every thing they wished. The bishops and the nobles, firmly believing that the new order of things could not last, endeavoured with impatience to accelerate the ruin of the throne, and with it their own. To this insensate conduct they added a most insulting indifference both towards the assembly and the people who occupied the galleries. They paid no attention to any question that might be before the chamber, but laughed and conversed in a loud tone of voice among themselves, thus confirming the unfavourable opinion the people entertained of them; and, instead of endeavouring to regain their confidence and esteem, did all in their power to acquire their hatred and contempt."—Ferrières, vol. ii. p. 122.

NOTE 13. Page 45, col. 2.

The recal of the gardes-du-corps gave occasion to an anecdote which is worthy of being recorded. The queen complained to M. de Lafayette that the king was not free, and gave as a proof of it, that the service of the château was performed by the national guard, and not by the gardes-du-corps. M. Lafayette immediately asked her if she would wish to see the recal of the latter. The queen at first hesitated, but did not dare to reply otherwise than in the affirmative. The general then exam-

nicated this conversation to the municipality, who, at his instigation, made an official demand to the king for the recall of the gardes-du-corps, offering, at the same time, to divide the service of the châteaui with them. The king and the queen received this demand very unwillingly; they were soon made to feel its consequences, and those who did not wish that they should appear free, made them reply to it by a refusal. Yet to give reasons for this refusal was an embarrassing task, and the queen, who was often employed in difficult dilemmas, was commissioned to tell M. de Lafayette why the proposition of the municipality was not accepted. The motive which she gave was, that the king would not expose the gardes-du-corps to be massacred. M. Lafayette had just met one of them walking in the Palais Royal in full uniform. He related this fact to the queen, who became still more embarrassed, but persisted in the intention she had been commissioned to express.

NOTE 14. Page 46, col. 1.

The address of Monsieur to the Hotel de Ville, contains a passage too important to be passed over.

"As to my personal opinions," said this august personage, "I shall speak with confidence to my fellow-citizens. Since the day when, in the second assembly of the notables, I declared my sentiments concerning that fundamental question which then divided the minds of all men, I have not ceased to believe that a great revolution was in preparation; that the king, by his patriotic intentions, his virtues, and his supreme rank, was eminently fitted to be its chief, since it cannot be advantageous to the nation without being equally so to the monarch; and that finally the royal authority ought to be the rampart of national liberty, and national liberty the basis of royal authority."

NOTE 15. Page 46, col. 2.

The speech pronounced by the king on this occasion is too remarkable not to be cited, with some observations.

This excellent man and unfortunate prince was continually vacillating, but upon particular occasions he saw with great propriety what was due from him, and the unreasonable behaviour of the court. The tone which pervades his speech of the 4th February is sufficient to show that in the present instance the words were not put into his mouth, and that he spoke with truth and sincerity as to his present position.

"Gentlemen," said he, "the vast importance of many events which have lately happened, and the critical situation in which France is now placed, make me feel it my duty to offer you my undiminished opinion on the state of affairs. The progressive advance of disorder and insubordination, the suspension or inactivity of justice, the discontents which have arisen from individual privations, the conflicts and unhappy animosities which are the inevitable result of long dissensions, the precarious situation of the finances, and the uncertainty of the public welfare, and finally, the general agitation of all minds; seem all to unite to increase the anxiety of the true friends of the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom.

"A grand object is presented to your view. But you must endeavour to attain it without increasing

the public troubles, and without new convulsions. It was my intention to lead you to this object by tranquil and gentle means when I first formed the design of assembling you, and of uniting in your public deliberations the wisdom and will of the representatives of the nation. My happiness and glory are most intimately allied to the success of your endeavours.

"I have taken care, by continual vigilance, to protect your proceedings from that fatal influence which the calamitous circumstances, in the midst of which you are placed, might have upon them. The horrors of famine, which France had to fear last year, have been dispelled by unremitting exertions to provide for the necessities of the population. The disorders which the impoverished state of the finances, the national discredit, the excessive scarcity of money, and the gradual decrease of the revenue naturally occasioned, have at least been partially suppressed. I have in some measure remedied every where, but particularly in the capital, the dangerous consequences which might arise from want of employment for the labouring classes; and notwithstanding the enfeebled state of all authority, I have maintained the kingdom, not, it must be allowed, in perfect calmness, but in a state of sufficient tranquillity to receive the benefit of a moderate and well-organized system of liberty; finally, in spite of the internal agitation of the kingdom, and the political convulsions which disturb other nations, I have preserved peace with foreign states, and kept upon such terms of friendship with the powers of Europe as may render this peace durable.

"After having thus protected you from the many dangers which might have thwarted your proceedings, the moment has at length arrived in which the interests of the nation call upon me to assist, in a more express and decisive manner, in the execution of all you have concerted for the advantage of France. I cannot seize upon a more fitting opportunity for effecting this purpose than that which offers itself to me by my acceptance of those decrees which are destined to establish a new organization of government in the kingdom, and which must have so important and propitious an influence on the happiness of my subjects, and the prosperity of the empire.

"You know, gentlemen, that it is now more than ten years since, and at a period when the sense of the nation had not so fully declared itself in regard to provincial assemblies, that I had commenced the substitution of this species of administration for one which antiquity and long usage had sanctioned. Experience having demonstrated to me that I was not deceived in the opinion I had entertained concerning the utility of these institutions, I have earnestly sought to extend the same benefit to all the other provinces of my kingdom; and in order that the new administrations should enjoy public confidence, it was my desire that the members of which they were to be composed should be freely nominated by the body of the citizens. You have in various ways improved upon these views, and certainly the most essential improvement is that equal and justly conceived subdivision, which by diminishing the ancient separations of provinces from provinces, and by establishing an uniformity of system, and a perfect political balance, still further tends to make all parts of the kingdom unite in one

common feeling and the same political interests. This great conception, this beneficial intention, are entirely owing to you; indeed, nothing short of an universal consent on the part of the representatives of the nation, and nothing short of that proper influence they were enabled to exercise over public opinion, could enable them to undertake with confidence the conduct of a reform of so great importance, and to combat by the force of reason the oppositions of those who cling to ancient custom and individual interests."

All that the king states here is perfectly just, and very well conceived. It is true, that he had already upon his own impulse suggested every possible reform, and that he had furnished a rare example to princes, that of anticipating the requisitions of their subjects. The encomiums he bestowed upon the new mode of territorial division appear upon the face of them to have been uttered with the most perfect good faith; for it certainly was serviceable to government by destroying the opposition which local jurisdictions and prejudices had not unfrequently set up against it. Every thing therefore induces the belief that the king on this occasion spoke in the utmost sincerity of his heart. He continued,

"I shall countenance and shall assist, with my utmost ability, the success of this vast organization, on which the safety of France depends; and I consider it incumbent on me to declare, that I am too anxious about the internal situation of the kingdom, and have my eyes too open to the dangers of all kinds with which we are surrounded, not to feel convinced that in the present state of public feeling, considering the situation of public affairs, a new order of things should be established without disturbance or discord, or that the kingdom will be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy."

"Let all those who are true citizens think on this, as I have also done, that by solely fixing their attention on the common weal, they will perceive, even under every difference of opinion, that one great interest ought to cordially unite them at this time. Time will remedy those defects which the legislation of this present assembly may leave for amendment, (this indirect and well-introduced remark, is a proof of itself that the king would not flatter them, but simply state the truth though in most calm and temperate language;) but every design that may tend to shake the principles of the constitution itself, every scheme that shall have for its object the subversion or diminution of its benign influence, will do nought else than serve to bring down upon us the frightful calamities attendant upon dissension; and assuming the success of such an attempt upon my people and myself, the result will for ever deprive us of various advantages of which a new order of things has in store for us."

"Let us indulge, then, cordially in the hopes which the present aspect of things may justify us in entertaining, and think only of realizing them by an unanimous concurrence in our efforts. Let it be known throughout the kingdom, that the monarch and the representatives of the nation are united by the same interests and the same objects, that the firm belief of this alliance may spread the spirit of peace and mutual benevolence through the provinces, and that all good citizens, and all who can serve the state by their zeal or abilities, may hasten to take part in the different subdivisions of the general administration, whose united exertions

will effectually re-establish order and prosperity throughout the kingdom."

"We must not conceal the truth from ourselves; there is much to be done before we can attain this object. Unanimity and a general and common effort are absolutely necessary to obtain effectual success. Persevere therefore in your proceedings without any other object than that of the public good; fix your chief attention on the condition of the people and public liberty; but do not overlook the necessity of destroying all suspicions, and of removing without delay the several causes of fear which have banished from France so great a number of her citizens, the effect of which is strongly contrasted with the laws of safety and liberty you are about to establish. Measures of compulsion can never have a prosperous issue; a general consent is necessary to their beneficial operation. At present we enjoy bright hopes; may these hopes be quickly converted into solid happiness!"

"The day, I trust, will shortly arrive, when the advantage of the entire suppression of ranks in society will be acknowledged by all Frenchmen. But at the same time, it must not be forgotten that all which reminds a nation of the antiquity and continued services of an honourable race of men, is a distinction which nothing can destroy, and, as the duty of gratitude is included in it, those who, in all classes of the community, truly aspire to serve their country, and those who have already had the happiness to succeed in such glorious enterprises, have an interest in respecting that transmission of titles or recollections, which is the noblest heritage they can leave to their children."

"Neither can the respect due to the ministers of religion be effaced; and their dignity being closely united to that of those sacred truths which are under the guardianship of order and morality, all upright and enlightened citizens will have an equal interest in maintaining and defending it."

"Without doubt those who have abandoned their pecuniary privileges, those who will form no longer, as they formerly did, a political order in the state, must submit to sacrifices of which I know all the importance; but I am persuaded that they possess sufficient generosity to seek their requital in the public advantages of which the establishment of national assemblies affords hopes."

The king proceeded, as we see, to expound to all parties the benefits proposed by the new laws, and at the same time alluded to the necessity there was to preserve some of the old. His address to the privileged orders on this head demonstrates his real opinion as to the necessity and propriety of the sacrifices to which he had subjected them, and their opposition will be eternally condemned by the expressions contained in this speech. It is no purpose for them to say that the king was not a free agent; the care he took on this occasion to measure his concessions, his advice, and even his censures, show that he spoke with sincerity. He expressed himself in far different language at a later period, when he was desirous of rescuing the state from the bondage in which he believed her to be. His letter to the ambassadors, given lower down, will sufficiently prove that. The vulgar exaggeration that prevails in that letter sufficiently demonstrates the intention, on his part, no longer to appear a free agent. But on this present occasion the measured tone of his language leaves no doubt

whatever, and what follows is so affecting and so beautifully expressed, that it must have been utterly impossible any one not to have felt in accordance with it, especially after having consented to write and to speak it.

"I also should have many losses to reckon up, if I engrossed the great interests of the state. I could stoop to personal considerations; but I have found a compensation which satisfies me, a full and perfect compensation in the increase of the happiness of the nation, and it is from the bottom of my heart that I express this sentiment.

"I therefore pledge myself to maintain and defend the constitutional liberty of the state. *I will do more, and in concert with the queen, who partakes these sentiments with me, I will early prepare the understanding and heart of my son for the new order of things, which circumstances have brought about. I will habituate him from his earliest years, to make his happiness consist in the happiness of France.*

"I doubt not that before you conclude your legislative labours, you will strengthen and establish the executive power on a firm basis; you must perceive, that, without your system deriving stability from an active and tutelary authority, its parts cannot long hold together, and that that liberty which we have been so careful to introduce into the public administration, and which we cherish with so fervent an attachment, must degenerate into anarchy, be destroyed by blind violence, and finally give place to the most alarming of all tyrannies.

"Thus, not so much on my own account, gentlemen, who do not lay any particular stress on what is especially due to myself, according to the laws and the institutions which must necessarily regulate the future welfare of the empire, but for the good of our country, for its prosperity and its power, I call upon you to dismiss from your minds all momentary impressions that may divert from considering altogether and without regard to details, what such a kingdom as France demands, as well from her vast extent and great population as from her foreign connexions which are inseparable from her existence.

"I need not remind you, to fix your special attention on that which must be the primary object of all legislators; the morals of a people, distinguished among the nations of Europe for all the social virtues.

"The rights of property also demand your closest attention; these rights, you must be aware, do not derive their meritedness from any privileged orders, nor have they been accidentally acquired, but spring out of the very nature of civil society, are the very preservatives of order in every community, and lie at the foundation of all social harmony.

"From what fatal circumstance has it come to pass, that while tranquillity was restoring, renewed disturbances should have spread over the provinces! How can these continued excesses be accounted for! Concur with myself in repressing them, and let us use our utmost exertions, that criminal outrages do not cast a stain on those days which are the harbingers of national prosperity. You who have in so many ways the power of influencing public confidence, do you enlighten the people that I feel every wish regard to their true interests, my good subjects, so dear to me, and of whose

entire affection I am assured, when they express themselves desirous to see me by their behalf. Ah! if they did but know how much I feel on receiving the intelligence of the attacks made on property and the violence committed against persons, they would, perhaps, spare me this grievous affliction.

"In speaking of the great interests of the state, I cannot omit urging you to take some speedy and definitive measures for the re-establishment of order in the finances, and for the satisfaction of that innumerable multitude of citizens, whose private interests are involved in that of the national funds.

"Gentlemen, it is time that all the discontents of party should be appeased, it is time that the public credit of the kingdom should be established on a durable foundation. But you cannot do all at once. Reserve, therefore, for a future period, some of the multiplied objects that engross your attention. When you have settled the administration of justice; when you have established a perfect equilibrium between the revenues and expenses of the state; when you shall have completed the constitution, you will have acquired a strong claim upon the public gratitude, and successive assemblies will only have to preserve what you have gained, and improve upon your first principles. May this day, in which your king unites himself to you, in the most frank and intimate manner, be a memorable epoch in the history of the nation! May all dissensions from henceforward cease, and peace and concord prevail among you! May every one sacrifice his private animosities to the public welfare! May all painful recollections be for ever obliterated! and if my gratitude and affection can be any compensation for such eradication of long cherished hostilities, I pledge myself that such disinterested patriotism shall be amply recompensed.

"Let us, I say, from this very day profess (and I set you the example) but one single opinion, one sole interest, and one sole spring of action,—attachment to the newly-formed constitution, an heartfelt desire for peace and the happiness and prosperity of France."

NOTE 16. Page 49, col. 1.

I cannot do better than cite the *Memoirs* of M. Froment himself, in order to impart a correct idea of emigration, and the contrary opinions which prevailed on this subject; in a volume intitled "A Collection of Sundry Documents relative to the Revolution" (*Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*), M. Froment expresses himself as follows in the fourth and following pages.

Extract from M. Froment's collection of documents, relative to the revolution:—

"I went secretly to Turin, (January, 1790,) to the princes of France, to solicit their approbation and support. On my arrival, a council was held. I there maintained, that if the partisans of the throne and the altar could be brought to act in concert; if the interests of royalty and religion were linked together, both might be preserved. Although strongly attached to the faith of my fathers, I felt no resentment against those who had separated from the Church of Rome; but those who were the declared enemies both of catholicism and royalty, those who openly maintained that Jesus Christ and the Bourbons had been too long associates together, were the objects of my enmity, whose aim it was to strangle

at the same time both monarchy and religion. The nonconformists to the Church of Rome who remained faithful to royalty have ever found in me a kindly-disposed fellow-citizen, the rebel Catholics the most implacable enemy.

"The true argument of the revolutionists being force, I conceived that the true answer should be force likewise; then, as now, I was convinced of this grand truth, that *one strong passion could only be stifled by another still stronger, and that religious zeal could alone subdue republican delirium.* The miracles which zeal for religion has since operated in La Vendée and Spain, prove that all the philosophers and revolutionists would never have succeeded in establishing their anti-religious and anti-social system, in a few years, over the greatest part of Europe, if the ministers of Louis XVI. had conceived a project such as mine, or if foreign princes had sincerely adopted and vigorously maintained it.

"But, unfortunately, most of the persons in the confidence of Louis XVI., and the princes of his house, reasoned and acted on philosophical principles. The very mention of the word religion they thought would cover them with ridicule, and they therefore were ashamed to have recourse to the powerful resources it offered them, though the greatest politicians at all times have made use of them with success. They imagined they could lead the people back to the duties of submission and obedience, by exposing the inconsistencies of the new laws, and by depicting the sufferings of the king. But these means were perfectly inadequate to the object they had in view, for the clamours of discontent could never arrest the enterprises of faction. The adoption of my advice would probably have cost me my life. Its disinterestedness, therefore, ought to have given it value. But the titles and riches of the nobility were more weighty, and prevailed."

M. Froment continues his narrative, and more-over describes the characters of the parties into which the extirped court was divided, in the following mode. Page 33.

"These honourable designations and the respect generally expressed towards me at Turin, would have made me forget the past, and conceive the most flattering hopes of the future, provided I could have perceived great appliances on the part of the counsellors of the princes, and a good understanding amongst the most influential persons in our affairs; but I witnessed with regret that the *emigration was divided into two parties*, whereof the one was not desirous of attempting a counter-revolution, except by the assistance of foreign powers; and the other, by the royalists at home.

"The first party asserted, that by ceding certain provinces to foreign powers, those provinces would furnish to the French princes armies sufficiently numerous to effect a complete reduction of the factions; that after some lapse of time the concessions that had been compulsorily made could be revoked; and that the court by not contracting any obligation with any one particular state body, could give law to all France. . . . The courtiers trembled, lest the provincial nobility and the royalists of the *fiers-à-tout* should have the honour of resuming the testaceous monarchy on the throne. They were sensible that they no longer were the dispensers of bounties and favours, and that their

reign would terminate the very moment that the provincial nobility had, at the price of her blood, restored the royal authority, and thereby deserved the gratitude and the confidence of her sovereign. The apprehension of this new order of things brought them to unite together, if not to divert the princes from making use of the royalists at home in any wise soever, at least to make them fix their attention upon the European cabinets, and induce them to found their greatest expectations upon foreign assistance. As a consequence of this apprehension, they secretly put in use the most efficacious means to ruin the resources of the interior, and to thwart the plans proposed, some of which might bring about the restoration of order, had they been discreetly directed and substantially upheld. It is in this of which I am able to testify: this it is that I shall some day demonstrate by acts and authentic documents; but the moment has not yet arrived. In a conference which took place much about this period, upon the point as to what party could excite the sympathies of the Lyonnese and the Franch-comtois, I laid down, and that without circumlocution, the measures that ought to be employed, and at the same time ensure the ascendancy of the royalists of the Gévaudan, the Cevennes, the Vivarais, the Comtat-Venaissin, Languedoc, and Provence. During the heat of the discussion, M. the marquis of Autichamp, a field-marshal, a great advocate for foreign powers, said to me, 'But will not the oppressed and the relatives of the victims endeavour to revenge themselves!—Well! what does that matter so long as we obtain our end!—Don't you see,' he cried, 'that I have brought him to confess that vengeance will be wreaked upon individuals!' Extremely surprised at this observation, I said to the marquis de la Ronzière, who stood near me, 'I am not of opinion that a civil war should resemble a mission of capuchin friars!' It was thus that by exciting in the princes a fear of being made odious in the eyes of their most cruel enemies, the courtiers always induced them to use none but half measures, sufficient, no doubt, to call forth the zeal of the royalists at home, but extremely inadequate, after having compromised them for securing them against the fury of the factions. Since then it has occurred to my recollection, that while the army of the princes was making a stay in Champagne, M. de la Porte, an aid-de-camp of the marquis of Autichamp, having taken a republican prisoner, thought that, by following the system adopted by his commander, he should bring the republican to a sense of his duty by a pathetic exhortation, and by restoring him his army and his liberty; but the republican had not gone many paces before he stretched his conqueror on the earth. M. the marquis of Autichamp, then losing sight of the moderation he had exhibited at Turin, burnt numerous villages, in order to avenge the death of his imprudent missionary.

"The second party maintained that since the foreign powers had several times taken arms in order to humiliate the Bourbons, and in particular to prevent Louis XIV. from securing the crown of Spain to his grandson, so far from calling them to our assistance, we had much rather revive the zeal of the clergy, the devotion of the nobility, the love of the people for the king, and to do one's best to keep up a family quarrel, of which the foreign enemy might perhaps be tempted to take advantage.

"It is to this fatal dissension amongst the leaders of the emigration, and to the indiscretion or perfidy of the ministers of Louis XVI., that the revolutionists owed their first success. I go still further, and I maintain that it was not the National Assembly that created the revolution, but rather the associates of the king and the princes; I maintain that the ministers have delivered Louis XVI. over to the enemies of royalty, as certain empty-headed personages have betrayed the princes and Louis XVIII. to the enemies of France; I maintain that the greater portion of the courtiers who surrounded the kings, Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and the princes of that house, were and are quacks, and true political nondecripts, (*des charlatans, de vrais escusques politiques,*) that it is to their inertness, their cowardice, or their treason, all the ills France has undergone, and those which now threaten the whole world, are to be imputed. Admitting that I inherit a great name, and have been of the council of the Bourbons, I shall never get rid of the idea that a horde of vile and cowardly miscreants, not one of whom ever exhibited a particle of originality or superior talent, has contrived to tumble down the throne, to establish her supreme ascendancy amongst the most powerful states of Europe, and made the world tremble before them; and since this idea haunts me, I have buried myself in the utmost privacy, to shelter myself from censure, more especially as this same idea has rendered me totally incompetent to stay the progress of the revolution."

I have already cited some passages of the Memoirs of Ferrières relative to the first session of the states-general. As nothing is of greater importance than to state with precision the true feelings which the revolution excited in the minds of men, I consider that I ought to give a description of the federation from this same Ferrières. It will there be made appear whether the enthusiasm was real, whether it communicated its excitement to others, and whether this revolution was, after all, so hideous as some have desired to make it appear.

"In the mean time, the federalists arrived from all parts of the empire. They were lodged in private houses, whose occupiers most cordially furnished them with beds, linen, wood, and every thing that could make their visit to the capital comfortable and convenient. The municipality took precautions to prevent such a confluence of strangers disturbing the public tranquillity. Twelve thousand labourers worked without ceasing at the preparations in the Champ de Mars; yet the work advanced but slowly, and it was feared that it would not be finished by the 14th of July. In this difficulty the districts invited, in the name of the nation, all the citizens of Paris to assist the labourers. This invitation was accepted with great eagerness. Schoolmasters, scholars, sisters of religious orders, and monks grown old in solitude, quitted their cloisters to assemble at the Champ de Mars, with spades at their backs, and carrying banners ornamented with patriotic emblems over their shoulders. The scene which this plain presented was as singular as it was interesting. The most dissimilar characters were associated together with the most perfect equality; a dishevelled courtesan and virtuous matron might be seen working together as fellow-labourers, a capucin and a chevalier of St. Louis

drawing the same dray, a porter and a petit-maître digging at the same piece of ground, a robust fish-woman and an elegant lady of rank filling the same barrow. The rich, the poor, the well-dressed, and the ragged, old men, children, comedians, soldiers, clerks, some at work, some at rest, actors, and spectators, afforded altogether a spectacle full of life and motion. Moving taverns, and portable shops; songs, and exclamations of joy, the sound of drums and military music, the clatter of spades, and the rumble of barrows, and the voice of the labourers calling to one another, and encouraging each other. The soul melted away under the influence of a delicious enchantment, at the sight of an entire nation reverting all at once to the tender feelings of primitive brotherhood. At nine o'clock the groups separate. Each citizen repairs to the spot where his section is appointed, rejoins his family and acquaintance. Parties form themselves in order of march to the sound of the drum, return to Paris preceded by torches, occasionally uttering sarcastic reflexions upon the aristocracy, and singing the famous air of "Ça ira."

"Finally, the 14th of July, the day of the confederation, arrived. If this grand ceremony had not the serious and august character of a fête, at the same time religious and national, a character which is nearly irreconcilable with the temper of the French people, it presented a delightful and animated picture of joy and enthusiasm a thousand times more touching. The federalists, ranged by departments under eighty-three banners, set out from the Place of the Bastille; the troops of the line, bands of sailors, the Parisian national guard, drums, choirs of music and flags, opened and closed the march.

"The federalists traversed the streets of Saint-Martin, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Honore, and proceeded to a bridge of boats, built on the river. They were received in their procession by the exclamations of an immense populace, who thronged the windows, the streets, and the quays. The rain, which came down in torrents, neither disturbed or impeded the procession. The federalists, dripping with rain and perspiration, danced in circles hand in hand, abouting, 'Long live our brothers the Parisians.' Wine, hams, and fruit were let down to them from the windows, and the people hailed them with benedictions. The National Assembly joined the procession at the Place of Louis XV., and marched between a battalion of veterans, and of scholars of the military school; a station expressively emblematic, which seemed to intimate that in them the interests of all ages were united.

"The way leading from the Champ de Mars was thronged with people clapping their hands and singing "Ça ira." The *Quai de Chaillot* and the high grounds of Paisy exhibited one long amphitheatre, where the elegance of the dress, the charms and the graceful bearing of the women there seated, charmed the eye and deprived it of the faculty of making a preference in favour of one over another. The rain continued to fall; but no one seemed to care about it; the natural gaiety of the French triumphed over bad weather, muddy streets, and the length of the procession.

"M. de Lafayette, seated on a fine horse, and surrounded by a military band of one of the most noted revolutionary ballads of the day. *Trompe.*

rounded by his aids-de-camp, exercised his superintendence, and received the homage of the people and the federalists. His face ran down with perspiration. One man, with whom nobody seemed to be acquainted, made his way through the crowd, holding a bottle in one hand, and a drinking-glass in the other. 'My general, you are hot; here, take a drink.' The man raised his bottle, filled a large tumbler, and handed it to M. de Lafayette. M. de Lafayette took the glass, looked steadily at the unknown, and swallowed the wine at a single draught. The people shouted applause. Lafayette cast a smile of affability and kindness on the crowd; and his look seemed to say, 'I shall never entertain any distrust; I shall experience no anxiety for myself whilst I am in the midst of you all.'

"Meanwhile, more than three hundred thousand persons had been assembling from Paris and the environs, at the Champ de Mars, since six o'clock in the morning. They were seated on the grass bank, which formed a circus round the plain, dripping with rain, and splashed with mud, and holding up parasols to keep off the torrents which poured upon them, and, on the slightest symptom of returning sunshine, wiping their faces, adjusting their dresses, and awaiting with smiles the national assembly. As soon as the first federalists arrived, they struck up a hand in hand dance. Those who followed imitated their example. This spectacle of so great an assemblage of men come from all parts of France, banishing all memory of the past, all thought of the present, and all apprehension of the future, and giving unrestrained loose to the gaiety of the moment; and of three hundred thousand spectators of every age, and both sexes, following their motions with their eyes, beating time with their feet, and forgetting the rain, hunger, and the wearisomeness of waiting so many hours, was worthy the contemplation of a philosopher. At last the whole procession entered the Champ de Mars; the dancing ceased, each federalist went to join his own banner. The bishop of Autun proceeded to solemnize the mass at an altar after the antique, placed in the midst of the Champ de Mars. Three hundred priests in white vestments, with broad tricoloured ribands, arranged themselves round the four corners of the altar. The bishop of Autun blessed the consecrated standard and the eighty-three banners: he then opened the chant of the *Te Deum*. Twelve hundred musicians performed this anthem. Lafayette then, at the head of the Parisian militia, and of the naval and military deputies, approached the altar, and swore in the name of the troops and confederates to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. The discharge of four pieces of artillery announced to France this solemn adjuration. The president of the national assembly repeated the same oath. The people took it up, and the words *I swear it*, rent the air. The king rose up and proclaimed with a loud voice, 'I, king of France, swear to employ the power with which a constitutional act of the state has invested me, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted of by me.' The queen at the same moment taking the dauphin in her arms, and holding him up to the people, exclaimed, 'Behold my son; he joins me in these sentiments.' This unexpected exclamation called forth a thousand shouts of 'Live the

King! Live the Queen! Live the Dauphin!' The cannon continued to mingle their roar with the bands of military music, and the acclamations of the people; the weather cleared up; the sun shone forth in all his splendour; it would seem as if the Supreme Being himself desired to be a witness of this mutual contract, and ratify the same by his presence. Yes, He did witness it, He did hear it; and the frightful calamities which from that day have never ceased to desolate France, (O just Providence!) are the due punishment of a broken oath. Thou hast stricken both the monarch and the subjects who have violated their solemn vow!

"The enthusiastic feeling and the *fêtes* were not confined to the day of the federation. There was, during the stay made by the federalists in Paris, a continued succession of feasting, dancing, and amusements. The Champ de Mars was revisited, and drinking, singing, and dancing took place there. M. de Lafayette reviewed a part of the national guard of the departments and the army of the line. The king, the queen, and the dauphin, were present at this review. They were received with acclamations. The queen graciously presented her hand for the federalists to kiss, and held up the dauphin before them. The federalists, before they quitted the capital, went to pay their respects to the king; all of them exhibited the most respectful demeanour and the most perfect attachment to his person. The chief of the Bretons knelt on one knee, and presenting his sword to Louis XVI. said: 'Sire, I hand you the sword of the loyal Bretons, it will never be stained but with the blood of your enemies.' 'This sword cannot be in better hands than in the keeping of my dear Bretons,' replied Louis XVI. while raising the chief of the Bretons, and returning him his sword; 'I never doubted their attachment and loyalty: assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all the French.' The king, agitated by deep emotion, grasped the hand of the Breton chief, and embraced him. A pause, occasioned by the tender emotions of both parties, protracted this affecting scene. The Breton chief was the first to break silence. 'Sire, every Frenchman, if I can judge of the French by ourselves, have maintained and will preserve the utmost attachment towards you, because you are a citizen king.'

"The municipality of Paris were not behindhand in *living* the federalists. There were sports on the river, fireworks, illuminations, a ball and collation at the corn-market, and a ball upon the site of the Bastille. As you entered, there was to be seen in large letters, 'Dancing here;' a felicitous association, which bore a striking contrast to the ancient ideas of honour and despair which that hateful prison was calculated to recall. The people went and came from one place to another without confusion. The police, by prohibiting carriages in the streets, had taken care to prevent those accidents so frequently occurring on occasions of public rejoicing, and thus did away with that tumult, hurry, and terror which not unfrequently gives an appearance of a hurried flight from danger to the best regulated and brilliant public rejoicing. Public *fêtes* are exclusively reserved for the people. If the wealthy are desirous to partake in popular rejoicings, let them on that occasion mix with the people; they will obtain impressions previously

unknown to them, and will disturb by their presence the gaiety of their fellow-citizens.

"It was particularly at the Champs Elysées that reflecting imaginations felt the greatest satisfaction at the sight of this charming popular rejoicing. Lamps were suspended from every tree, festoons of small lamps interlaced one another, pyramidal fireworks, placed at certain distances, gave a strong light, affording a strong contrast to the darkness of the trees. The grass-plots and walks were filled with the people. The tradesman, seated with his wife, in the midst of his children, ate, talked, and walked about, and enjoyed himself. Here were to be observed girls and youths, who were dancing to the sound of bands of music in spaces that they had cleared for themselves. A little further on some sailors, in jackets and aprons, surrounded by parties who seemed interested in their proceedings, endeavoured to climb up poles, rubbed with soap, and to win the prize allotted to him who should contrive to carry off a tri-coloured flag fastened at top. No one could fail to observe the bursts of laughter against those who found themselves compelled to abandon the undertaking, and the hearty cheering afforded to those who, more fortunate or more dexterous, appeared likely to carry off the prize. A tempered and deep-seated satisfaction appeared manifest on every face there, and sparkled in every eye, called to mind the peaceful recreations of the happy shades in the Elysian fields, imagined by the ancients. The white apparel of a vast number of women wandering about under the trees of these splendid walks, still further added to the illusion."—*Ferrière*, vol. ii. p. 89.

NOTE 18. Page 58, col. 2.

M. de Talleyrand predicted in a very remarkable manner the financial consequences of this paper-money. In his address, he first demonstrates the quality of this money, characterises it with great accuracy, and illustrates the reasons of its approaching depreciation. "The national assembly will not surely," said he, "order another emission of two millions of paper-money. It is thought, perhaps, that this second emission will be successful because the first was so; but it must be recollected, that the demands of commerce, so much increased by the revolution, and which gave so rapid a currency to our first conventional money, which demands were so great, that, in my opinion, your paper would have circulated freely and without force, have very much diminished. To build, therefore, your hopes on your first success, which indeed is not complete, since your assignats lose their value in favour of a second and more ample emission, is to expose the state to great danger, for the empire of the law has its limit; this limit is interest, which we must either respect or violate at our peril!"

"Without doubt your assignats when issued will have a character of security which no other paper-money ever had; so precious a pledge, secured by so substantial a mortgage, has never before been created: this I am free to confess. The assignat, considered as a bond of debt, has a positive and material value; this value is exactly equivalent to that of the land which it represents; nevertheless it must be granted, that no national paper will ever be able to keep pace with coin; never will the supplementary sign of the first sign representative of

riches have the exact value of its model; its title itself proves the want of specie, and want always creates fear and distrust.

"But why, you will ask, must paper-money always be below coin? Because the exact proportion between the mass of your assignats and that of your territorial acquisitions will always be a matter of doubt; and because the period at which your fund of assignats will be exhausted will not be known; coin and paper being put into currency together, both will become a saleable commodity, and the more abundant this commodity, the lower will fall its price; finally, paper-money may be dispensed with, coin cannot; an abundance of the latter would soon stop the circulation of the former."

Further on the orator adds, "Paper-money must be considered merely as a representative of coin. However sure, therefore, or solid it may be, it is only the sign, whether free or forced, not of riches, but of credit. It follows from hence, that to give paper the character of specie, by making it intermediate between all articles of exchange, is to change the standard value of money, and to operate in a moment that which ages will scarcely bring about in the most flourishing commercial states."

After having shown the nature of the new money, M. de Talleyrand predicts, with singular precision, the confusion which has taken place in private transactions.

"But finally, let us follow the march of the assignats, and see what course they will take. The reimbursed creditor must either buy land with his paper, or keep it, or employ it in gaining other acquisitions. If he purchases land, then your object is gained; I shall applaud you for the creation of the assignats, for they will not have been disseminated by circulation, and will have effected that which you desired, by giving the public creditors the ability of paying themselves by the public domains. But if the distrustful creditor prefers neglecting your interests by preserving a dormant claim; or if he converts his assignats into coin to get rid of them, or transports them into foreign countries in exchange for goods; or if these instances are much more numerous than the former; if, in a word, the assignats remain a long time in circulation before they are annihilated; if they are forced into and remain in the hands of men obliged to receive them as equal in value to coin, and who, owing nothing, cannot dispose of them but with loss; if they become the occasion of great injustices committed by debtors towards their creditors by forcing them to receive assignats as equal to money, whilst in reality their value is less, since it will be impossible to oblige sellers to receive them at such a value, that is to say, without augmenting the price of their merchandise in proportion to the inferiority of the assignats; then how much will this injurious operation have deceived the patriotism of those whose sagacity has planned, and who sincerely defend it; and to what innumerable regrets shall we not be condemned for our precipitate confidence?"

It cannot then be said, that the constituent assembly was in utter ignorance of its determination; but to these conjectures we can reply one of those answers which no one ever ventures to make at the particular period, but that which must become decisive, and are so in their consequence: this

answer was, necessity; that is to say, the necessity for providing for the national debt, and dividing the national property.

NOTE 19. Page 59, col. 2.

It is not possible that there should not be a diversity of opinion on a work composed collectively, by a great number of men. Unanimity is rare; every one must have disapproved of that which he voted against. Thus each article of the constitution of 1791 was condemned by individuals of that body which framed it; nevertheless it was their real and incontestable work. The want of unanimity which is here noticed must happen to every deliberative body. Mirabeau's plan, therefore, was nothing but a fraud. It might even be said, that there was but little delicacy in his procedure, but we must excuse that in a great but irregular man, who seemed to think the propriety of the end justified the means, I mean the morality of the object in view, for Mirabeau was a sincere believer in the necessity there was for a reformed constitution; and so far as his ambition and his petty personal rivalries could assist in estranging him from the popular party, he had a great dread of anarchy. Others, far differently constituted than he was, dreaded the court and the aristocracy far more than the people. Thus he had real dangers to apprehend, whatever position he took. Conviction shifts with the point from which the view is made, and morality, that is to say, integrity, may be found in parties the most opposed to each other.

NOTE 20. Page 61, col. 1.

Ferrières, who was an eye-witness of the intrigues of this period, relates those which were employed to prevent the priests from taking the oath. This passage appears to be too characteristic not to be cited.

"The bishops and the revolutionists consult and intrigue together; the one party to force the priests to take the oath, the other to hinder them. Both parties feel the influence which the conduct of the ecclesiastics of the assembly will have in the provinces. The bishops become intimate with their curates; all the devout are in great agitation. All conversations turn upon the oath of the clergy. It appears as if the fate of France, and the destiny of all Frenchmen, depended on the taking or rejection of it. Men the most liberal in their religious opinions, and women the most infamous in their morals, have become, all at once, severe theologians and zealous upholders of the purity and integrity of the Romish faith.

"The *Journal de Fontenay*, *L'Ami du Roi*, and the *Gazette de Durover*, employ their ordinary arms, exaggeration, falsehood, and calumny. Numerous papers are circulated by them, in the which the civil constitution of the clergy is treated as schismatical, heretical, and destructive of religion. The bigots carry these papers from house to house; they pray, beg, or make threats, according to the different dispositions or characters they have to deal with. To some are displayed pictures of the clergy triumphant, the assembly dissolved, the prevaricating ecclesiastics deprived of their benefices, and shut up in houses of correction, and those who have remained faithful, rewarded with glory and riches. The pope, according to these representations, is

about to launch his thunders against the sacrilegious assembly and apostate priests. The people, deprived of the sacraments, are to rise in insurrection, foreign powers to enter France, and the edifice of iniquity which has been raised by the assembly, is about to crumble on its own foundations."—*Ferrières*, vol. ii. p. 198.

NOTE 21. Page 62, col. 1.

M. Froment relates the following fact in his memoirs already cited:—

"Under these circumstances, the princes conceived the idea of forming regiments in the interior of the kingdom entirely composed of those who remained loyal subjects of the king, to make use of them till the troops of the line were entirely re-organized. Being desirous of being at the head of the royalists whom I had commanded in 1789 and 1790, I wrote to Monsieur the count d'Artois, to beg his royal highness to grant me the brevet rank of colonel commandant, on the condition of my enlisting a sufficient number of citizens to form a regiment, requesting him at the same time to make the same grant to every other royalist. M. the count d'Artois applauded the idea, and received my demand favourably, but the members of the council did not entertain the same sentiments; they found it so strange that a *bourgeois* should pretend to a military brevet, that one of them asked me in a disdainful manner, *why I did not demand a bishopric?* my only answer to this observation was a burst of laughter, which a little disconcerted the gravity of the interrogator. Nevertheless the question was discussed again at the house of M. de Flaschlanden; this council thought that the new corps should be denominated '*legions bourgeoises*.' I observed that under this title they would simply form new bodies of national guards; that the princes could not order them to march wherever they might be required, because their duty would merely be to defend their own homes; that it was to be feared that the factions would embroil them with the troops of the line; that the revolutionists had, under specious titles, armed the people against the public authorities; and that it would be wise to follow their example, and give to the new corps the denomination of the *royal militia*, that

"The bishop of Arras here interrupting me suddenly, said, 'No, no, sir, the word *bourgeois* must be in your commission; and the baron de Flaschlanden, who drew it up, accordingly introduced that denomination.'"—*Collection of Papers relative to the Revolution*, p. 62.

NOTE 22. Page 68, col. 1.

The following are the details of the return from Varennes which madame Campan received from the mouth of the queen herself:—

"On the day of my arrival, the queen called me into her cabinet to tell me that she should have great occasion for me to carry on the communications she had entered into with Messieurs Barnave, Duport, and Alexander Lameth. She informed me that M. J. — was her mediator with these members of the constitutional party, who had good intentions, unhappily too late; and assured me that Barnave was a man worthy of esteem. I was astonished to hear her pronounce the name of Barnave with so much kindness. When I quitted Paris he was spoken of only with abhorrence. I made this

remark to her; she was not astonished at it, but said that he was very much changed; and that he was a young man of genius and noble sentiments, but misled by ambition: 'a sentiment of pride which I cannot very heavily censure in a young man of the *tiers état*,' said the queen, when speaking of Barnave, 'captivated him with all that paved the way to distinction for that class in which he is born; and if ever power return into our hands, the pardon of Barnave is already written in our hearts.' The queen added, 'that it was not the same with respect to the nobles who had thrown themselves into the revolution, for they had obtained all the favours of the court, and often to the detriment of the inferior classes, among whom the greatest talents were found; and finally, that being nobles, they were the natural rampart of monarchy, and were consequently too culpable to be pardoned.' The queen astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favourable opinion she had conceived of Barnave. 'She told me that his conduct on the road was that of a perfect gentleman, whilst the republican rudeness of Pétion was disgusting, for that the latter ate and drank in the most uncleanly manner in the carriage, and threw his bones out of the window, at the risk of throwing them into the king's face; and that this conduct was premeditated, since the man had received some education, and that Barnave was perfectly shocked. He, when he was pressed by the queen to take some refreshment, replied, 'Madame, the deputies of the national assembly, on so solemn an occasion as the present, only claim your majesty's attention with regard to their mission, and not with regard to their wants.' All these respectful regards and delicate attentions gained not only the goodwill of the queen, but that of madame Elizabeth.

'The king had begun to talk to Pétion on the situation of France, and the motives of his own conduct, which were founded on the necessity of giving a necessary force to the action of the executive power, for the good of the constitution itself, since France could not become a republic. 'Not yet, in truth,' replied Pétion, 'because the French are not sufficiently ripe for that.' This audacious and cruel reply imposed silence on the king, who spoke no more till his arrival at Paris. Pétion held on his knees the young dauphin; he amused himself by twisting the auburn locks of this interesting child round his fingers, and in the vehemence of speaking pulled his hair so violently as to make him cry. 'Give me my son,' said the queen, 'he has been accustomed to care and attention, which render him ill fit for such familiarities.'

'The chevalier de Dampierre had been killed near the carriage of the king going out of Varennes. A poor curate of a village at some leagues distant from the place where this crime was committed had the impudence to approach to speak to the king; the infuriate rabble surrounded the carriage and attacked him furiously. 'Tigers,' said Barnave, 'have you ceased to be Frenchmen! Nation of heroes, have you become a race of assassins? These words alone saved from certain death the curate, who was already thrown to the earth. Barnave, in pronouncing them, sprang nearly out of the door of the carriage, and madame Elizabeth, touched by his noble feelings, held him back by his coat. The queen said, when speaking of this event, that at the most critical moments, ridiculous con-

trasts always struck her; and, in the present instance, the pious Elizabeth holding Barnave back by his coat, appeared to her a most comic situation. The deputy experienced another kind of astonishment. The discourse of madame Elizabeth on the situation of France, her soft and persuasive eloquence, the noble simplicity with which she conversed with Barnave, without diminishing, in the least degree, her dignity, appeared to him enchanting in this charming princess, and his heart, disposed to receive the noblest sentiments, if it had not been seduced into error, was captivated by the most touching admiration. The conduct of the two deputies displayed to the queen at once the distinction between the republican and constitutional party. At the inns where she stopped she had some private conversations with Barnave. He spoke much of the faults of the royalists during the revolution, and said that he had found the interests of the court so feebly and badly defended, that he had been many times tempted to offer himself as its courageous champion, who knew the spirit of the age and the nation. The queen asked him what were the means the employment of which he would have advised! 'Popularity, madam,' replied he. 'And how could I have any?' answered her majesty. 'Ah, madame,' said Barnave, 'it would be much more easy for you to command it than for me to obtain it.' This assertion has furnished matter for commentary; I confine myself to the narration of this curious conversation.—*Memoirs of Madame Campan*, vol. ii. p. 160.

NOTE 23. Page 69, col. 1.

The following is the answer itself from the pen of Barnave, a beautiful specimen of argument, address, and dignity.

'I see, gentlemen,' said Louis to the commissioners, 'I see by the object of your mission that there is no question here of interrogation; so that I myself wish to fulfil the desires of the assembly. I shall never fear to make the motives of my conduct public. The outrages and menaces which were practised against me and my family on the 18th of April, were the cause of my quitting Paris. Many writers had endeavoured to excite the people to violence against my person and family. There appeared to be no more safety or even consideration for me in this city. I never intended to quit the kingdom; I have never entered into any plan for the furtherance of such an object, neither with foreign powers, with any relations, nor with any of the French emigrants. As a proof of my intentions, I can assure you lodgings were prepared for me at Montmédy. I chose this place because, being fortified, my family would be in greater security; and because, being near the frontier, I should have been better prepared to oppose any invasion of France, if any had been attempted. One of my principal motives in quitting Paris was to destroy the argument of my want of freedom, which might have given occasion to disturbances. If I had had the intention of quitting the kingdom, I should not have published my declaration on the very day of my departure; I should have waited till I was beyond the frontiers; but I always retained the desire of returning to Paris. It is in this sense that the last sentence of my declaration should be understood, in which it is said, 'Frenchmen, and you especially, Parisians, with what pleasure shall I

not return again amongst you ! I had only in my carriage three thousand louis in gold, and fifty-six thousand livres in assignats. I only informed Monsieur of my intended departure a very short time before it took place. Monsieur went into a foreign country, because he had agreed with me that we should not take the same road : it was his intention to return to France after me. The passport was necessary to facilitate my journey, and was taken for a foreign country because passports are not given at the foreign-office for the interior of the kingdom. The road to Frankfort was not even followed. I made no protestation except that which I left in my declaration before my departure. This protest does not touch upon, as its contents show, the fundamental principles of the constitution, but the form of the sanctions, that is to say, the little liberty I appeared to enjoy, and on the impossibility of judging of the constitution as a whole, the decrees having been presented to me separately, and not in a body. The principal reproach which is contained in the declaration relates to the difficulties attending the administrative and executive powers. I observed, in my journey, that the public opinion was in favour of the constitution; I could not form an opinion of the public opinion of Paris; but from the remarks I have personally made on my journey, I am convinced how necessary it is, for the support of the constitution, to give strength to the established authorities for the maintenance of public order. Immediately I perceived the general wish of the nation, I hesitated no longer, as I have never hesitated in making a sacrifice of anything personal to myself. The happiness of the people has always been the object of my desires. I shall forget willingly all the troubles I have experienced, if I can promote the welfare of the nation."

NOTE 24. Page 72, col. 1.

Bouillé possessed an intimate friend in the count de Gouvernet; and although they did not agree upon every point, they had a great regard for each other. Bouillé, who deals but little in constitutionals, expresses himself with the highest respect towards M. Gouvernet, and opens his mind fully on the subject. For the purpose of imparting in his memoirs a notion of what was taking place in the assembly at this period, he cites the following letter, written to himself by the count de Gouvernet, the 26th August, 1791 :—

"I have given you hopes which I entertain no longer myself. This fatal constitution, which was to have been revised and ameliorated, will remain unaltered. It will remain, as it is, a code of anarchy, a source of calamities; and our baneful star, at the very moment when the democrats perceived, in some degree, their errors, has caused the aristocrats to refuse their support, and oppose all reparation. To inform you of the present state of affairs, and to clear myself from the imputation of having given you false hopes, I must take a retrospective view, and acquaint you with all that has lately happened, as I have at present an opportunity of writing to you.

"On the first and second day of the departure of the king, the two sides of the assembly remained in an attitude of observation on the respective movements of each other. The popular party was struck with consternation; the royalist party appeared

unquiet; the least indication might have awakened the fury of the people. All the members of the right side remained silent, and those of the left, left to their leaders the proposition of those measures which they called measures of security, and which no one opposed. On the second day the jacobins became menacing, and the constitutionalists moderate. The latter were then and are still much more numerous than the jacobins. These spoke of an accommodation, and a deputation to the king. A conference to be held the next day was also proposed to M. Malouet, but the arrest of the king prevented it taking place. Nevertheless the opinions of the constitutionalists were decidedly pronounced by the part they had already taken, and this separated them still more widely from the violent party. Barnave, since his return, has shown a disposition decidedly favourable to the royal sufferers. He, as you know, is the most talented of his party. As a first effort of his newly-acquired zeal, he rallied around him four-fifths of the left side, not only to save the king from the fury of the jacobins, but also to restore to him a portion of his former authority, and enable him in future to defend himself without violating the constitution. With regard to the last part of Barnave's plan, Lameth and Dupont were alone in the secret; the revision of the constitution still inspired much apprehension, and the constitutionalists could by no means make sure of a majority without counting the members of the right side; this, however, they thought they might confidently do, and therefore in the approaching revision intended to give a wider latitude to the royal authority.

"Such was the state of things when I wrote to you last. But convinced as I was of the perverse disposition of the aristocrats, and of the continual inconsistencies of their conduct, I did not think they would have gone so far as they have gone.

"As soon as the news of the arrest of the king was known, the right side, in their secret committees, resolved to vote no longer, and to take no part in the deliberations or discussions of the assembly. Malouet did not agree with them in this resolution. He represented to them that whilst the session lasted, and they assisted at it, they were under an obligation to oppose actively every measure destructive of public order, and the fundamental principles of monarchy. All these representations were useless; they persisted in their resolution, and drew up secretly a protest against all the acts of the assembly. Malouet protested in his turn against the adoption of this measure, and made every effort to prevent its being carried into effect. He, however, gained over only from thirty-five to forty members to his opinion, and he told me that he feared greatly that Barnave's plan would fail for want of support.

"The general dispositions of the assembly were so favourable to the king, that whilst he was on his road to Paris, Thourret having ascended the tribune to determine the manner in which he should be guarded, (I was at the sitting), the most perfect silence prevailed throughout the chamber, and in the galleries. All listened to the fatal decree with an air of consternation; but no one spoke. The president was going to put it to the vote, when, all at once, Malouet rose up, and with an indignant air cried out, 'What are you

about to do, gentlemen! After having arrested your king, do you propose to make him a prisoner? Where will this conduct lead you? Think well of it. Will you order your king to be imprisoned? 'No! no!' exclaimed many members of the left side, rising in tumult; 'we do not mean that the king should be a prisoner;' and the decree was on the point of being almost unanimously rejected, when Thourret hastened to add,—

"The object of this decree has been wilfully misinterpreted. The imprisonment of the king has never been contemplated, it is only for his safety, and that of his family, that measures are proposed.' It was only after this explanation that the decree passed, although the imprisonment is real, and is shamelessly prolonged even to the present moment.

"Towards the end of July, the constitutionalists, who expected a protest from the right side, yet were not sure of it, gradually pursued their plan of revision. They feared the jacobins and aristocrats more than ever. Malouet attended their committee of revision. He spoke to them first as to men to whom he could teach nothing with respect to the dangers and vices of their constitution; but he found them little disposed to great reforms. They feared the loss of their popularity. Target and Dupont warmly defended their work. The next day Chapelier, who had at first disdainfully refused to hear any thing of Barnave's plan, but had afterwards agreed to take part in it, joined this conference. Malouet proposed discussing in the sitting of the 8th, the merits of all the principal articles of the constitution, and severally pointing out its vices. 'You, gentlemen,' said he, 'answer me; overwhelm me with your indignation; defend your work skilfully on the least dangerous articles, and even on the majority of points to which my censures will be directed; and as to those which I shall declare to be anti-monarchical, reply that neither the assembly nor the committee needed my remarks on those questions; that you intended yourself to propose the reform of the articles to which I had alluded, and forthwith propose it.' This plan was agreed to; but the protest of the right side being known, and their obstinate determination to withhold their votes from every discussion, whilst the strenuous opposition of the jacobins was certain, it was given up with deep regret. Malouet, who had no regular communications with the constitutionalists, nevertheless made his attack. He solemnly rejected the constitution as anti-monarchical, and impracticable on many points. His arguments had already begun to make a great impression, when Chapelier, who expected no success from this project, interrupted the orator, declared he had been uttering blasphemies, and requested the president to make him descend the tribune, which he was, in fact, obliged to do. The next day he avowed that he had been to blame; but said that the obstinacy of the right side had deprived himself and his party of all hope, and that they were therefore unwilling to venture an attack which would certainly prove fruitless.

"It was necessary to give you this long history, that you might not lose all confidence in my prognostications. They are gloomy at present; the evil of the state of public affairs is extreme; and I see, neither within nor without, but one remedy, that of adding force to reason."—*Memoirs of Bonillé*, p. 282.

NOTE 25. Page 74, col. 2.

The minister Bertrand de Mollerville has given us so clear an insight into the inclinations of the king and queen at the commencement of the first legislative assembly, that no doubt can remain of their sincerity at that time. The following is an account of his first interview with these august personages:—

"After having answered to some general observations I had made concerning the difficulty of circumstances in which, as minister, I should be placed, and the numerous errors I might commit in a situation, the duties of which I was perfectly unacquainted with, the king continued: 'Well! have you any other objection to make?'—'No, sire, the desire to obey and please your majesty is the only sentiment I feel; but to know whether I can flatter myself with the idea of doing this, it will be necessary to give me some notion of your majesty's plan relative to the observance of the constitution, and what is the conduct you would wish your ministers to pursue.'

"'This is just,' replied the king; 'I do not, I must confess, regard the constitution as a *chef-d'œuvre*, and what is more, I believe it has great defects, and that if I had the liberty of addressing some observations to the assembly on the subject, very advantageous reforms might result from them; but the time for doing this has passed by; I have accepted of it, such as it is; I have sworn to put it into execution; it is my duty to do so. I will be strictly faithful to my oath, and more particularly so, because I believe that the most exact execution of the constitution is the surest method of making its defects known to the nation, and of bringing about such reforms as it may require. I have, and can have no other plan than this; I shall never deviate from it myself, and it is my desire that the conduct of my ministers should be conformable to it also.' 'This plan appears to me infinitely wise, sire; I feel myself perfectly disposed to follow it, and I enter into the engagement so to do. I have not sufficiently studied the new constitution, either in its general character, or its details, to have any decided opinion concerning it, and I shall abstain from adopting any, till the execution of it has enabled the nation to appreciate its merits by its effects. But is it permitted me to ask your majesty whether the opinion of the queen is conformable to that of your majesty?' 'Yes, absolutely; she will tell you so herself.'

"I then visited the queen, who after having declared, with extreme graciousness, that she felt herself under the same obligation to me as the king, by my acceptance of the ministry at such a critical period, added these words: 'The king has acquainted you with his intentions relative to the constitution; do you not think that the only plan he should follow, is to be faithful to his oath?' 'Yes, certainly, madame.' 'Well! be assured that no one will make us change it. Courage, M. Bertrand, all is not yet lost; patience, firmness, and time will restore all.'"—*Bertrand de Mollerville*, vol. vi. p. 22.

NOTE 26. Page 77, col. 1.

We learn from madame Campan that the king had a secret correspondence with Cobenzl.

"Whilst couriers carried letters from the king to

his brothers, and the foreign princes, the assembly prayed him to write to the princes to persuade them to return to France. The king ordered the abbd de Montesquieu to write such a letter as he would wish to send them. This letter, which was excellently written, in a style touching and simple, suitable to the character of the king, and filled with powerful arguments for rallying round the constitution, was given to me by the king that I might take a copy of it.

"About this time, M. Mor . . . one of the superintendants of the household of Monsieur, obtained a passport from the assembly to join that prince, on some indispensable domestic affair. The queen chose him for the porter of this letter; she insisted upon giving it him herself, and explaining to him its contents. The choice of this courier astonished me: the queen assured me he was perfectly suitable; that she even reckoned on his indiscretion, for that it was essential that the knowledge of this letter being written from the king to his brother should get abroad. *The princes were, without doubt, warned by the private correspondence of this messenger.* Nevertheless, Monsieur manifested some surprise at the receipt of the letter, and the messenger returned more hurt than gratified by a mark of confidence which might have cost him his life during the reign of terror."—*Memoirs of Madame Campan*, vol. II. p. 172.

NOTE 27. Page 78, col. 2.

Letter of the King to his Brother Louis Stanislas Xavier.

"Paris, 11th Nov. 1791.

"I wrote to you, my brother, on the 16th of October last, and you ought not to have doubted of the truth of the sentiments I then expressed. I am astonished that my letter did not produce the effect I had a right to expect from it. I have appealed to every motive which ought to influence you, to recall you to your duties. Your absence affords a pretext to evil designers, and a sort of excuse to all those who are misled, and who think they are serving me by keeping France in a state of inquietude and agitation, which is the torment of my life. The revolution is finished, the constitution is established, France has chosen it, and I will maintain it; it is on its stability that the safety of the monarchy at present depends. The constitution has given you rights, but has imposed a condition upon them which you ought to hasten to fulfil. Believe me, my brother, and dismiss those doubts which have been instilled into you, with respect to my liberty. I am about to prove, by a solemn act, and at a most interesting conjuncture, that I can act freely. Prove to me that you are my brother and a Frenchman, by yielding to my entreaties. Your proper place is near me; your interest, and the sentiments of your heart, must equally prompt you to resume it; I invite you, or if I must, I command you to do so.

(Signed) "Louis."

The Answer of Monsieur to the King.

"Coblentz, Dec. 3rd, 1791.

"Sire, my Brother and Lord,—The count de Vergennes has sent me a letter from your majesty, the address of which, although my Christian names are on it, so little resembles mine, that I thought of returning it unopened. Nevertheless, on his

positive assurance that it was for me, I opened it, and the name of brother leaving me no doubt of its being intended for me, I read it with the respect which is due to the handwriting and signature of your majesty. The order which it contains for me to return near the person of your majesty, is not the free expression of your majesty's will, and my honour, my duty, and even my affection equally forbid my obedience. If your majesty would wish to have a more detailed explanation of my motives, I pray your majesty to refer to my letter of the 10th of September last. I pray you also graciously to receive the homage of the most tender and respectful sentiments, with which

"I am, Sire, &c. &c. &c."

Letter of the King to his Brother Charles Philip.

"Paris, 11th Nov. 1791.

"You have assuredly been informed of the decree which the national assembly have passed with respect to emigrants, to which I have thought it my duty to refuse my consent, as I would wish to persuade myself that gentle means will more effectually accomplish the proposed end, which the interest of the state imperatively calls for. My uniform conduct with respect to you can leave you no doubt as to my intentions or wishes. The public tranquillity and my personal repose are interested in your return. You certainly cannot persist in a conduct which disturbs France and afflicts me, without failing in your most essential duties. Spare me the regret of having recourse to severe measures against you; consult your true interest; allow yourself to be guided by the love which you owe to your country, and yield, finally, to the desires of the nation, and those of your king. This conduct, on your part, will be a proof of your sentiments of attachment to me, and will secure to you the continuance of those I have always entertained for you.

(Signed) "Louis."

Answer of the Count d'Artois to the King.

"Coblentz, Dec. 3rd, 1791.

"Sire, my Brother and Lord,—The count de Vergennes sent me yesterday a letter, which he assures me was addressed to me by your majesty. The superscription which gives me a title which I cannot admit of, made me believe that the letter was not destined for me; nevertheless, as I recognised the seal of your majesty, I opened it, and paid due respect to the handwriting and signature of your sovereign; but the total omission of the name of brother, and, more than all, the decisions referred to in the letter, gave me a new proof of the moral and physical captivity in which our enemies dare to retain your majesty. After this discovery, your majesty will not be surprised, if, faithful to my duty, and the laws of honour, I yield not obedience to orders evidently extorted by violence.

"For the rest, the letter I had the honour of writing to your majesty, conjointly with Monsieur, on the 10th of September last, contains those sentiments, principles, and resolutions, from which I shall never deviate; I refer your majesty therefore to that; in it is contained the fundamental principles of my conduct, from which I here again pledge myself never to swerve. I pray your majesty to receive the homage of my most tender and respectful sentiments, with which

"I am, Sire, &c. &c. &c."

Novr 28. Page 78, col. 2.

The report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné is, without contradiction, the best account of the commencement of the disturbances in La Vendée. The beginning of these disturbances is the most interesting part, because it brings us acquainted with their cause. I think it therefore necessary to cite this report. It appears to me to throw light on one of the most curious parts of this fatal history.

Report of Messieurs Gallois and Gensonné, Civil Commissioners, sent into the Departments of La Vendée and the Two Sèvres, by virtue of a decree of the Constituent Assembly, received by the Legislative Assembly, on the 6th of October, 1791.

"Gentlemen,—The national assembly decreed on the 16th of July last, on the report of its committee of inquiry, that civil commissioners should be sent into the department of La Vendée, to gain all the information they could procure on the causes of the late disturbances in that country, and to endeavour to repress them, and, in concert with the legislature, to prevent their recurrence.

"On the 23rd of July we received this mission, and we set out two days after for Fontenay-le-Compte, the chief town of the department.

"After having conferred some days with the administrators of the directory on the situation of things, and the disposition of the public mind; and after having, in conjunction with the administrative bodies, entered into some preliminary measures for the maintenance of public order, we determined to travel into the different districts into which this department is divided, that we might examine whether the complaints which had reached us were true or false, real or exaggerated, and that we might be able to state, with the greatest possible exactness, the situation of this department.

"We have now traversed nearly the whole of its extent, sometimes to gain necessary information; sometimes to maintain peace and prevent disturbances, and at others to ward off acts of violence with which some citizens believed themselves menaced.

"We have received from many district directories communications from all the municipalities of which they are composed; we have listened, with great attention, to all citizens who had either facts to communicate, or views to propose to us; and we have with great care collected all the details which have come to our knowledge; but as our information has been multiplied rather than various, as the facts, complaints, and observations, which have come under our notice have always been of the same description, we think it best to present to you, under one general point of view, and in a concise but exact manner, the general result of such a multitude of particulars.

"We consider it useless to lay before you the details we have procured concerning former disturbances; they do not appear to us to have had any direct influence on the actual situation of the department; besides, the law of amnesty having arrested the progress of those law proceedings to which these troubles had given rise, we could only give you, on those subjects, vague conjectures and uncertain results.

"As the time when the ecclesiastical oath was

first enforced, disturbances took place in the department of La Vendée; until then the people had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity. Being far removed from the common centre of activity and tumult, and disposed, by their natural character, to peace and good order, they seemed to enjoy the benefits of the revolution, without partaking of its evils.

"The seclusion of this province, its difficulty of communication with any other, the simplicity of an agricultural life, ignorance of letters, and the seductions of a worship extremely captivating, have rendered the inhabitants of these parts so susceptible of superstitious feelings, and kindled such a fanatical enthusiasm in their minds, that it appears hopeless to endeavour to enlighten their understandings by reason.

"The religion of the Vendéans, that is to say, the view they have taken of religion, has become the strongest, or to speak more properly, the only moral feeling of life; the most essential duty it presents is the worship of images, and the minister of this worship, whom the inhabitants regard as the dispenser of heavenly blessings, who can, say they, by the fervour of his prayers, mitigate the inclemency of the seasons, who, they believe, has power to determine their eternal weal or woe, has acquired absolute control over the most amiable and ardent affections of their souls.

"The constancy of these people in their religious fervour, and the unlimited confidence their priests enjoy, are the principal causes of the disturbances which have taken place, and may still continue to prevail in this department.

"It is easy to conceive with what activity the priests and the factions take advantage of this disposition of the people in their favour; nothing has been neglected to inflame their zeal, to alarm their consciences, to fortify the weak, and inspire the daring; inquietude and remorse has been instilled into the minds of some; to others hopes of triumph and success have been held out; and the influence of seduction or of fear has been successfully practised upon nearly all.

"Many of the ecclesiastics of these districts set their part with sincerity; they appear to be strongly impressed with the opinions they propagate, and the sentiment they inspire; others are accused of concealing their real designs under the cloak of religion; and the political activity of these latter increases or moderates, according to circumstances.

"A powerful coalition has been formed between the former bishop of Luçon, and a part of the clergy of his diocese; they have resolved upon a plan of opposition to the execution of many decrees about to be carried into effect in several parishes; mandates and inflammatory publications have been addressed to all the curates, to fortify their resolutions of resistance, or to engage them in a confederation which is supposed to be general; a circular letter of M. Beuzegand, grand-vicar of M. de Mercé, formerly bishop of Luçon, deposited at the registry of the tribunal of Fontenay, and which the ecclesiastic has since acknowledged in his examination, will enable you, gentlemen, to form a pretty correct opinion, both of the secrets of this coalition, and of the skilful and combined plan which has been formed for forwarding their designs. It is as follows:—

" *Letter dated Luzon, 31st of May, 1791, addressed under cover to the Curate of Reorthe.*

" *Sir,*—A decree of the national assembly, dated May 7th, grants to those ecclesiastics which it pretends to deprive of the exercise of their functions, on account of their refusal to take the oath, the use of parish churches solely for the purpose of celebrating mass; the same decree authorises Roman Catholics, as also all nonconformists, to assemble for the practice of their religious worship in any place they may choose for that purpose, on condition that in their public exhortations the civil constitution of the clergy be not aimed at.

" The liberty granted to the legitimate pastors by the first article of this decree, should be regarded only as a dangerous snare; almost all the churches have been seized upon by false pastors; the faithful may, therefore, be forced to listen to their instructions, and receive the sacrament from schismatics, which the laws of the church forbid. To avoid so great an evil, all curates will feel the necessity of securing at least one place, where they can, by virtue of the second article of the decree, exercise their functions, and assemble their faithful parishioners, whilst their pretended successors occupy their church; without this precaution, many, in the fear of being deprived of the mass, and other divine institutions, might be induced to communicate with false pastors, and thus be exposed to the risk of almost inevitable seduction.

" In the parishes where there are but few rich proprietors, it will undoubtedly be difficult to find a suitable place, and to procure sacred vessels, &c.; in such cases, a simple barn, a portable altar, and earthenware vases, will serve to solemnize the sacred mysteries.

" This simplicity and poverty, by recalling to our minds the first ages of the church, the cradle of our holy religion, will be a powerful means of exciting the zeal of the ministers, and the fervour of the faithful.

" The bishop of Luzon, in the instructions he has transmitted to us as a supplement to those of the bishop of Langres, and which will be equally communicated to the other dioceses, urges all the clergy,—

" 1st. To keep a registry in duplicate of all acts of baptism, marriage, or burial, of all the catholics of their respective parishes; one of these registers to remain in their own hands, and the other to be deposited yearly in the hands of some person worthy of confidence.

" 2nd. Besides this register, all curates are also recommended to keep another, with a duplicate, in which to insert all acts of dispensation relative to marriages; these acts to be signed by two credible and faithful witnesses, and to give them the greater validity, the registers in which they are inserted should be approved and examined by the bishop, or in his absence by one of his vicars-general; a duplicate of this document should also be committed to the care of some trustworthy individual.

" 3rd. The clergy will be careful not to retire from their respective churches till the nomination of their successors is specifically notified to them, upon which they will do well to protest against such violation of their rights.

" 4th. They are also commanded to prepare secretly legal statements of the instructions of their successors, of which I subjoin a model; and to give this act all possible validity, it should be signed by the curate, his vicar, and, if there is one, by a neighbouring priest, or by two or three pious and discreet laymen, all precautions nevertheless being observed to keep it secret.

" 5th. Those of the clergy whose functions may be suppressed without the intervention of the legitimate bishops, must regard themselves always as the only legitimate pastors of their parishes, and should it be impossible to remain in those parishes, they should endeavour to procure a lodging in the neighbourhood, so as to be enabled to attend to the spiritual necessities of their parishioners.

" 6th. Should the civil power deny the use of the common burial-ground to the faithful, or should the parents of the deceased manifest any great repugnance to his being interred in any particular spot, though specially consecrated, the legitimate pastor having solemnized the service of the ritual in his house, the body of the defunct may be carried to the door of the church; but should the false pastor interfere, the procession must retire instantly, to avoid contamination.

" I beg of you, sir, and those of your brethren to whom you may think fit to communicate my letter, to have the goodness to inform us of the moment of your removal, and of the installation of your pretended successor; of the most remarkable circumstances which may attend it; of the dispositions of your parishioners; of the steps you may think it your duty to take for the service of your parishioners; and of your abode, if you should be absolutely forced to quit your present residence. You must be aware that all these details are particularly interesting to us; your troubles and ours are the same, and we ardently desire to lighten your sufferings by bearing our share in all that may befall you.

" I have the honour to be, with the most respectful and inviolable attachment, your most obedient humble servant."

" These attempts to excite disturbances have been powerfully seconded by the missionaries established in the town of St. Laurent, in the district of Montaign. It is to their activity and zeal, to their plots and secret exhortations, that we chiefly ascribe the troubled state of the department, and we feel it our duty to call the attention of the assembly to the conduct of these scoundrels, and to the spirit by which they seem to be actuated.

" This establishment was founded about sixty years ago; it is supported by charity, and the only business of the priests who are the objects of this bounty, is preaching. These missionaries, who have acquired the attachment of the people by distributing indulgences, and such like practices, have lately become sufficiently numerous to found other establishments in several parts of the kingdom. There are now herds of them to be found in Poitou, Anjou, Brittany, and Annis; but their principal place of abode is St. Laurent. In this last town, they have built a spacious and beautiful meeting-house, and have acquired, it is said, other territorial property.

" This institution is allied to another, an establishment of sisters of the grey order. These latter

give up their time to the service of the poor, and are constant in their attendance upon hospitals; they afford a medium of general correspondence to the missionaries to all parts of the kingdom, and on some occasions, when the intolerance of their zeal has provoked their expulsion from the hospitals, they have taken refuge in the religious asylum of their brother fanatics, the priests.

"To enable you to form an opinion of the conduct of these zealous missionaries, and of the religious morality which they profess, it will be sufficient, gentlemen, to present you with an abridged summary of the maxims contained in several manuscripts which have been seized in their houses by the national guards of Angers and Cholet.

"These manuscripts, drawn up in the form of instructions for the country people, establish it as a principle, that none can communicate with the constitutional priests, denominated intruders, for the administration of the sacraments, without incurring the guilt of a mortal sin; that those who are married by these intruders are not really married, and that the Divine curse is both upon them and their children, begotten in such unlawful wedlock; that the validity of marriages solemnized by the recusant priests is incontestable; that their children are legitimate, however they may be stigmatized by the faithless; that, on the contrary, the children of those married by false pastors are *really bastards*; that it is forbidden to the faithful to have their relatives buried by the new curates; that if a legitimate pastor cannot perform that service without endangering his life, the parents and friends are permitted to solemnize it secretly and privately themselves.

"Such, gentlemen, are the absurd and seditious instructions which these manuscripts contain, and of which the public voice accuses the missionaries of Saint-Lambert of being the most zealous propagators.

"The tardy removal of the recusant priests from their cures, has greatly contributed to the success of this coalition. M. Rodrigue, the present bishop of the department, was not nominated to that bishopric till the beginning of May. At that time an uniform system of resistance had been planned; an open and active opposition was at work; the grand vicars and curates were closely allied together; the jealousies, rivalries, and quarrels of the ancient hierarchy had had time to subside, and all their interests had become united in one common cause.

"The removal of the recusant clergy has only as yet been partially effected; a great majority of these ecclesiastics still remain in their parishes, invested with their former functions; the last nominations have hardly had any effect, as the new priests, alarmed at the prospect of a dangerous conflict, refuse to officiate.

"This schism among the clergy has also produced dissension among the people; religious feuds destroy the peace of private families; wives daily separate from their husbands, and children abandon their parents.

"The municipalities are also in a state of great disorganization; very few of them concur in the removal of the priests who have not taken the oath.

"A great number of citizens have renounced the service of the national guard, and those who remain

in it cannot without danger be employed in any affair in which religion is concerned, because the people would then see in the national guard, not a neutral instrument of the law, but the agents of a party opposed to them.

"In many parts of the department, a public functionary, a judge, or a member of an electoral body have become objects of aversion to the people, from their exertions to enforce the laws relative to the civil constitution of the clergy.

"Nothing is more common, than in a parish of five or six hundred persons, to see only ten or twelve attend the mass of the new priest; the proportion is the same in all the places of the department. On Sundays, or festivals, the whole population of villages and towns may be seen deserting their own church to go one, and sometimes two leagues, to hear mass from their old priests. These habitual migrations have appeared to us the most powerful cause of that fermentation, which sometimes secretly works, and sometimes openly breaks out in nearly all the parishes which are occupied by the new priests; it may easily be conceived with what aversion a multitude of individuals, who believe themselves obliged by their emigration to go so far to seek spiritual aid, must behold, on their return, five or six persons with the priest of their election at their door.

"It is to this general cause, more active perhaps at this moment than the secret exhortations of the recusant priests, that we think the interior discord, which we have observed in most of the parishes occupied by the new priests should be especially attributed.

"Many of these parishes have presented to us, as also to other administrative bodies, petitions begging for permission to hire private houses to be set apart for their religious worship; but as these petitions, which we knew to have been most actively promoted by persons who did not sign them, appeared to us to be part of a more general and secret system, we thought it our duty by no means to encourage a religious separation, which we regarded, considering the situation of the department, as possessing all the characteristic marks of a civil schism between the citizens. We thought, and said publicly, gentlemen, that it was your part to determine precisely how, and by what means a liberty of religious opinions on the present subject, under the actual circumstances of affairs, could be practicable, and compatible with the maintenance of public tranquility.

"It will undoubtedly excite surprise that the former priests who remain in their parishes, do not take advantage of the liberty which the law gives them of saying mass in the churches occupied by the new curates, and do not avail themselves of this permission, to spare their adherents the loss of time, and the inconveniences of numerous and disagreeable journeys. To explain this conduct, apparently so extraordinary, it is necessary to bear in mind, that one of the instructions most strongly recommended to the recusant priests, is to abstain from all communication with those whom they call intruders or usurpers, lest the people, struck only by external signs, should see no difference between priests who perform the same worship in the same church.

"Unfortunately, this religious division has produced a political separation among the citizens, and

this separation is still widened by the denomination affixed to each party: the small number of persons who frequent the churches of the new priest were called *patriotes*; those who adhere to the old ones are called *aristocrates*. Thus, in the estimation of these poor rustics, the love or hatred of their country does not consist in obedience to the laws, and respect to the lawful authorities, but in the frequenting or avoiding the mass of the new priests; ignorance and prejudice have taken, on this subject, such deep root, that we found great difficulty in explaining that the political constitution of the state was not the same as the civil constitution of the clergy; that the law imposed no shackles on conscience; that every one was at liberty to go to that mass which he liked best, and to that priest in whom he placed the most confidence; that all were equal in the eyes of the law, and that it imposed upon them no other obligation than that of living in peace, and mutually tolerating the differences of their religious opinions. We have neglected nothing to efface from the minds, and banish from the discourses of these poor rustics, those absurd denominations, as we clearly perceived all the evil consequences of such distinctions in a department where the pretended *aristocrats* form more than two-thirds of the population.

"Such, gentlemen, are our opinions on the facts which have come to our knowledge in the department of La Vendée, and the reflections to which they have given rise.

"We have taken in regard to this subject all the measures that we were enabled, whether it were to maintain general tranquillity, or whether it were to prevent or repress the outrages against the public peace: as ministers of the law we have caused her voice to be heard. At the same time that we were ensuring the means of preserving public peace and protection, we were engaged in explaining or rendering intelligible to the administrative bodies, the tribunals, or to individuals, the difficulties that arose either in the instructions given by the decrees, or in the mode in which they are to be carried out; we have invited the administrative bodies and the tribunals to increase their vigilance and zeal in the execution of the laws that protect the persons of individuals and the rights of property; in one word, to use with that firmness which constitutes a primary duty the authority the law has delegated to them; we have stationed a part of the public forces which was at our command at places where the most imminent or greatest danger was apprehended; we have ourselves visited all places immediately they were declared in a state of disturbance; we have obtained evidence upon the state of things with the utmost calmness and precision; and after having either by words of conciliation and sympathy, or else by the firm and uncompromising action of the law tranquillized the momentary disturbances of individual misconduct, we consider that the mere presence of legal authority is quite sufficient to repress tumults. It belongs to you, gentlemen, and to you alone, to take those measures that will be assuredly efficacious in regard to an object which from the relation in which it stands with the constitution of the state, exercises at this moment upon this same constitution far greater influence than ordinary or simple notions unacquainted with the existence of facts would induce one to believe.

"We have recently terminated, gentlemen, our mission in the department of the Vendée, inasmuch as the decree of the national assembly of the 8th August, which upon the requisition of the local authorities of the department of the Deux-Sèvres, has authorised our visitation of the Châtillon district, has reached us as well as the directory of this department.

"We had been informed on our arrival at Fontenay-le-Comte that this district was in the same state of disturbance, from religious causes, as the department of the Vendée. Some few days before the receipt of our commission, numerous citizens, electors, and public functionaries of this district, came in order to make a written denunciation in respect of the disturbances which they stated to exist in different parishes; they gave intelligence of an insurrection ready to break out: the most sure and summary plan, and which they urged very strongly upon us, was to drive from the district within three months all nonjuring and ejected curates, as well as all nonjuring rectors or vicars. The directory, after having been long extremely disinclined to adopt a measure that did not appear consistent with the principles of even-handed justice, at last conceived that the public character of the relators was quite sufficient to prove both the absolute existence of the evil, and the urgent necessity for the remedy. Consequently, an ordinance was issued on the 5th of September; and the directory, at the same time that they ordered all the ecclesiastics to leave the district within three days, recommended them to resort within the same period to Niort, the capital town of the department, assuring them that there they would find personal protection and safety in every respect.

"The ordinance had been already printed, and was about to be put into execution, when the directory received an official transcript of the commission that it had been soliciting; at that very moment, the directory issued a new ordinance suspending the execution of the former, and left it to our discretion as to whether we should ratify, qualify, or suppress it altogether. Two members of the directory were by the same ordinance named commissioners for the purpose of making us fully acquainted with all that had taken place, to repair to Châtillon, and there take in conjunction with us all those measures we should deem necessary.

"When we got to Châtillon, we caused the fifty-six municipalities, of which the district is composed, to be summoned to meet us; they were all of them, singly, called into the hall of directory. We consulted with each of them as to the state of his parish: all the municipalities were of one mind; those whose curates had been ejected, demanded at our hands the return of those priests; those whose nonjuring curates were still in office, required of us that they should be retained. There is still one more point on which all these country people are agreed; that religious freedom which had been formerly accorded them, and which they desired to enjoy. The same and the following day the surrounding country sent us numerous deputations of the inhabitants, to repeat the same earnest request. 'We seek no other favour,' said they all with perfect unanimity, 'than to have those priests on whom we can rely.' Many of them even attached so much importance to this indulgence, that they assured us that to

obtain it, they would willingly pay a double assessment.

"In that place by far the greater number of the public ecclesiastical functionaries of that district had not taken the oath; and while their churches could hardly contain the crowd of citizens resorting thither, the churches of the conforming clergy were almost deserted. In regard to this, the state of this district seemed to us the same as that of the department of La Vendée; there as elsewhere we found the common term of *pot-riots* and *crisotouts* completely established with the people, in the same sense, and perhaps even more generally. The inclination of public opinion in favour of nonjuring priests has seemed to us still more openly declared than in the department of La Vendée; the attachment that is demonstrated in their favour, the confidence that is reposed in them, bear every mark of a lively and deep-seated affection; in some few of these parishes the conforming clergy or citizens attached to these priests have been exposed to threats and insulting language, and although there, as in other places, these acts of violence may in some instances have appeared to us highly magnified, we feel assured (and the simple exhibition of public opinion enforces our conviction) that the greater part of these complaints were made with just cause.

"At the very time that we are recommending to the magistrates and local authorities the greatest vigilance upon this matter, we shall omit nothing that can tend to inspire the people with ideas more in conformity with respect to the law and the rights of private individuals.

"We ought further, gentlemen, to state, that these same men who have been represented to us as downright furious, deaf to every kind of reasoning, have left our presence perfectly conciliated on our making them understand that one of the principles of the new constitution was freedom of conscience; they were deeply affected by emotions of repentance and sorrow on account of some improprieties a few of them had been induced to commit; they have promised us with submission to follow the advice we have given them, to live in peace, notwithstanding their religious differences, and to respect the officer appointed by the law. They were heard, as they went along, to congratulate each other on having seen us, to tell one another what we had stated to them, and to fortify each other in their resolutions of peace and mutual good understanding.

"The same day some persons came to inform us that several of these country folks on their return home had posted handbills, by which they gave notice that every one of them was determined to accuse and procure the arrest of the first person who should injure the other, and especially the conforming priests.

"We ought to remark that in this same district, so long disturbed by difference of religious opinions, the taxes in arrears for 1789 and 1790, amounting to seven hundred thousand livres, had been nearly all paid; we were satisfied of this by the director of the district.

"After having attentively observed the state of public feeling and things in general, we were of opinion that the ordinance of the directory ought not to be put in execution, and the commissaries of the department as well as the administrators

of the directory of Châtillon were of the same opinion.

"Setting aside all the matters on which we could form a judgment, either from facts or from individuals, we have carefully considered whether the measure adopted by the directory was in the first instance just in itself, and in the next place efficacious in its execution.

"We thought that priests who had been ejected could not be considered as in a state of rebellion against the law, because they continue to dwell in the place where they have performed their duties, and the more so as it is a notorious fact that these priests bind themselves to live as peaceable and charitable individuals, and do not identify themselves with any public or private contentions on religious matters, we thought that in the eye of the law they could not be adjudged to be in a state of rebellion until they committed some overt act of a definite and specific character; lastly, we conceived that acts of disobedience against the laws relating to the clergy, and against all other the laws of the kingdom, ought like all other misdemeanors to be punished according to form of law.

"In the next place, looking at the inefficaciousness of this measure, we saw that if faithful Christians do not place reliance on the conforming clergy, it is by no means a reconciling measure to take from them the priests of their own selection.

"Such, gentlemen, is the general result of the facts we have collected, and the observations we have made during the course of the mission which has been confided to us. The most heartfelt reward of our labours will be, to have afforded you the means of confirming the tranquillity of these departments upon the most solid foundations, and to have responded by our zeal to the confidence with which we have been honoured."

NOTE 29. Page 81, col. 2.

I have already had occasion to refer more than once to the inclinations of Leopold, of Louis XVI. and the emigrants; I am now going to quote various passages, which will give the reader the clearest insight into their feelings. Bonillé who was abroad, and whose reputation and abilities had caused him to be sought for by sovereigns, had better opportunities than any one else of making himself acquainted with the sentiments of foreign courts; and his testimony is beyond all doubt. The reader will observe how he expresses himself in various parts of his memoirs.

"It may be seen by this letter that the king of Sweden was very uncertain concerning the true projects of the emperor and his co-allies, which certainly at this time were not hostile to France. Undoubtedly the empress knew this, but had not yet communicated it to him. I know that at this time she employed all her influence with the emperor and the king of Prussia to engage them to declare war against France. She had even written a very strong letter to the first of these sovereigns, in which she represented to him that the king of Prussia, for a simple act of rudeness offered to his sister, had marched an army into Holland, whilst he himself patiently suffered the insults and affronts which were heaped upon the queen of France, the degradation of her rank and dignity, and the overthrow of the throne of a king, his brother-in-law and ally. The empress urged the same arguments

upon Spain who had also adopted pacific intentions. Nevertheless the emperor, after the acceptance of the constitution by the king, received an ambassador from France, whom he had before forbade appearing at his court. He was even the first to admit the national flag within his ports. The courts of Madrid, Petersburg, and Stockholm alone dismissed the French ambassadors. All circumstances tend to prove that the views of Leopold were pacific, and that these views were the fruit of his correspondence with Louis XVI. and the queen."—*Memoirs of Bouillé*, p. 314.

In another place, Bouillé again says,—
 "However several months elapsed before I saw any thing come of the plans the emperor had designed for collecting armies on the frontier, forming a congress, and opening a negotiation with the French government. I presumed that the king had expected that his acceptance of the new constitution would have restored him his personal liberty, and restored peace to his kingdom, that an armed negotiation would have confused matters, and that consequently he had settled with the emperor and the other sovereigns, his allies, not to take any course that might induce hostilities, which he had constantly sought to avoid. I was confirmed in this opinion by the silence of the court of Spain on the proposal to furnish the king of Sweden with the fifteen millions of livres tournois which she had undertaken to give him in aid of the charges of this expedition. That prince had got me to write on his behalf to the Spanish minister, from whom I got nothing but vague replies. I then advised the king of Sweden to open a loan with Holland, or with the free maritime cities of the north upon the security of Spain, whose inclinations however seemed to me to be changed with respect to France.

"I learnt that anarchy was daily making progress in France, which was too truly demonstrated by the shoal of emigrants of all conditions who fled to the foreign frontiers. Arms were given them, they were embodied in regiments on the banks of the Rhine, and they formed in that quarter a little army, which threatened the provinces of Alsatia and Lorraine. These measures revived the popular fury, and assisted the destructive designs of the jacobins and the anarchists. The emigrants had even desired to make an attempt upon Strasburg, where they conceived they possessed certain communications and parties on their side who would have opened them the gates. The king, who was apprised of this, used both commands and even entreaties to stop and prevent them from doing any act of hostility. For this purpose he sent to the prince, his brothers, M. the baron of Vioménil, and the chevalier de Cogna, who on his part testified his disapproval of the hostile arming of the French nobility, to which the emperor interposed every possible impediment, but it still continued to take place."—*Ibid.* p. 309.

Lastly, Bouillé relates from the words of Leopold himself his plan for a congress:—
 "At last, on the 12th September, the emperor Leopold summoned me to attend him, and to bring with me the scheme of the arrangements which he had previously demanded of me. He took me into his closet, and told me that he had not been able to speak to me sooner upon the subject for which he caused my attendance, because he had waited for answers from Russia, Spain, England, and the prin-

cipal sovereigns of Italy; that he had received them, that they were conformable to his intentions and his designs, and that he was assured of their assistance in the carrying them into execution, and of their concurrence, with the exception however of the cabinet of St. James, which had declared its intention of preserving the most strict neutrality. He had taken the resolution of assembling a congress, in order to treat with the French government, not only upon the subject of redressing the grievances of the Germanic body, whose rights in Alsatia, and in other portions of the frontier provinces, had been violated, but at the same time to consider upon the means of restoring tranquility to the kingdom of France, whose anarchy disturbed the peace of all Europe. He further informed me that this negotiation would be seconded by formidable armies with which France would be surrounded, that he hoped that this design would prove successful, and prevent a bloody war, the last resource to which he wished to have resort. I took the liberty of asking of the emperor if he was informed of the real intentions of the king. He had been made acquainted with them, and he also knew that the prince was strongly averse to the employment of hostile measures. He also stated to me that he was from other sources informed that the charter of the new constitution was to be presented to him in a few days, and that he considered that the king could not but accept it without any restriction, by reason of the risks he would run of his own life, and those of his family, if he should make the least difficulty, or suffered himself to make the slightest remark; but that his sanction, rendered compulsory by the circumstances, could not avail any thing, it being practicable to undo all that had been done, and to confer a good government upon France, such as should satisfy the people, and should yet reserve to the authority of the crown a latitude of power sufficient for the purposes of maintaining tranquility at home, and to ensure peace abroad. He asked me for the plan of arranging the armies, and at the same time assured me that he would examine it at leisure. He further added, that I might return to Mentz, whither the count de Brown who was to have the command of his troops, and who was then in the Low Countries, would communicate with me as well as with the prince Hohenlohe, who was going into Franconia, in order for a general conference, when occasion should serve.

"I considered that the emperor had not resolved upon this pacific and extremely reasonable scheme since the conference of Philiz, without first consulting Louis XVI., whose inclination had always been for an arrangement, and to use the medium of negotiation, rather than have recourse to open hostilities."

Novr 30. Page 83, col. 2.

The following is a relation of this fact by Bertrand de Molléville:—

"I informed the council on the same day of the visit the duke of Orleans had paid me, and of our conversation. The king determined upon receiving him, and held with him the next day a conversation of more than half an hour's length, with which his majesty appeared to be perfectly satisfied. 'I believe as you do,' said the king to me, 'that his return to his duty is sincere, and that he

will do all which depends upon himself to repair the evil which he has occasioned, and in which it is possible he has not had so much to do as we believed.'

"On the Sunday following the duke attended the levee of the king, where he met with a most humiliating reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed, and from the royalists, who were accustomed to visit the chateau on that day to pay their court to the royal family. Every one crowded about him, shoved him, pushed him towards the door, and prevented his re-entrance. He then went to the queen's apartment, where the table was laid for dinner; the moment he appeared, the exclamation of *Gentlemen, take care of the dishes!* was heard from all sides, as if he had been suspected of carrying poison in his pockets.

"The insulting murmurs which his presence excited, forced him to retire without having seen the royal family. He was followed to the queen's staircase, and whilst descending, some spat on his head, and others on his coat. Rage and revenge were painted on his countenance, and he left the chateau, convinced that the king and queen were the instigators of the insults he received, whilst, on the contrary, they were perfectly ignorant of what had happened, and exceedingly grieved when they learned it. He swore at the moment an implacable hatred against them, and has shown himself too faithful to his horrible oath. I was at the chateau on that day, and witnessed the facts I here relate."—*Bertrand de Mollville*, vol. vi. p. 290.

NOTE 31. Page 87, col. 2.

Madame Campan gives a different account of the conversation of Dumouriez with the queen.

"All parties," says she, "endeavoured either to ruin or to save the king. One day I found the queen extremely agitated; she said that she felt perfectly distracted by the difficulties of her situation; that the chiefs of the jacobins had offered themselves to her through the medium of Dumouriez, or that Dumouriez, abandoning the party of the jacobins, had come voluntarily to offer her his services; that she had given him an audience; and, that being alone with her, he had thrown himself at her feet, and placed as it were the red bonnet on her head, but that she could not consent to become a jacobin; that the revolution had been delivered up into the hands of a rabble of demagogues, who, seeking only pillage, were capable of the most desperate enterprises, and might furnish a formidable army to the assembly, sufficient to overthrow all those remnants of regal authority which were already in a most tottering condition. She added, that whilst speaking with extreme warmth, he had seized her hand, and kissing it, exclaimed with vehemence: *Enfer yourself to be saved!* The queen said that she could not believe the protestations of a traitor; that his character was well known, that the wisest conduct was certainly to distrust him; and that, besides, the princes had recommended her to place no confidence in any proposition which came from the interior, &c."—vol. ii. p. 292.

NOTE 32. Page 88, col. 1.

Bonille, whose memoirs I have already cited, and who was placed in a situation which enabled him to

form a correct judgment of the intentions of the foreign powers, did not believe in the zeal or sincerity of Catherine. He expresses himself as follows on this subject:—

"It is very perceivable that this prince (Gustavus) placed great confidence in the zeal of the empress of Russia, and on the active part she would take in the coalition, which has nevertheless been confined to promises. The king of Sweden was deceived; and I doubt whether Catherine would ever have given him the eighteen thousand Russians she promised. I am persuaded besides, that neither the emperor nor the king of Prussia communicated to him their own views. They had both, personally, more than a dislike to him, and did not wish him to take any active part in the affairs of France."—*Bonille*, p. 319.

NOTE 33. Page 88, col. 2.

Madame Campan informs us in the same passage of the construction of the iron closet, and of the existence of a secret protestation made by the king against the declaration of war. This manifests an extraordinary fear of war on the part of Louis, and accounts for his endeavours to cast the odium of its announcement on the popular party.

"The king had a prodigious quantity of papers, and unhappily conceived the idea of having a secret hiding-place constructed by his locksmith behind the corridor of his apartment, in which to conceal them. This hiding-place, had it not been for the information of the locksmith, might have remained long unknown. The wall, in the place where it was constructed, was covered with large coloured stones, and its opening was perfectly concealed by the brown grooves which the dark part of these coloured stones formed. But before the locksmith had informed the assembly of this concealment, which has since been called the *iron closet*, the queen gained intelligence that he had spoken of it to some of his friends; and that this man, to whom the king had habitually granted too much confidence, was a jacobin. She imparted to the king this discovery, and persuaded him to fill a large portfolio with all his most important papers, and to give them into my charge. She begged him, in my presence, to leave nothing in the closet, and the king, to tranquilize her, assured her that nothing was left there. The portfolio being then delivered over to me, I attempted to lift it, and carry it into my apartment, but it was too heavy. The king said he would carry it himself; I went before him to open the doors. When he had placed the portfolio in my cabinet, he said to me, 'The queen will tell you what it contains.' When therefore I returned to the queen, I asked her to inform me of its contents, judging from the words of the king that it was necessary I should know it. 'They are,' replied the queen, 'the papers which would be most fatal to the king in case matters went to the extent of a trial. But what is of more importance still, that portfolio contains the proceedings of a state council, in which the king has given his advice against the war, and which, being signed by all the ministers, he hopes to make, in case of extremity, extremely useful to him.' I asked the queen to whom I should confide the portfolio. 'To whom you will,' replied she, 'but you are alone responsible for it. Do not take it from the palace, even in your month of retirement, for there are circumstances in which it may be

extremely useful for us to lay our hands on it without any delay."—*Madame Campan*, vol. ii. p. 222.

NOTE 34. Page 189, col. 2.

Explanation of the motives of the National Assembly, in descending on the formal proposition of the King, that there is a necessity for declaring war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, by M. Condorcet. (Sitting of the 22nd of April, 1792.)

"Being forced by the most imperious necessity to declare war, the national assembly are fully aware that they will be accused of having accelerated or provoked it.

"They clearly perceive that the insidious conduct of the court of Vienna has had no other object than that of giving a semblance of probability to this imputation, foreign powers finding it so necessary to hide from their people the real motives of their unjust attack upon France; and they are aware that this reproach will be repeated by the enemies of our constitution and laws, in the criminal hope of depriving the representatives of the nation of the good opinion of the public.

"A simple exposition of their conduct is their only reply; and they address themselves with equal confidence both to foreigners and Frenchmen, knowing that nature has implanted in the hearts of all men the same sentiments of justice.

"Every nation has, alone in itself, the power of making its laws, and the unalienable right of changing them. This right belongs to it on no occasion, or on all equally. To attack it in one instance is to acknowledge it in none; to wish to destroy it by the interposition of a foreign power is to declare a disregard for it, in that state of which the assailant may be the chief or the citizen; this is to betray our country; this is to proclaim ourselves the enemy of the human race! The French nation were willing to believe that these simple truths were understood by all princes, and that in the eighteenth century none would venture to oppose them by the exploded maxims of tyranny; but their hopes have been deceived; a league has been formed against their independence, and they had no other alternative but that of expostulating with their enemies on the justice of their cause, or of opposing them by force of arms.

"Being informed of the menacing league, the national assembly, in the first instance, demanded the object of the concert of those powers, which had so long been rivals, and were answered that they had no other motive than the maintenance of general tranquillity, the safety and honour of thrones, and the apprehension of the renewal of those disastrous events of which some epochs of the French revolution had furnished such sad examples.

"But how can it be proved that France, who entered into a solemn resolution to undertake no conquest, and to attack the liberty of no nation, did menace the general tranquillity! How did she, who, during the long and sanguinary struggle between the government and the citizens, maintained a strict neutrality, endanger the stability of thrones!

"Without doubt, the French nation has proclaimed aloud, that sovereignty belongs solely to the people, who, limited in the exercise of their supreme will by the rights of posterity, cannot

invest any individual with irrevocable authority; without doubt, she has loudly declared, that no custom, no express law, no consent, no convention, can subjugate a society of men to any authority which they have not the right of resuming. But what idea of the legitimacy of their power, or of the justice with which they exercise it, must foreign princes entertain, if they regard the proclamation of these rights as an enterprise against the tranquillity of their states!

"Will they say that this tranquillity can be disturbed by the publications and speeches of Frenchmen! This would be suppressing the liberty of the press, and declaring war against the progress of reason by an armed force; and when it is universally known that the French nation has been insulted with impunity, and that the presses of neighbouring countries have not ceased to inundate our departments with works exciting treason, and counselling revolt; when the instances of protection which their authors have met with are recollected, will it be believed that a sincere love of peace and not a hatred to liberty has dictated these hypocritical accusations!

The attempts made by the French nation to excite neighbouring nations to break their chains and reclaim their rights have been urged in defence of foreign powers. But their ministers who have repeated these imputations, without venturing to cite a single fact which supports their assertions, know how void they are of all foundation; and even if these attempts had really taken place, those courts who have countenanced conspiratory assemblages of our emigrants, who have given them assistance, who have received their ambassadors, who have publicly admitted them to their conferences, who have not blushed to invite Frenchmen to take part in a civil war, have no right to complain; or it must be confessed that it is allowable to extend servitude, and criminal to propagate liberty, that every undertaking against the people is legitimate, and that kings alone have real rights. Never has the pride of thrones insulted with more audacity the majesty of nations!

"The French people, free to fix the form of their own constitution, could not endanger, by exercising this right, either the safety or honour of foreign thrones. Do the chiefs then of other countries consider it among the number of their prerogatives to oblige the French nation to give a head to their government invested with power equal to that which they exercise themselves! Would they, because they themselves rule over slaves, extirpate freemen from the earth! How is it that they do not perceive that by sanctioning every thing which has for its object what they call the safety of thrones, they declare every enterprise which one people may undertake in favour of the liberties of other nations legitimate!

"If outrages, if crimes have been attendant on some epochs of the French revolution, it belongs alone to the representatives of the nation to punish or bury them in oblivion; no citizen, no magistrate, whatever may be his title, has a right to demand or look for justice from any other source than the laws of his country. Foreign powers, however much their subjects may have suffered from the disastrous events of the French revolution, can have no just motive either to complain of them, or to enter into any hostile measures to prevent their

recurrence. Personal alliances between kings are nothing to nations; whether enslaved or free, common interests unite them: nature has made their happiness to consist in peace, and wills that they should live associated in the bonds of brotherhood: the idea of putting the fate of twenty millions of men, and the caprices or pride of a few individuals in the same balance, is abhorrent to every dictate of humanity. Must we be condemned then again to see the voluntary servitude of nations pile human victims on the altars of the false gods of the earth!

"Thus these pretended motives of the league against France are only new outrages against its independence. The French nation had a right to demand a renunciation of their hostile preparations, and to regard the refusal of it as a declaration of war, and such have been the principles which have directed the conduct of the national assembly. They still continue to desire peace, but think it preferable to an endurance of measures dangerous to liberty; they cannot conceal from themselves that alterations in the constitution, and violations of that equality which lies at its foundation, are the only objects of the enemies of France; and it is, therefore, that the national assembly have bound themselves by an oath, repeated throughout France, to perish rather than suffer the slightest attack to be made on the liberty of their fellow-citizens, the sovereignty of the people, and above all, that equality of rights, without which society can neither obtain justice nor enjoy happiness.

"But the French nation has been reproached with not having sufficiently respected the rights of other countries, in offering only pecuniary indemnities to the pope and to the German princes, who possessed territory in Alsace.

"The sovereignty of France over Alsace has been acknowledged by treaties, and peacefully exercised for more than a century. The rights which these treaties reserve for the German proprietors are merely privileges; the sense of this reservation is, that the possessors of fiefs in Alsace shall retain, with their ancient prerogatives, the several rights of feudality: this reservation signifies, besides, that if these feudal prerogatives should be overwhelmed in one common ruin, the nation shall pay an equivalent to their possessors, in consideration of the real advantages it reaps from their abolition; for this is all that the rights of property can demand, when they are in opposition to the laws of the country, and militate against the public interest. The citizens of Alsace are Frenchmen, and the nation could not, without shameful injustice, suffer them to be deprived of the smallest share of those common rights which are due to all who live under her protection. Will it be said then, to indemnify these princes, a portion of territory should have been given up to them! No; a free and generous nation sells not men, condemns none to slavery, and delivers not over to masters those whom it has once admitted to a share of its liberty.

"The citizens of Alsace were free to give themselves a constitution; they might have declared themselves independent; but they have preferred to remain Frenchmen, and France will never abandon after having adopted them. Even if she had refused to accede to their desires, their country is encompassed in her territory, and she would

never have permitted their oppressors to traverse the land of liberty for the purpose of punishing men for having dared to render themselves independent, by resuming their rights. That which the pope possessed in their country was only the salary arising from the exercise of his spiritual authority: the people, in depriving him of some portion of this authority, have merely exercised a power which a long servitude had suspended, but could not destroy; and the indemnity proposed by France was not even demanded by justice.

It has been said that the views of the French people for the maintenance of their equality and independence are those of a faction; but the French nation has a constitution; this constitution has been acknowledged, and adopted by the majority of the citizens; it cannot be changed but by the people, and according to the forms prescribed by itself: whilst it exists, the authorities established by itself have alone the right of expressing the national will, and it is by them that this will has been declared to foreign powers. It is the king who, at the instigation of the national assembly, fulfilling the functions with which the constitution has invested him, has complained of the protection granted to the emigrants, and demanded, in vain, that it should be withdrawn; it is he who has required the dissolution of the league of foreign potentates; and it is surely surprising to hear the solemn expression of the will of the people, publicly declared by their legitimate representative, branded as the clamour of a faction. By what title as respectable as this can those kings support themselves who force deluded nations to fight against their own interests, to arm themselves against rights which they possess in common with us, and to crush under the wheels of the French constitution, the germs of their own felicity, and the common hopes of the human race!

"But the king of France, say they, is not free — Alsat is he not free because he is obliged to observe the laws of the country! The liberty of disobeying or opposing them by an armed force, indeed, is not a right, but a crime!

"Thus, rejecting all insidious propositions, and despising all injurious declamations, the national assembly have shown themselves as anxious for peace as they are jealous of the liberty of the people: thus, the continuation of tolerating our emigrants,—the open violation of promises to dissolve their assemblages,—the refusing to dissolve a league evidently offensive,—the injurious motives of this refusal, tending to the destruction of the French constitution, are sufficient to authorize, on the part of the French nation, hostile measures, which have never proceeded further than acts of legitimate defence; for it is not an offensive proceeding to deny our enemies time to exhaust their resources by long preparations, to set all their armies—to assemble all their forces—to strengthen their old alliances—to form new ones—to carry on a system of espionage in the midst of us, and to multiply conspiracies and plots in our provinces. Does he deserve the name of an aggressor who, menaced and provoked by an unjust and perfidious enemy, takes the advantage of striking the first blow! Thus, far from provoking war, the national assembly have done all in their power to prevent it. In demanding new explanations of intentions which might be doubtful, they have shown that they re-

nounced with grief the hopes of a return to principles of justice on the part of their enemies; for if the pride of kings is prodigal of the blood of their subjects, the humanity of the representatives of a free nation is sparing even of the blood of their foes. Insensible to all provocations, to all injuries, to the contempt of former engagements, the violation of new promises, to the shameful dissemination of secret plots against France, to that perfidious condescension, under the guise of which the aid and encouragement given to Frenchmen who have betrayed their country has been concealed, the assembly would still have accepted peace, if the terms offered had been compatible with the maintenance of the constitution, the independence and sovereignty of the nation, and the security of the state.

"The veil which has long hidden the intentions of our enemy is finally torn away! Citizens! which of you could submit to their degrading propositions! Feudal servitude, and a humiliating inequality, bankruptcy, and taxes to be paid by you alone, tithes and the inquisition, your properties, bought in the confidence of the public faith, to be restored to their ancient possessors, the re-establishment of the destructive game-laws, your blood to be spilt in the ambitious enterprises of an enemy; these are the conditions of the treaty between the king of Hungary and perfidious Frenchmen!

"Such is the peace which is offered to you! No; you will never accept it! All the pusillanimous of the kingdom have fled to Coblenz, and France contains none now in her bosom but men worthy of liberty!

"The king of Hungary announces in his own name, and the name of his allies, the project of making the French nation abandon its rights, and he gives us clearly to understand that he will demand sacrifices which the fear alone of destruction can make the nation submit to . . . and to these it will never submit! This insolent pride, far from intimidating, will only rouse its courage. Time is necessary to discipline the slaves of despotism; but every man is a soldier when he combats tyranny; gold will issue from its obscure retreats when called for by the country in danger; those ambitious and base men, the slaves of corruption and intrigue; those vile calculators of the people, from whom our enemies have ventured to hope for shameful assistance, will lose the support of the deluded or pusillanimous citizens whom they have deceived by their hypocritical declamations, and the empire of France, in all its vast extent, will present a front to our enemies animated by one will, that of conquering or perishing with the constitution and the laws!"

Novr 35. Page 92, col. 1.

Madame Campan explains, in the following manner, the secret of the papers burnt at Sévres.

"At the commencement of the year 1792, a priest of a very venerable character requested me to grant him a private interview. The existence of a manuscript of a new libel of madame Lamotte's had come to his knowledge. He said, that he had remarked in the persons who brought it from London, to have it printed at Paris, a great desire of gain, and that he doubted not, they would deliver up the manuscript to him for a thousand louis, if he could find any friend of the queen disposed to make that sacri-

fice for her tranquillity; that he had thought of me on this occasion, and that if his majesty would give him the eighty thousand francs, he would procure the manuscript immediately.

"I communicated this proposition to the queen, but she refused to accede to it, and ordered me to reply, that, at the time when she had power to furnish the authors of these libels, she had judged them to be so atrocious and distant from any shadow of truth, that she had disdaind having recourse to any means of impeding their circulation; that if she was weak or imprudent enough to buy a single one, the active inquisitiveness of the jacobins would soon discover it; that the libel in question, even if it was bought, would nevertheless be published, and would only become the more dangerous from her endeavours to keep it from the eye of the public, which they would soon be informed of.

"The baron d'Aubier, one of the gentlemen of the king's household, and my particular friend, possessed the talent of relating, in a concise and clever manner, the substance of the deliberations, debates, and decrees of the national assembly. He used daily to bring me whatever news was stirring, and it was my custom to detail it every day in the queen's apartment, which made the king exclaim, as I entered, 'Here comes the Calais position.'

"One day, M. d'Aubier came and said, 'The assembly has been occupied about some information given by the workmen of the manufacture of Sévres. They have brought to the president a file of papers, calling them the life of Marie-Antoinette. The director of the manufacture has been called to the bar, and has declared that he received orders to burn them in the furnace prepared for the fabrication of porcelain.'

"Whilst I gave this account to the queen, the king blushed, and stooped his head over his plate. The queen said to him, 'Monsieur, have you any knowledge of this affair?' The king made no reply. Madame Elizabeth demanded the signification of his silence, but he still persisted in his taciturnity. I retired immediately. A short time after, the queen came to my apartment, and told me that the king, out of consideration for her, had bought the whole of the printed edition of the libel of which I had formerly spoken to her, proposing to her the same measure, and that M. de Laporte had thought that burning them at Sévres, in the midst of two hundred workmen, of which eighty were jacobins, was the most mysterious, and least suspicious method of getting rid of them. She added, that she concealed her grief from the king, although she was overwhelmed with consternation, but could not complain, as his tenderness was the cause of this accident."—*Madame Campan*, vol. ii. p. 196.

Novr 36. Page 96, col. 2.

The mission given by the king to Mallet-du-Pan is a most important fact, and its evidence is rendered unquestionable by the memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville. Being minister at that period, de Molleville must have been perfectly acquainted with this event; and being a counter-revolutionary minister, he would rather have concealed than avowed such a fact. This mission proves the moderation of Louis XVI., but also his communications with foreign powers.

"Far from partaking of this patriotic security, the king saw, with profound grief, France engaged in an unjust and bloody war, which the disorganization of her armies seemed to render her incapable of sustaining, and which exposed her provinces, more than ever, to the danger of an invasion. His majesty feared, besides, every species of civil war, and was convinced it would break out on the news of the first advantage gained by the emigrants, who formed part of the Austrian army, over the French troops. It was, in fact, greatly to be feared that the jacobins and infuriated populace would retort sanguinary vengeance on the priests and nobility who still remained in France. These apprehensions, which the king expressed to me in a daily correspondence which I held with his majesty, made me determine to propose to him to send a person of confidence to the emperor and king of Prussia, for the purpose of obtaining from their majesties, promises not to act on the offensive, except in a case of the last extremity, and to publish a manifesto, before their armies entered into the kingdom, declaring the following sentiments: 'That the emperor and king of Prussia, forced to resort to arms by the unjust aggression which has been made on them, attribute the declaration of war, notified to them, neither to the king nor the nation, but to the criminal faction which oppresses both; that, consequently, far from renouncing the sentiments of friendship which unite them to the king of France, the object of their majesties is merely to deliver him from the yoke of the most criminal tyranny which has ever existed, to aid him in the establishment of his legitimate authority, which has been violently usurped, and to restore order and tranquillity; all which they propose to effect without meddling, in any manner, in the form of the French government; but, on the contrary, for the very purpose of giving the nation the liberty of choosing that which will best suit it; that every idea of conquest is far from the thoughts of their majesties; that the property of individuals will not be less respected than that of the nation; that their majesties take under their special protection all peaceable and faithful citizens; and declare that their only enemies, which are those of France, are the factious, and their adherents, on whom alone they wish to make war.' Mallet-du-Pan, whose character and talents the king highly esteemed, was charged with the execution of this mission. Being never seen at the palace, having no connexion with those attached to the court, and being accustomed to make frequent journeys to Geneva, which prevented the suspicion that would otherwise have been awakened by his taking that road, he was every way adapted to undertake the commission with which he was intrusted."

The king gave Mallet-du-Pan his instructions, written with his own hand, which are thus specified by Bertrand de Molléville.

1st. "The king joins his prayers to his entreaties to persuade the princes, and the French emigrants, not to give to the present war the character of one carried on between foreign powers, by an hostile and offensive conduct on their part.

2nd. "He urgently entreats them to leave to him, and the other courts who have interfered on their behalf, the discussion of the security of their interests, when the time proper to treat of those questions shall have arrived.

3rd. "It is necessary that they should appear parties and not arbitrators in this affair, all arbitration being reserved to his majesty, when he is restored to his freedom, and those foreign powers who have interfered in their behalf.

4th. "Every other conduct will produce a civil war in the interior, expose the life of the king and his family, overthrow the throne, be fatal to the royalists, cause all the revolutionists, who are now divided, and become more so every day, to rally round the jacobins, rekindle the flames of discord now about to expire, and give strength to that resistance, which will yield to the first success, when it shall be perceived that the fate of the revolution is not committed exclusively into the hands of those against whom it was first directed, and who have become its victims.

5th. "It is necessary to represent to the courts of Vienna and Berlin the utility of a manifesto, expressing the common sentiments of themselves, and all the other states in concert with them; this manifesto is important, because it will separate the jacobins from the rest of the nation, give confidence to those who are inclined to return to the path of duty, or who, disapproving of the present constitution, desire the suppression of abuses, and the enjoyment of a moderated liberty, under a monarch of authority, limited by the restrictions of the law.

6th. "It is requisite also to express in this manifesto that fundamental truth, viz. that the war is waged merely against an anti-social faction, and not against the French nation; that it is undertaken in defence of legitimate authority, and the people, against a furious anarchy, destructive of every social bond, and every conventional establishment, under the shade of which, liberty, peace, and security can alone repose; that its object is, not disorganization, or the imposition of laws, but to declare energetically to the assembly, the administrative bodies, the municipalities, and to the ministers, that they are personally and individually responsible for all outrages committed against the sacred person of the king, the queen, and royal family, and the persons and properties of all citizens whatsoever.

7th. "Furthermore, it is necessary to express the wish of the king, that the foreign powers, on entering the kingdom, should declare their readiness to make peace, but that they neither can nor will treat with any but the king; that, consequently, they require that he be restored to perfect liberty; that, then, a congress be assembled, in which the several interests of the nation may be discussed, on the basis already proposed, the emigrants being admitted as a party, and the general plan of indemnities being negotiated under the auspices and guarantee of the combined powers."—*Bertrand de Molléville*, vol. viii. p. 39.

NOTE 37. Page 96, col. 2.

Bertrand de Molléville, from whom I have selected the facts relative to Mallet-du-Pan, mentions the reception he met with, in the following terms:—

"On the 15th and 16th of July, Mallet-du-Pan conferred, at great length, with the ministers of the emperor and the king of Prussia, count Czertozky, count Hengwitz, and M. Heyman. These ministers first examined his authority, and in-

lenced with an extreme attention as he read his instructions and his own memoir, and immediately recognised his views to be perfectly the same as what had been previously signified by his majesty to the courts of Vienna and Berlin. They, consequently, placed great confidence in him, and approved, in every respect, of the manifesto he proposed. They positively declared that they entered into the war with no ambitious motives, that they sought no personal interest or augmentation of their territories, and that their majesties desired nothing but the re-establishment of order throughout France; because, as long as that country remained in a state of anarchy, they were obliged to keep up, at a very great expense, extraordinary bodies of troops, and adopt many precautions to protect the frontiers of their territory from the disorders of their neighbours; and that so far from wishing to impose on the French nation a particular form of government, they would not even interfere in the negotiations with their king on that subject. He was asked to give a detailed account of the state of France, and to speak particularly as to the public opinion relative to the ancient order of things, viz. the parliament, and the nobility, &c. They told him, in confidence, that the emigrants had volunteered to form themselves into a body, and enter into the king's service, whom they expected would be shortly released from his present state of confinement. They insinuated, in a humorous manner, their dislike to the royal princes, who, it was supposed, entertained quite opposite opinions to the king's, and were busy in forming a party of their own, and had secret intentions of appointing a regency. (*Mallet-du-Pan could not conceive in this supposition for an instant, and observed that it was impossible to judge of the intentions of princes rightly, from the frivolous and extravagant views of their courtiers.*) After a minute discussion of the several demands and propositions which were contained in his memorial, which Mallet-du-Pan was not at liberty to alter, and the subject of his mission was well understood, the three ministers united in acknowledging the wisdom and justice of his instructions, and formally declared their assurance, that their majesties would most zealously co-operate with the French monarch."—*Bertrand de Mollerville*, vol. viii. p. 320.

NOTE 38. Page 96, col. 2.

"The princes' party," says madame de Campan, "were very much alarmed when they heard of the negotiations of the constitutionalists on behalf of the queen. Her majesty always apprehended much danger, not only from the strength of the party that declared for the princes, but from the pretensions of the French noblemen who formed it. She justified the count d'Artois, and often repeated that his party would discover their intentions to be quite opposite to his sentiments, which were favourable to the king and her majesty, but that she thought he would be made to participate in the criminality of the conduct of his party by the efforts of Calonne, who exercised an uncontrolled ascendancy over the minds of his advisers. She severely reproached count Esterhazy, who had received very considerable favours from her for his attachment to Calonne's party, which ranked

him in the number of her enemies."—*Memoirs of Madame de Campan*, vol. ii. p. 193.

NOTE 39. Page 97, col. 1.

"The emigrants dreaded the thoughts of a reconciliation between the court and the constitutionalists, which they imagined would be merely nominal, and afford to the government no assistance towards the reparation of their faults. They thought it was more advisable that the king and his family should remain in the hands of the Jacobins till such time as they were prepared to rescue them, by which means he would avoid the necessity of acceding to the stipulations they should dictate."—*Madame de Campan's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 194.

NOTE 40. Page 100, col. 1.

A very curious paper was found among the documentary evidence that was produced on the trial of the authors of the riots of the 20th June. It is the deposition of one Lareynie, and contains a summary of the testimony that was procured from various witnesses; the whole of which proceedings have been published.

Personally appeared before us, John-Baptiste-Marie-Louis Lareynie, a volunteer in the battalion of the Isle-Saint-Louis, decorated with the military order of the Cross, residing in Paris on the quay Bourbon, No. 1—

"Who, professing sentiments of abhorrence at the excesses which have prevailed throughout the capital, and conceiving himself bound in duty, as a good citizen, to elucidate every circumstance connected with these excesses, and so detect the delinquents and authors of all seditions directed against the public tranquillity, and sapping the foundation of the constitution—

"Declareth, that he was informed by his correspondent, in the faubourg St. Antoine, that the citizens of that faubourg were incited to rebellion by M. Santerre, who commanded the battalion of the *Enfants-Trouvés*, and by various other persons, of which number was M. Fournier, an American, and who had been an elector of the department of Paris in 1791; that M. Rotonde, an Italian; M. Legendre, a butcher, residing in the rue des Bucheries, in the faubourg St. Germain; M. Cuirette Verrières, residing in the story immediately over the coffee-house of the *Rendezvous*, in the rue du Théâtre Français, held nightly meetings at M. Santerre's house, and sometimes in the hall of the committee of the section of the *Enfants-Trouvés*, where they deliberated in the presence of a few individuals belonging to that faubourg, to whom they communicated their sentiments; that M. Rossignol, formerly a journeyman jeweller; M. Nicholas, miner in the above-mentioned battalion of the *Enfants-Trouvés*; M. Briere, a wine-merchant; M. Gonor, commonly called Conqueror of the Bastille, and others whom he could cite, proposed various questions to be agitated by the groups frequenting the Tuilleries, the Palais Royal, the Place de Grève, and especially the vicinity of the Porte St. Antoine and the Place du Bastille; that they were the authors of the placards that were affixed from time to time in the faubourgs, as also of the petitions that were delivered in by deputations to the patriotic societies of Paris; and that, in fact, they were the authors

of the celebrated petition, and concerted the plot which was carried into execution on the 20th of June. That, on that day, a secret committee was held in the house of Santerre at midnight; in proof of which he could produce witnesses as soon as they returned from the country, whither they had been sent on a mission by Santerre, and by whom he was assured that they saw M. Péion, the mayor of Paris; Robespierre; Manuel, the solicitor-general; Alexander, commandant of the battalion of St. Michael; and Sillery, ex-deputy of the national assembly, present at such meeting. That on the 20th, Santerre, perceiving that many of his party, and particularly the chiefs, were intimidated by the decree that had been issued by the directory of the department, and in consequence actually refused to attend in arms, on the pretext that they would be fired at, assured them that no such order would be given to the national guard; and moreover, that Péion would himself be present. That at eleven o'clock in the morning of that day, the concourse did not, at most, amount to more than fifteen hundred persons, including many who attended out of curiosity; and that it was only when M. Santerre placed himself at the head of a detachment of invalids, and marched to the passage of the Feuillans that the spectators were excited to join; that not daring to force the post that guarded this passage, he continued his march to the court of the Capuchins, and there planted the may-bush which had been destined for the palace; that he, the witness, himself asked several individuals of the troop that was following the said Santerre, why the may-bush was not reserved for the terrace of the Tuileries, to which they replied, that they knew very well what they were about, they were aware that several pieces of cannon were placed in the gardens, a snore into which however desirous the Feuillans might be to plunge them, they knew very well how to avoid. The declarant also observed that at this time the populace had nearly dispersed, and when the music and drums were heard in the interior of the assembly, several small clusters which were standing about here and there collected together, and joining themselves with all the spectators on the spot, marched into the assembly, and crowded one upon another three deep; he further observed that no outrage was committed as they passed through the Tuileries, and no attempt was made to force the palace. That when they were all assembled and drawn up on the 'Place du Carrousel,' they did not manifest the least hostile intention towards the palace, till the arrival of M. Santerre, who, being in attendance at the national assembly, did join them till it was adjourned. That when M. Santerre arrived in company with several others, among whom the deponent remarked M. St. Huzac, he addressed himself to his troops, who, till then, had observed the greatest tranquillity, and asked, *Why they had not already entered the palace! that they must forthwith proceed thither; that he had brought them for no other purpose!* That he immediately ordered the engineers to follow him with a piece of cannon, and said, if the gates were not opened voluntarily, he would force them. Thus provided, he arrived at the gate, where a slight resistance was offered to him by the 'gendarmes;' but he met with a steady opposition on the part of the national guard; and so great was the tumult occasioned by

this, that the people were, perhaps, on the point of proceeding to violence, when two men, in scarfs of the national colours, one of whom the deponent recognised to be M. Boucher René, and the other who was named, as he learnt from the spectators, M. Sergent, addressed the guards, and ordered them, in an imperious, if not insolent tone, to open the gates, prostituting the sacred name of the law in support of this demand; adding that no person had authority to close the gates, and that every citizen had the right to enter the court; that the gates were, in fact, opened by the national guard, and Santerre and his troop immediately rushed into the court; that M. Santerre, who had ordered a body of his men to follow him to the king's apartments with the piece of cannon to break open the door, should it be necessary, or for the purpose of meeting any resistance that might be offered by the national guard in his progress, was stopped as he was passing the last court to the left, at the foot of the staircase, by a group of citizens, who addressed him with great moderation, and endeavoured to appease his fury; they threatened to render him responsible for every thing that might occur during this fatal day, because, said they, you are the sole author of this unconstitutional assemblage; you alone have been instrumental in misleading these brave fellows; you are the only one of the number that is actuated by evil intentions. The manner in which these worthy citizens discoursed, caused a paleness to spread over his countenance. But M. Legendre, the butcher, perceiving the state of Santerre's mind, came to his aid, and re-animated him in a moment; Santerre then, evading all opposite reply to the citizens who had expostulated with him, devised a most hypocritical course of conduct. He addressed himself to his followers in the following words: 'Gentlemen, be witness of my refusal to march into the king's apartments at your head; that the troops, who were accustomed to divine Santerre's meanings, immediately fell upon the honest citizens, forced a passage, conveyed their cannon into the interior of the palace, and burst into the apartments, breaking open all the doors, and shattering the windows in their passage.'

NOTE 41. Page 113, col. 2.

The terror into which this alarm had thrown the royal family, is thus described by madame de Campan:—

"M. de Laporte, the comptroller of the civil list, was informed by the police, towards the end of the year 1791, that a jacobin of the most violent opinions, who had been heard to say that it would materially assist the cause of the French nation if the days of the king were shortened, and kept a pastry-cook's shop in the Palais Royal, had succeeded to the hereditary situation of an attendant in the king's household, into the duties of which office he was about to enter. His business was to attend to the pastry details. He was closely watched by the superintendents of the kitchen who were devoted to his majesty; but to avoid the danger which they incurred by eating of made-dishes, the royal family were always provided with roast joints. M. Thierry, of Ville d'Avry, superintendent of the apartments, supplied them with bread. The king, who was very fond of pastry, requested me to purchase some, as if for myself, one day at one shop, and another day at another. The sugar I always kept

in my own room. The king and queen, and madame Elizabeth, took their meals together, and always dismissed the servants, each helping himself from a mahogany waiter, which was placed at his side, and when the servants' presence was required, they rang the bell. M. Thierry always brought the bread and wine himself, and I immediately locked it up in a cupboard in the king's cabinet, on the *Rez-de-Chaussée*, of which I always kept the key. Immediately the king was seated at table, I took out the pastry and bread and concealed it under the table, that it might not be observed by any of the servants. It was not only impolitic, but very disagreeable to the king, to let his attendants see that he suspected them. As he only drank part of a bottle of wine at a meal, and as the princesses only drank water, he poured the contents of the bottle that was supplied him by his butler into his private bottle, which I carried away every day after dinner. Although the king and his family tasted of no other pastry than such as I bought, care was taken to make it appear that what was served at table by the servants was eaten. The lady who was my successor in this office had no occasion to make any alterations in my plan, of which no one but the family were in the secret."—*Madame de Campan's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 168.

NOTE 42. Page 113, col. 2.

When M. Lafayette was imprisoned at Olmutz, M. de Lally-Tolendal addressed a most eloquent letter to the king of Prussia in his behalf. He enumerated the various instances of the general's devotion to the king, which he produced documents to prove. In them may be discovered the projects and efforts of the constitutionalists at this period.

M. Lally-Tolendal's Letter to the King.

"Paris, Monday, July 9, 1792.

"I am requested by M. Lafayette to repeat the proposal made already by himself, and which your majesty did not accept at that time, because your majesty had engaged to appear at a ceremony that was to take place on the 14th, two days after the date when it was to have been carried into effect.

"Your majesty could not have missed seeing M. Lafayette's project, it having been presented to M. Dupont, to hand to M. Monhiel, for your majesty's inspection.

"M. Lafayette proposes to be here on the 16th, accompanied by general Luckner, with whom he has entered into the necessary engagements, in which both will co-operate to obtain the proposed end.

"They propose that your majesty quit the capital, escorted by them through the public streets, and that your majesty announce such to be your intention to the national assembly, to whom you should also state that you will not go beyond the constitutional line, and that you have fixed on Compiègne for your retreat.

"It is proposed to convey your majesty and family in one carriage, and a hundred chosen cavalry guards may be easily provided to attend you. Should any attempt be made to oppose your departure, your majesty will be strongly protected by the Swiss, and even by a part of the national guard, should their aid be required. The two generals

will remain by your side. At Compiègne a strong detachment will be furnished by that town, a choice guard will there join you from the capital, and a third detached from the army to effect your majesty's escape.

"M. Lafayette will provide ten squadrons of supernumerary troops, and the horse artillery, which may in two days be brought up by forced marches to Compiègne.

"Should your majesty's departure be prevented, in defiance of all this protection, the two generals will march their troops against the capital, and avenge so gross a violation of the laws.

"The object of this project is evident.

"Peace would, in the event of its success, be established throughout Europe, through the mediation of your majesty.

"Your majesty would, in that case, be established in your legitimate powers.

"Your majesty would also have your prerogatives, which are now too limited, enlarged; the nation would be governed by a monarch whose authority would be strongly upheld, and under whose reign the liberty of the people would be maintained inviolate.

"The nation would be duly represented, and your majesty would preside over their representatives, for without you, that body is void of authority.

"An executive power would be established.

"The representatives of the nation would be elected from among the landed proprietors.

"The constitution would be revised, some parts of it abolished, and others improved and secured on a better basis.

"The new legislative body might sit three months in the year; and,

"The privileges of the nobility, such as titles, arms, livery, &c. would be revived.

"I shall not venture an opinion, or make any comment on this plan, but shall content myself with simply performing my duty. My imagination depicts the rage of the jacobins, at the news of a town falling into our hands, in colours too vivid for words to describe. The light in which I view the scene that was exhibited on Saturday, so far from tranquillizing my mind has increased its inquietude. All these kisses remind me of that of Judas.

"I ask to be one of the eighty or hundred cavalry to escort your majesty, and should this my sole request be granted, I dare promise your majesty, that the blow aimed at your majesty's life must take mine first.

"But one more word and I have done. Before the revolution I was intimately acquainted with M. Lafayette: On the 22nd of March, in the second year of the revolution, we ceased to communicate; at that epoch I endeavoured to prevail upon him to follow that line of conduct which he is now pursuing. I appealed to his honour; I urged it on the score of his duty and even his interest. He made promises which he did not perform. His motives for so acting I will not inquire; whether his resolution failed him, or he chose to pursue the contrary course. I declared to him my reasons, and our mutual friends joined me in setting before him the most disagreeable truths. My correspondence with him has been referred to by these mutual friends. The object and style of these letters are

well known to your majesty. I have read his letters, and conversed with him for two hours the evening he departed. He acknowledged his mistakes, and is now devoted to the cause of liberty, but under a monarchical government. If necessarily required it, he would sacrifice his life in defence of his country and his king, which are in his mind inseparable. These are his principles. He embraces them with enthusiasm, he is thoroughly convinced of their truth; his heart is engaged in the cause, and he breathes sentiments of fidelity towards your majesty. In his engagements to promote these views, he has entirely lost sight of himself. Of all this I can solemnly assure your majesty upon my conviction as an honest man.

"I had almost forgot to say, that he desires that no communication may be held with any of the officers who may be in the capital at this period. All may suspect that there is some project in agitation, but none can know the real one. It is sufficient if they know the part they are to act the morning previous to its execution, for some may be indiscreet enough to speak of it.

"P.S. May I say that this communication appears to me to merit the consideration of that illustrious individual who heroically overcame an army of assassins in a cause, the memory of which must live for ever, who dictated on the subsequent day a proclamation as sublime as his conduct had been great the evening before.

"M. Lafayette does not admit the idea that your majesty having once quitted the capital, is obliged to pursue any line of conduct not dictated by your own conscience and free will. He thinks that your majesty should first attend to the formation of a body guard; he thinks that his project might be modified in twenty different ways; he prefers a retreat to the north, as he could more conveniently afford the assistance required; and, besides, he is afraid of the factious spirit of the south. In fact, the object which he most sincerely desires, is to see the king enjoy his liberty, and all the factions by which France is agitated, dispersed. After which he hopes, himself, things will go on in their natural course."

Copy of a Letter from M. Lafayette.

8th July, 1792.

"I had disposed of my army, so that the best squadrons, the grenadiers and the horse artillery, were under the orders of M—— of the fourth division; and had my proposition been acceded to, I would have marched up fifteen squadrons, and eight pieces of cannon, in two days to Compiegne, the rest of the army being divided into detachments, and separated the distance of one day's march from each other, and each regiment having orders to proceed in due succession, in case their commanding officers should be engaged.

"I had so completely overcome Luckner as to obtain from him the promise that, if the king's safety required it, he would march with me against the capital. I had the absolute disposal of five squadrons of this army and of that of Languedoc and ——; I had also the exclusive command of the horse artillery; I had determined that these latter troops should also march to Compiegne.

"The king engaged to attend the ceremony of the confederation. I regret that my plan was not adopted.

"The preparations which I have made, supported by many departments and communities, the co-operation of M. Luckner, the confidence my troops and the whole army feel in me, and my popularity throughout the kingdom, which has augmented rather than decreased, although it is very limited in the capital; all these circumstances together have excited the suspicions of the factious, and doubts in the minds of many honest men. I hope that the danger attending the ceremony of the 14th of July will not be so great as is expected. It is my opinion, that were the king accompanied by myself and Luckner, and surrounded with a select battalion of troops, this danger would be entirely obviated.

"We shall, there is no doubt, lose the first battle; but, in return, we shall triumph over this temporary defeat.

"I again repeat that the king must quit Paris. I know that if he was one in whom I could not confide, that I should expose myself to imminent hazard; but the king being an honourable man, I cannot hesitate an instant, nor can I extinguish my desire of seeing him at Compiegne.

"My present project is directed to these two objects: First, if the king has not yet summoned Luckner and myself, he must lose no time in doing so. *We have gained over Luckner!* He will tell you that we are together; I will tell you the rest. Luckner can come to me, and we can both of us be in the capital the same evening. The 13th and 14th may perhaps furnish an occasion for some popular tumults, and your presence, you may be sufficiently confident, will, at least, counteract any violence; and who knows what will be the effect of mine on the national guard!

"We will accompany the king to the altar of the country. The two generals will represent the two armies, whose devotion to them is well known, and this will prevent any indignities that might be otherwise offered to the king. I think I can enforce obedience to my commands, as I formerly used by my presence alone. The terror with which I have always inspired some, ever since they joined the factious party; and, perhaps, some abilities that I may have of turning the channel of events, at the very crisis, may render me useful if it be only in averting dangers. To judge of the interest I have in making this demand, it is sufficient to compare the situation I shall be placed in with the object of the confederation; but I regard it as a sacred duty to accompany the king during this ceremony; and so obstinately am I bent on this, that I absolutely require the minister of war to command my attendance, so that this first part of my proposition may be adopted; and I beg of you to announce this proposal by means of some common friends of the king, to the royal family, and their advisers.

"Second. As for my second proposition, I think it equally indispenable, and this is the way in which, I conceive, it can be carried into execution. Many of those who are inclined to be factious would be quieted and silenced, at least for the time, if the king were solemnly to declare that the invasion of the foreign armies was contrary to his wishes, and if we, conjointly with him, were also to take an oath to the same effect. I would then have the king write a note to Luckner and myself in secret, which would meet us on the road on the

evening of the 11th or the next day, to the following effect: viz. "That intending to manifest to foreign powers his sincerity in his oath just taken, for the satisfaction of his people, and thinking a visit to Compiègne the most effectual manner of doing this, he orders us to add some squadrons to the national guard of that place, and the detachment accompanying him from the capital, requesting our attendance to Compiègne, from whence we might rejoin our respective armies, and enjoining us to be careful in selecting such squadrons for this service as are commanded by persons of known attachment to the constitution, the general officer in charge of the whole being an unquestionable constitutionalist.

"Luckner and I will then charge M—— with the command of this expedition; he shall take with him four pieces of horse artillery, eight pieces if requisite, but the king must by no means speak of this, because the odium of that measure ought to fall upon us. On the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the king may proceed to the assembly in company with Luckner and myself, we being followed by a whole battalion, or, at least, fifty horsemen devoted to the king; or, even if only a few friends of mine accompanied us, we should all be free from any danger of arrest.

"Supposing even that we were arrested, Luckner and myself would immediately complain to the assembly, and threaten it with our armies. The king's position, too, would not be more critical, for he, not having infringed upon the constitution, would be justified by all who were not the enemies of that constitution, and Luckner and I could easily bring up some detachments from Compiègne. This manner of proceeding would not compromise the king so much as the plan of conduct which he is now concerting.

"The immense funds that have been lavished by the aristocrats in their wild plans, have left the king but very diminished pecuniary resources at his command. But if it is necessary, some loans must be obtained, to be rendered subservient to our purposes during the three days of the festivity in commemoration of the federation.

"There is only one thing more which I wish to guard you against; should the assembly issue a decree forbidding the presence of the generals in Paris on this occasion, let the king immediately refuse to give it his sanction.

"If, by an innoceivable fatality, the king has already given it his sanction, let him immediately appoint a rendezvous where we may meet at Compiègne, and even though he may fully expect to be arrested in quitting Paris, we will rescue him, and carry him off in triumph. It is useless to observe that when he shall have arrived at Compiègne, in either case, he may there form his body-guard, such as he is allowed by the constitution.

"Really, when I contemplate my situation, surrounded as I daily am by inhabitants of all parts of the country who flock to see me, some coming from ten leagues, or more, for this purpose, and who declare their cordial participation in the sentiments by which I am guided, I cannot consider all as lost; but more especially, when I perceive the firm attachment of the army to my cause, over whom the Jacobins have no influence; and reflect upon the numerous testimonies of approbation I receive from all parts of the kingdom, I cannot

but think that it is in my power to render myself essentially useful to his majesty."

NOTE 43. Page 114, col. 1.

Answer in the King's own hand.

The following reply is extracted from the same collection of documents referred to in the preceding note. "I cannot but acknowledge my gratitude towards one who has shown himself so devoted to my service as to venture his life to procure my freedom; but the project of M. Lafayette appears to me impracticable. Although I have no personal fears, I do not think it prudent to hazard all at once. In case of failure, we should be a prey to the demagogue faction. Fontainebleau appears to me too near, and besides its southern situation is objectionable; a northern direction would have the appearance of flying towards the Austrians. The attendance of the generals at the confederation might be useful; they might pretend that they came to Paris for the purpose of conferring with the new minister of war on military affairs. The best advice that I can give M. Lafayette is to continue to be a terror to the factious by fulfilling his duties as a general; the army will thus become more and more attached to him, and he may eventually be enabled essentially to serve the king and constitution by the influence he may, in this manner, obtain."

NOTE 44. Page 115, col. 2.

A minute relation of the Proceedings of the 10th of August.

(They are taken from a paper signed *Carra*, and entitled, *An Historical and very exact Account of the Origin and Authors of the celebrated Insurrection of the 10th of August, which saved the Republic. The Author avows the public that the Mayor had not the least share in its success; but that it was providentially fortunate to the cause of the Patriots, that he was at that time in office.* This article is extracted from the "*Annales Politiques*," of the 30th of November.)

"Those men," says Jerome Pétion, in his excellent speech on the accusation that was directed against Maximilien Robespierre, who claimed the glory of that day, "are the very men the least deserving of it. The glorious consequences of that insurrection are solely attributable to those persons who prepared the measures for the fit execution of the plan, and to the threatening appearance which the situation of affairs at that time presented; to the brave confederates and their secret directory, that had for some time concerted the plan of insurrection; and lastly, to that protecting genius which has presided over the interests of France since the first meeting of its representatives.

"This is the same directory of which I shall speak by and by, and in which Jerome Pétion was an active member. This secret directory was established in the hall where the Jacobins carried on their correspondence, in the quarter St. Honoré, and was appointed by the central committee of confederates; it was composed of five members selected from the forty-three who had daily met since the commencement of July. These five members were Vaugeois, chaplain to the bishop of Blois; Debessé, an inhabitant of the department of Drome; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, an editor at

Strasbourg; and Galissot, an inhabitant of Langres. I was elected one of the committee, and after some days the number of the members was increased by the addition of Fournier, an American; Westermann; Kienlin, a resident at Strasbourg; Santerre; Alexander, commandant of the faubourg St. Marceau; Lazouaki, a captain of engineers in the faubourg St. Marceau; Antoine, an ex-constituent of the town and department of Metz; Lagrey, and Garin, an elector of 1789.

"These insurrectionists held their first session at a small tavern at the sign of the Golden Sun, rue St. Antoine, near the Bastille, on the night of Thursday, till Friday morning the 26th July, after the fête that was given by the citizens to the confederates on the ruins of the Bastille. The patriot Gorras attended at this tavern to conduct us at two o'clock in the morning, when our sessions adjourned, to the column of liberty, that had been erected on the ruins of the Bastille, in defence of which we were all determined to die. The American, Fournier, also, at my suggestion, brought us the red flag, upon which I inscribed these words, *the martial law of the sovereign people against the rebellion of the executive power*. It was in this very tavern that I produced five hundred copies of a placard on which were inscribed these words, *whenever first upon the columns of the people shall be put to death on the spot*. This placard had been printed by the librarian Buisson, and given to Santerre, from whom I obtained it. Our project failed on this attempt, in consequence of the great prudence of the mayor, who probably thought that we were not yet sufficiently prepared; and the second session, in which active measures were to be adopted, was postponed till the 4th of August.

"The same individuals that composed the last session sat also at this, with one additional member, Camille-Desmoulins. It was held at the sign of the 'Café au bien,' on the Boulevard; and, at about eight o'clock, it removed to the apartments of the ex-constituent Antoine, in the rue St. Honoré, opposite the 'Assumption,' the very house in which Robespierre resided. The landlady of this house was so alarmed for Robespierre, that she begged of Antoine to let her know whether he desired to see Robespierre murdered. *'If any one is to be murdered, we ought to be the victims,'* said Antoine; *'our deliberations do not concern Robespierre, and all that he has to do is to keep himself out of sight.'*

"At this second session, in which we proceeded to consider what measures were to be adopted, I drew up, myself, the whole plan of the insurrection, and marked out the manner in which the palace was to be attacked. Simon copied out this plan, which was sent to Santerre and Alexander at midnight; but our second attempt also failed, because Alexander and Santerre were not ready, and there were many dissentient voices among the members, who thought it ought to be put off till after the discussion that was to take place at the assembly, on the 10th of August, relative to the suspension of the king.

"The third and last session which this directory held, was on and during all the night of the 9th of August, when it separated into three divisions, which was announced by the sounding of the tocsin. The chiefs of these divisions were posted as follows: Fournier, the American, in the faubourg

St. Marceau; Westermann, Santerre, and some others, in the faubourg St. Antoine; Garon, the editor from Strasbourg, and myself, in the barracks of the Marseillais, and in the very apartment of the commander, where we were seen by all the battalion.

"In this account, which agrees exactly with the truth, and the details of which I challenge any one to refute, no mention is made either of Marat, of Robespierre, or of many others, who would claim to themselves the merit of having acted in this affair; but the only persons who really gained the glory of that day, are the members that composed the secret directory, of which I have just spoken."

NOTE 45. Page 120, col. 2.

Copy of a Letter from Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, to the citizen Bossé.

"You ask us, sir, our opinion respecting the present state of France, and what measures we would advise in order to protect the country from the imminent dangers with which it is threatened, which is a continual source of anxiety to all good citizens, and the object which most incessantly occupies their attention.

"Being asked a question of such high importance, we will explain our sentiments most candidly.

"It is too late to conceal the truth that the misconduct of the king is the immediate cause of the evils that afflict France, and of the dangers that environ the throne. Those deceive the king who attempt to persuade him that certain exaggerated opinions, the violent proceedings of the clubs, and the machinations of the factious, gave rise to, and keep up the present disorders in the country, which are daily becoming worse; and what the consequences may be no one can say.

"If the nation had been satisfied with the success of a revolution which cost them so dearly; if the liberty of the people had been securely established; if by his conduct the king had obtained the confidence of the people, the great body of the citizens would think only of enjoying the benefits derived from the constitution; and if any factious should still exist, acting, as they would, without any pretext, or even any object to gain, no danger could be feared.

"But as long as the liberty of the people is at stake, as long as the citizens are kept in a state of alarm by the conduct of the executive power, and that the conspiracies which are continually carrying on both by domestic and foreign enemies shall appear to be more or less encouraged by the king, the peace of the country must necessarily be disturbed. In the most ancient and best constituted states, this is always and must be the seminal principle of a revolution; and the effect of this principle will, in this instance, follow with greater rapidity, inasmuch as the agitations that preceded the former revolution have scarcely subsided, when we are now again threatened with a second.

"It is, then, but too evident that the present state of affairs must produce a crisis, which, as appearances strongly indicate, will be attended with dangerous consequences to royalty. The interests of the king and of the nation are actually considered as two distinct things; the first public functionary of a free nation is become the chief of

a party; and by this crooked policy, the odium of all the evils with which France is afflicted reflects upon him.

"And what success would he reap from the assistance of the foreign powers, should they go so far even as to augment the royal authority, and remodel the form of government? Is it not evident that those men who first proposed this congress have sacrificed the interest of the monarch to their personal interests and prejudices? Should their schemes succeed, will not their institutions be considered as an usurpation of the authority of the nation, to which it will never submit by restraint? Is it possible that they did not perceive how requisite it would be, after they had effected this change, to maintain it by a force equivalent to that which it originally employed, in order to succeed, and by that means they would disseminate throughout the kingdom the spirit of civil discord, which the lapse of many centuries would scarcely eradicate.

"Sincerely and steadily attached to the interests of the nation, from which we will not separate those of the king, as long as he allows them to be united, we are of opinion that the king should desist from all such conduct as may create suspicions in the minds of the people, and prove what are his real sentiments, openly and unequivocally; till then, no sufficient measures can be adopted to protect the empire from the evils with which it is threatened, and to re-establish order throughout the kingdom; and till then, the king cannot expect to recover the confidence of his people, on which alone he depends for his power and happiness.

"It is not sufficient to have recourse again to fresh protestations, which, at this period, would be deemed insulting and ironical; and so far from allaying the alarm of the country, would rather increase the imminent danger.

"The only protestation from which any good effect can be expected, would be a solemn declaration on the part of the king, that he will accept of no augmentation of his powers whatsoever, but what may be voluntarily accorded to him by the nation.

"This has been observed to the king; and many of the national assembly know that it was proposed to him, when he declared war with the king of Hungary, but he thought proper to reject it.

"He might, perhaps, regain the confidence of his people by recognising the independence of the French nation, by ordering the coalesced powers to desist from all hostilities, and by insisting upon the removal of their troops from our frontiers.

"It is impossible to convince the nation that the king has not the power of breaking up that coalition; and so long as he endangers the public security, he ought not to flatter himself with the idea of retaining the affections of the people.

"But if the king's means of effecting this dispersion of the enemy are insufficient, he ought, at least, to co-operate with the nation in repulsing their attack, and to prove the groundlessness of the popular suspicions, by the adoption of measures of vigour.

"To see the nation menaced with immediate danger, of which he cannot be ignorant, and to declare that it originates in the crimes of factions, is calculated to excite the most odious suspicions. To complain that the popular passions are extra-

vagant, to abuse the clubs, to attribute the ferment and agitation that exists in the minds of the people to the factious spirit of a few demagogues, only serves to aggravate their miseries, and urge them to violence.

"As long as any efforts are made to prevent the people from obtaining their liberty, resistance, on their part, is inevitable.

"The tranquillity of the state can only be brought about by the previous removal of all dangers; and until this most fortunate period arrives, it is most important to the nation and the king to provide against the continual aggravation of these calamities by an unequivocal conduct on the part of the agents of the executive power.

"1. Why does not the king select his ministry from among those who decidedly favour the revolution? Why is he at the most critical moments surrounded by unknown or suspected characters? If it was the king's object to increase the suspicions of the people, would he proceed otherwise than he has done?

"The choice of the ministry has been at all times one of the most important prerogatives with which the king is invested; it is, as it were, the thermometer according to which the disposition of the court is ascertained; and it is easy to conceive what must now be the effect of such a choice, which at another time would have occasioned the most violent murmurs.

"To select a patriotic ministry would be the most effective measure which the king could adopt to regain the confidence of the people. But he would be strangely deceived if he believed that a single proceeding of this kind would produce this effect. It requires time and continual efforts to efface impressions which have been too deeply engraven to be forgotten in an instant.

"2. At a moment when the country stands so much in need of every means of defence which it can obtain, why has not the king offered the horses and arms belonging to his guard?

"3. Why does he not request the enactment of a law subjecting the expenses of the civil list to a public scrutiny, by which the nation would be assured that it is not converted to an improper use, or otherwise employed?

"4. Another great measure by which the people would be tranquilized, inasmuch as it would evince the predisposition of his majesty, would be to move himself for the enactment of a law regulating the education of the royal prince, then immediately consigning that precious pledge to the care of a person in whose principles the nation could repose confidence.

"5. Another circumstance of which the people complain, is, that the decree enforcing the disbanding of the general staff has never been sanctioned. The reserve which his majesty evinces in according his sanction to decrees of the legislature which are so eagerly desired by the public, with whose anxiety thereupon the king is not unacquainted, cannot fail to provoke the discussions relative to the constitutional question, whether the king has the right of exercising the authority of the veto in extraordinary cases, and is not of a nature to quiet the alarms and discontent that prevail.

"6. It is a matter of importance in the public opinion, that the command of the troops should be confided to other hands than those of M. Lafayette.

It is most evident that that officer can no longer be of service to the public.

"We conclude with one general observation; viz., that whatever can allay the suspicions of the people, and promote their confidence in the king, should not be omitted. If the king adopts this resolution, and acts up to it cordially and with perseverance, the constitution is saved."

A copy of Thierry's Letter to Base.

"I have been again censured for receiving the letter which you transmitted me, and which in my zeal for the king's interest I was determined to lay before him.

"He has, however, permitted me to reply:

"1. That he never neglected the choice of his ministers.
"2. That the declaration of war was made by the very ministers who called themselves the patriots.

"3. That he had tried his utmost at the proper time to prevent the coalition of foreign powers, but that now they had collected on the frontiers; that he possessed no other means of dispersing them than those which he had already put in force.

"4. That he had ever observed the constitution with the strictest scrupulosity, but that many who accused him had, on the contrary, violated it continually."

NOTE 46. Page 124, col. 1.

The following paper is one of those referred to by M. Lally-Tolendal in his letter to the king of Prussia.

Copy of the Minutes of the Sitting held the 14th of August, 1792, written in the handwriting of Lally-Tolendal.

"4th August.

"In the presence of M. Montmorin, formerly minister for foreign affairs; M. Bertram, minister for maritime affairs; M. de Clermont Tonnerre; M. de Lally-Tolendal; M. Malouet; M. de Gouvernet, and M. de Gillera. After three hours' deliberation, we each communicated whatever had come to his knowledge with respect to the impending insurrection. I had received an anonymous letter, in which I was informed, that conferences had been held on this subject at Sauterre's house, in which it was agreed that an attack should be made on the Tuilleries, the king should be assassinated, the dauphin carried off, to be dealt with afterwards as circumstances might require, or in case the king should not be killed, the whole royal family should be made prisoners. We then unanimously resolved upon his majesty's departure from Paris under an escort of the Swiss, and accompanied by ourselves and our friends, who were very numerous. We reckoned upon M. de Lamoignon, who had offered to come up from Rouen to our assistance, and also upon the co-operation of M. de Lafayette. Just as our deliberations concluded, M. de Malherbes arrived; he came to beg of madame de Montmorin and madame de Beaumont, her daughter, to quit Paris immediately, as he foresaw the approaching storm. M. de Malherbes gave us further intelligence respecting the insurrection, and we unanimously agreed that M. de Montmorin should go immediately to the palace, to inform the king of the events which had come to our knowledge, and

to communicate to him the resolutions we had come to. The king apparently acceded to all our requests that evening. On the following morning we all again assembled at the Tuilleries, and I conversed a long time with M. the duke de Choiseul, who perfectly coincided in our opinions, and urged the king at all hazards to fly; but he was astonished to find that the king had altered his determination, and was resolved rather to expose himself to every danger than commence a civil war. The decree of dethronement was to be pronounced on the Thursday following. The troops of Lafayette were now the only resource. I immediately sent off a despatch to him, containing a project which I desired him to communicate to the duke of Brunswick, on the first tidings he might receive of the dethronement."

NOTE 47. Page 149, col. 1.

The following contains some valuable information as to the September murders, which exhibit these frightful scenes in their true light. The most important of these disclosures were made at the Jacobins, and were published by the deputies which arose in the Convention.

(Sitting of Monday, 29 October, 1792.)

"Chabot. This morning Louvet has noticed a fact which it is highly essential should be set right. He has told us that the events of the 2nd of September were not brought about by the same men as those of the 10th of August; but I, from ocular testimony, assert that they were. He has told us that there were not two hundred persons engaged therein, but I, for my part, tell him that I passed under an arch of ten thousand sabres. I appeal to Bazire, Colon, and other deputies who were with me for the truth of what I say; from the court of the monks up to the prison of the Abbaye, it was hardly possible for us to pass. I myself counted among them one hundred and fifty federalists. It is possible that Louvet and his adherents were not present at these popular excursions. However, while any one can coolly utter such a speech as Louvet has just done he cannot possess much humanity; for my part, since I have heard his speech I should not like to sleep by the side of him for fear of being assassinated. I call upon Pétion to declare if there were not more than two hundred men at this execution, but it is nothing more than consistent that the intriguers should shirk the recollection of the events of that day of which France has received so little information. . . . Their object is to cut off the patriots one by one. They want to impeach Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and Sauterre. They will soon have Bazire, Merlin, Chabot, and Montant, and even Grangeneuve, unless he takes up with them; they will next propose a decree against the entire faubourg Saint-Antoine, against the forty-eight sections, and we shall be . . . in all eight thousand men under arms; they must, however, entertain some doubt of their strength since they now call for an ostracism."

(Sitting of Monday, the 5th November.)

"Fabre d'Églantine made some observations upon the events of the 2nd September: he positively states that it was the men of the 10th of August who had broken open the prisons of the

Abbaye, Orleans, and Versailles. He said that at this critical period, he had seen the same men come to Danton, and express their satisfaction by rubbing their hands; that one among them desired that Morande should be sacrificed: he adds, that he has seen Roland in the garden of the minister for foreign affairs, pale, downcast, supporting his head against a tree, and calling for the transference of the convention to Tours or to Blois. He also added, that Danton was the only one who showed the greatest energy on that day; that Danton never despaired for the safety of the country; that by stamping on the earth he could cause tens of thousands of its defenders to issue forth, and that he had sufficient moderation not to abuse the species of dictatorship with which the national assembly had invested him, by decreeing that those who thwarted the ministerial operation should suffer death. Fabre next declares that he has received a letter from madame Roland, in which the wife of the minister for the home department begs him to lend his assistance to some contrivance devised for carrying some decrees of the convention. The speaker requires that the society should order the preparation of an address which should contain all the minute historical facts of the events that had taken place from the acquittal of Lafayette up to this very day."

"*Chabot*. These are the facts that are necessary to be known. On the 10th of August the people then being in a state of insurrection wanted to sacrifice the Swiss; at this period the Brissotins did not consider themselves the men of the 10th August, for they came to implore us to have mercy on them; those were the expressions of Lasource. I was a god on that occasion; I saved one hundred and fifty Swiss; I myself at the gate of the Feuillans stopped the people who wished to make their way into the hall to sacrifice these unfortunate Swiss to their vengeance: the Brissotins then were afraid that they would also be included in the massacre. After what I had done on the occasion of the 10th August, I expected that on the 2nd September I should be sent on deputation to the people: well! the extraordinary commission then presided over by Brissot, then supreme, did not elect me! who did they choose I why, Dusaix, to whom they actually associated Bazire. They did not at that time know what men were fit to influence the people and stop the effusion of blood. I happened to be on my way to the deputation; Bazire asked me to join him, he took me there. . . . Had Dusaix any special instructions? I know not, but what I know is that Dusaix would not allow any one to speak. In the midst of an assemblage of ten thousand men, among whom were one hundred and fifty Marseillais, Dusaix got upon a chair; he felt considerably at a loss: he had to address men armed with daggers. When he had at last obtained silence, I promptly spoke to him these words, 'If you can manage things well you will stop the effusion of blood; say to the Parisians that it is for their own interest that there should be an end put to these massacres, in order that the departments should not conceive any apprehension as to the safety of the national convention now about to assemble at Paris. . . . Dusaix heard what I said: and whether it were bad faith, or the testiness of all age, he did not do as I had told him;

and this is the M. Dusaix who is now held up as the only man worthy of the deputation of Paris. . . . A second fact not less important than the former is, that the massacre of the prisoners at Orleans, has not been committed by the Parisians. This. . . . massacre must necessarily appear more detestable, since it was committed at a later period than the 10th August, and by a smaller number of persons. Yet the intriguers have never alluded to it, they have never said a single word on the subject; it is that an opponent of Brissot had perished, the minister of foreign affairs, who had driven away his protégé Narbonne. . . . As for myself, if I at the gate of the Feuillans have stopped the people who wanted to sacrifice the Swiss, how much more could not the legislative assembly have prevented the effusion of blood. If then it be a crime, it ought to be laid to the charge of the legislative assembly, or rather to Brissot who then devised it."

NOTE 43. Page 167, col. 2.

The following is a description of the two sides of the Convention, from the pen of the minister Garat*, the only person who has formed a just conclusion upon the characters who figured in this revolution.

(Extracted from Garat's Memoirs.)

"Nearly all the men of whom I have just spoken belonged to the right side of the assembly, and I could perceive no other disposition among them than that which they manifested in their private lives. I observed in them a republican spirit, which disdained to obey any man but one who spoke in the name of the nation and conformably to law, and that republicanism of intellect, much more rare, which decomposes and recomposes the whole organization of a society of men equal in rights as in nature, and which discovers, by a happy art, the profound secret of associating together, in a great republic, things apparently the most unsovereign, equality and submission to magistrates; that agitation which keeps the spirit of a people ever active, and a constant and invariable maintenance of order; a government absolute in authority over individuals and the multitude, and always subject to the nation; an executive power effective, imposing in its forms, and ever displaying the majesty of the republic, but banishing the idea of any individual or personal superiority.

"On the same side of the assembly, I observed also those men who best understood the doctrines of political economy, who endeavoured to open and enlarge all the channels of individual and national wealth; to amass a public fund from the properties of the citizens, scrupulously mindful of the proportion each should contribute, according to the extent of his means; to create new sources of riches by making a judicious use of the property which had been thrown into the treasury of the republic; and to protect and maintain the freedom of every species

* I have considered it my duty to add such notes as seemed likely to prove serviceable, either as illustrations of facts little known and not duly appreciated, or as records of a style and language altogether consigned to oblivion, but yet highly characteristic. These scraps are for the most part derived from sources utterly neglected, and curious from the debates of the Jacobins, a very rare and valuable political record.

of industry without partiality or favour; regarding extensive possessions not as stagnant lakes, which receive and absorb the mountain streams, but as necessary reservoirs, destined to spread fertility over spots which would otherwise remain parched and unfruitful. These were admirable doctrines, calculated to give liberty to arts and commerce, even before it was introduced into governments, but particularly adapted to republics, and alone capable of laying a solid foundation of equality, not in a system of *frugality*, which is always violated, and which restrains the passions much less effectually than industry, but by producing a general competency, and by encouraging those pursuits and occupations whose ingenious variety, and constant and unfailling renovation, can alone employ, happily for liberty, the turbulent activity of democracies, which, after having long agitated, finally shattered and annihilated all the ancient republics in a volcano of storm and tempest, the atmosphere in which they were always enveloped.

"In the right side were five or six men of a genius sufficiently capacious to grasp the extensive theories of social order and political economy, and several others capable of comprehending and engraving new branches on these principles; there were also, belonging to this party, many who had formerly been carried away by impetuosity and violence, and who, having run through the whole circle of demagogic extravagances, now desired to counteract those evils they had previously propagated; finally, on these benches sat those gentle and amiable characters who were possessed of competent fortunes and respectable mental acquirements, and were disposed to honour all the virtues of a republic which left them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their repose, their benevolence, and their domestic happiness.

"Turning from my survey of this side, and fixing on the left side, and the *Mountain*, how great was the contrast! There I beheld the aspect of a being agitated by tumultuous passions, livid in complexion, and having the air of one just emerged from the carcase-strewn caverns of the anthropophagi, and breathing the atmosphere of hell; whose convulsive, startled, and frantic gait declared the assassin escaped from the executioner, or the fury bent upon the destruction of the human race, to avoid the terror which the consciousness of man inspired in his guilty soul. Under the reign of despotism, which he had not been able to stain with blood as he had done liberty, this man had endeavoured to make a revolution in sciences, and had attacked, by his daring and flimsy systems, the greatest discoveries of modern times, and of the human intellect. Studying the history of centuries back, his attention had been arrested by the fives of those exterminators who had transformed cities into deserts, to repeople these deserts again with beings formed after their own image, that is, of tigers; this is all that struck him in the annals of the human race, and these monsters were the objects of his imitation. By an instinct similar to that of the ferocious beasts of the forest, rather than by any profound perversity of intellect, he observed into how many and great extravagances and crimes it was possible to reduce a people, whose religious and political claims had been just broken; to bring about these horrors was the object of all his writings, words, and actions. He fell

under the dagger of a woman! But more, fifty thousand, agitators, conformed to his own image, soon sprung up from the bosom of the republic!

"By the side of this man were others who were not capable of conceiving similar atrocities, but who, being thrown with him, by an act of extreme audacity, into the midst of events whose precipitous elevation made them giddy, whilst the dangers which surrounded them made them tremble, although disavowing the maxims of this monster, which they had nevertheless already acted upon, were not sorry to be considered capable of proceeding to the same lengths. Detesting Marat, they were yet willing to make use of him. They placed him in the midst of them, or even put him in the foreground, and might be said to carry him in their bosom, as the head of Medusa. The repulsion and terror which such a character inspired was universal; his image was ever before all eyes; he was considered as composing the whole *Mountain*, and the whole *Mountain* was thought to be personified in him. Among its chiefs many, indeed, resembled Marat more in the undisguised boldness of their speech, than in any near approximation to his ferocity.

"But of these (and here I differ in opinion with many respectable men) were many who, allied to their party more by events than inclination, regretted their renunciation of wisdom and humanity, and would have displayed many virtues, and have rendered many services to the republic, had they not been looked upon as outcasts. All those who were passionate enthusiasts of liberty, flocked to the *Mountain*, as to a military post, but understood little of its theory; all those who considered equality menaced, or even violated by lofty ideas or elegant language; all those who, educated in cottages or work-shops, could only recognise a republican in the costume which they themselves wore; all those who, entering for the first time into the career of the revolution, sought to signalize themselves by impetuosity and violence, their only road to celebrity; and all those who, in the ardour of youth, and more adapted to serve the state in our armies than in the sanctuary of the laws, seeing that the birth of the republic took place amidst the noise of thunder, believed that its decrees should be promulgated, and its spirit preserved in the same manner. In the left side of the assembly also, many of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a place, who had been educated in the proscribed ranks of the nobility and the priesthood, who, though pure in principle, were always exposed to suspicions, and fled to the heights of the *Mountain* to escape from accusation: there too those grave and melancholy beings, who, having too often perceived duplicity united to politeness, recognised virtue only in a habit of gloom, and liberty in a garb of ferocity, thronged together to nourish their suspicions, and to surround themselves with phantoms of their own creation; there sat also some individuals who had attained some knowledge of the sciences, and proud of possessing acquirements immediately applicable to the mechanic arts, disdainfully separated themselves from the men of letters and philosophers, whose attainments were not so directly useful to the common trades of life, and are, consequently, not appreciated till a people become generally enlightened, and, finally, with the *Mountain* all those took their seats,

who were disposed to go beyond, rather than fall short of the energy necessary to propel the career of the revolution.

NOTE 49. Page 173, col. 2.

Address of Collot D'Herbois to Dumouriez after the Campaign of Angonne, extracted from the Journal of the Jacobins.

(Sitting of Sunday, the 14th of October, the first year of the Republic.)

"In speaking of our armies, I am happy it is in the presence of the soldier whom you have just heard. I disapprove of the reply of the president: I have already frequently said that no president should answer for the members of a society, but his reply has been addressed to all the soldiers of our army. His speech, however, has given a lively testimony of our satisfaction; Dumouriez will partake of it with all his brothers in arms, for he knows that without them he could not have acquired any glory. We must accustom ourselves to this language. Dumouriez has done his duty, and this is his greatest recompense. It is not because he is a general that I praise him, but because he is a French soldier.

"Is it not true, general, that it is glorious to command a republican army? Have you not found a great difference between this army and one of despotism? Your soldiers have not only the bravery natural to Frenchmen; they are not content with despising death, for who fears death? But those inhabitants of Lille and Thionville, who brave in cold blood the attacks of the enemy, who are unmoved in the midst of the roar of cannon and the destruction of their houses, do they not display all the virtues! Oh! yes; and these virtues are more honourable than all their triumphs. A new manner of making war is now invented, and our enemies will never find it out; tyrants can do nothing when freemen rise up in their own defence.

"A great number of our brethren have fallen in the cause of liberty; they are dead, but their memory is dear to us; they have left us examples which survive in our hearts; but do those live with whom they have contended? No; they have sunk down, and their cohorts are mere animated carcases, become putrid on the very ground where they fought, and so thoroughly infected, that the sun of liberty would scarcely purify them. This cloud of moving skeletons resembles the skeletons of tyranny, and like it, must soon fall. What have become of their generals of great renown? Their very shadows have vanished before the omnipotent genius of liberty; they fly, and have only dungeons for their retreat; for dungeons will shortly be the palaces of despots; they fly, because the people rise up.

"It is not a king who has appointed you, Dumouriez, but thy fellow-citizens: recollect that the general of a republic should never negotiate with tyrants; recollect that a general like yourself should be the servant only of liberty.—You have heard of Themistocles; he had saved the Greeks by the battle of Salamis; he was calumniated (you have enemies, Dumouriez, you will be calumniated, and it is therefore that I speak to you). Themistocles was calumniated; he was punished unjustly by his citizens; he sought an asylum with tyrants, but was always Themistocles. It was proposed to him

to take arms against his country: *My sword shall never serve tyrants*, said he, and plunged it into the heart of the proposer. Recollect also the history of Scipio.—Antiochus endeavoured to seduce this great man, by offering him his son as a hostage. Scipio replied, 'All your riches are insufficient to buy my conscience, and my love of my country is above all bribery.'

"Many people groan in slavery; you will soon deliver them. What a glorious mission! Success is not doubtful; the citizens of those nations wait for you, and those who are here urge you on. . . . Yet you must be blamed for an excess of generosity towards your enemies: you have let the king of Prussia off rather too much in the French fashion, that is the ancient French fashion, understand (applause). But we hope that Austria will pay double for this lenity; she is deeply in our debt; you cannot make her pay too dearly for the outrages she has committed against the human race.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez (cheers); thou wilt go through Courtray. At that place the French name has been profaned; a general has abused the expectation of the people; the traitor Jarry has been firing dwelling-houses. I have not hitherto addressed myself to thy courage, I now appeal to thy heart. Bear in your mind those unfortunate inhabitants of Courtray; do not deceive their hopes this time; promise them the nation's justice, the nation will justify thy promises.

"When thou shalt be at Brussels . . . I have nought to observe on thy conduct there . . . if thou shouldst there find an execrable woman, who, under the walls of Lisle, has come to satisfy her ferocity with the spectacle of unanguined cannon balls; . . . but this woman does not expect thee . . . shouldst thou find her she will be thy prisoner; we have others also of the same family . . . ; thou wilt send her up here . . . ; and cause her to be shaved so close that she shall never more wear a wig.

"At Brussels liberty will revive under thy auspices. A whole nation will be transported with joy; thou wilt restore children to their fathers, husbands to their wives, and wives to their husbands; the sight of their happiness will divert thee after thy toils. Children, citizens, girls, and women shall press around thee; all of them shall embrace thee as their father; . . . What felicity thou art going to enjoy, Dumouriez . . . I my wife . . . she is a Brussels woman; she will also embrace thee."—This speech was frequently interrupted by loud applause.

NOTE 50. Page 174, col. 2.

Narrative of the Visit that Marat paid to Dumouriez at Mademoiselle Candeille's, extracted from the French Republican Journal, (Journal de la République Française), and written by Marat himself in his number of Wednesday, 17th October, 1792.

Declaration made by the People's Friend.

"Not so much astonished as indignant at witnessing the old servants of the court placed by the course of events at the head of our armies; and since the 10th August, kept in office by influence, intrigue, and folly, carry their audacity to such lengths as to degrade and treat as criminals two patriot battalions under the ridiculous, and most probably the false, pretence that some individuals had massacred

four Prussian deserters, I offered myself at the tribune of the Jacobins to unveil this odious conspiracy, and to ask that two . . . commissaries distinguished by their civism, should accompany me to Dumouriez, and bear witness of his answers to my interrogatories. I repaired to his house with the citizens Bentsable and Manteau, two of my colleagues in the convention. The answer was, that he was at the play, and that he would sup in town.

"We ascertained that he had returned from the *Yaridis* [theatre]; we then went to find him out at the club of D. Cypher, where it was said he had an appointment: we missed him by a moment. At last, we learnt that he was engaged to supper in the rue Chausseraine at Talma's little box there. A long train of carriages and brilliant illuminations pointed out to us the temple where the son of Thalia was entertaining a child of Mars. We were surprised to find the national guard of Paris inside the house, and also outside. After having passed through an ante-chamber full of servants, mingled with attendants in Hungarian liveries (*heiduques*), we came to a withdrawing room filled with a large company.

"At the door was Santerre, general of the Parisian army, performing the office of a footman to announce the names. He announced my name in a loud voice the moment he noticed me, a piece of indiscretion that exceedingly annoyed me, inasmuch as it enabled some deceitful personages with whom I should have been glad to have been better acquainted, on their guard. Nevertheless, I saw quite enough to trace the course of the intrigues in that quarter. I shall say nothing about ten fairies or so who were to add to the gaiety of the entertainment. Political matters in all probability did not bring them there. Neither shall I say any thing of some national officers who paid their respects to the great general; nor yet of some old servants of the court who accompanied him under the disguise of side-de-camp. And to conclude, I shall say nothing of the master of the house, who stood in the midst of all, dressed like a common stage-player. But I can't help stating, for the benefit of the conventional operations, and as a piece of intelligence for those who have the dealing out decrees, that in this august assembly were Kernaint, that great man of all-work, Lebrun, and Roland, and Lasource; . . . and Chenier, all of them hirelings of the federalist republic; as well as Dulanre and Gornas their libellous whippersnappers (*galopins*). As all was noise and confusion, I could distinguish no more than these conspirators: in all probability they mustered strong; and as it was by no means late, it is highly probable they had not all arrived; for the Verguands, the Cammeas, the Rabands, the Lacroix, the Guadets, the Barbaroux, and other parties to the plot, were no doubt engaged to this entertainment, inasmuch as they belong to the association.

"Before giving an account of our conversation with Dumouriez, I pause for an instant, to make with the judicious reader some few observations by no means pointed in this place. Can any one conceive that this generalissimo of the republic, who has suffered the king of Prussia to escape him at Verdun, and who has capitulated with the enemy, whom he could have stormed in his own camp, and made him lay down his arms instead of allowing his retreat, should choose so critical a moment as

this to abandon the armies under his command, to run about to plays, to get homage and attention paid to himself, and to engage in profligate debauches with an actor and with the nymphs of the opera.

"On entering the withdrawing room, where the entertainment was prepared, I saw plainly enough that my presence was a restraint upon the gaiety; which can very easily be conceived when it is considered that I am a scarerow to the enemies of my country. Dumouriez, in particular, appeared extremely disconcerted; I begged him to walk with us into another room, in order to have a few minutes' conversation with him. I began first, and here is our conversation word for word: 'We are members of the national convention, and we are come, sir, to beg of you to afford us some explanations upon the real facts of the affair of the two battalions, the *Mauconrd* and the *Republican*, accused by you, with having in cold blood murdered four Prussian deserters. We have gone over the papers of the military committee and those of the war department; and we have not therein found the least proof to warrant conviction, and no one can give us better information on the subject than yourself. . . . Gentlemen, I have sent all the papers to the minister. . . . We assure you, sir, that we have in our hands a statement made in his offices, and under his name, purporting that there are no facts whatever to warrant a conviction for this pretended offence, and therefore we must address ourselves to you to see if there be any . . . But, gentlemen, I have made my statement to the convention, and I refer you to her. . . . Allow us, sir, to observe to you, that the information you have given is not sufficient, inasmuch as the committees of the convention, to whom this affair has been referred, have declared in their report that they were unable to come to any conclusion for want of evidence and proofs of the offence as charged. We therefore beg you to tell us whether you are acquainted with the real facts. . . . Certainly. I know them of my own knowledge. . . . And is not that by a private accusation made to you on the word of M. Duchasseau? . . . But, gentlemen, when I say a certain thing, I think I ought to be believed. . . . Sir, if we were of the same opinion on that matter with yourself, we should not have taken the course that brings us here. We have great reasons for doubting it; numerous members of the military committee declare to us that these pretended Prussians were four French emigrants. . . . Well, gentlemen, when that shall be. . . . Sir, that will entirely change the state of the affair, and without being in haste to approve the conduct of these battalions, although they may be perfectly innocent; there are circumstances which have induced this massacre, which it behoves us to know; again, letters from the army declare that these emigrants have been discovered to be spies sent by the enemy, and that they themselves were in mutiny against the national guards. How is this, sir, do you then approve of insubordination by soldiers? . . . No, sir, I by no means approve of insubordination by soldiers; but I abhor the tyranny of commanders: I have strong grounds for believing that this same is a mere machination of Duchasseau against the patriot battalions, and the way in which you have treated them is revolting. Mr. Marat, you are too sharp, and I can-

not enter into any explanation with you.' At this

point. Dumouriez firing himself hard pressed, freed himself from his awkward situation by leaving as : my two colleagues however followed him, and in the conversation they had with him, he confined himself to saying that he had sent the papers to the minister. During their interview I perceived myself surrounded by all Dumouriez's aids-de-camp as well as by the officers of the Parisian guard. Santerre did his best to conciliate me; he spoke to me as to the necessity there was that subordination should be maintained in the military. 'I know that as well as you,' I answered; 'but I am quite disgusted at the manner in which the soldiers of the country are treated. I still have at heart the massacres of Nancy and the Champ-de-Mars.' Here some of Dumouriez's aids-de-camp began to declaim against the agitators. 'Cease these idle declamations,' I then cried; 'the only agitators in our armies are the infamous officers, their spies and their perfidious courtesans, that we are so foolish as to leave at the head of our troops.' What I said was pointed at Moreton, Chabrilant, and at Bourdois, of whom one was an old court servant, and the other a spy of Lafayette's.

"I was indignant at all I had heard, and of every fresh atrocity exhibited in the odious conduct of our generals. Not being able to stay longer, I quitted the party, and saw with astonishment in the neighbouring room, the doors of which were open, a great many liveried servants of Dumouriez with naked swords. I do not know what could have been the object of this ridiculous farce; if it had been done with the idea of intimidating me, it must be admitted that Dumouriez's footmen have great notions of liberty. Have patience, good sirs, we shall teach you what liberty is. In the mean time, believe that your master has a far greater dread of the tip of my pen, than I have for the broadswords of his German bandits (*chempans*)."

NOTE 51. Page 203, col. 2.

Amongst the most cool and impartial spirits of the revolution, must be named Pétion. No one has so judiciously commented upon the two parties that divided the convention. His natural love of justice was so well known, that both sides consented to be bound by his decision. The accusations that took place from the opening of the assembly caused great dissensions among the jacobins. Fabre d'Églantine proposed their being referred to Pétion's judgment. The following is the mode in which he expressed himself.

(Sitting of the 29th October, 1792.)

"There is another measure that I consider of use, and which will produce a greater effect: in almost every instance, when a vast intrigue is in concoction, it has wanted the assistance of a greater power; it has therefore to make every exertion to obtain a great personal influence. If there existed a man who had observed every thing, and fairly appreciated the merits of either party, you would never hesitate to declare that this man, friend to truth, ought to make them known. Well, I propose that you invite this man, a member of your own club, to give his judgment upon the crimes that are imputed to the patriots; and charge his virtuous disposition to enunciate his conclusions from all that he has seen: this man, then, is Pétion. Whatever allowance that the man may

make for his friends, I venture to say that the intriguers have not corrupted Pétion; he is always pure, he is always sincere; I say it here, I often go to the convention to speak to him at troubled periods, and though he does not tell me that he groans, I see that he groans in spirit; this morning he wanted to ascend the tribune. He could not refuse to write what he thought, and we shall see that in spite of what I get out of him by this means, the intriguers can make him change his mind. Mind this, citizens, that this course will of itself prove that all you want is truth; it is a token of respect that you will pay to the virtue of a good patriot, with this additional motive, that the leaders are so wrapped up in the idea of his integrity as to be something. I require the motion to be put to the vote" (*cheers*).

"*Legendre*. The blow was ready to fall, that is clear enough: the circulation of Brissot's speech, the home secretary's report, the speech of Louvet in his pocket, all shows that he had made up his mind definitively as to what he should do. Brissot's speech upon the *exarure* question, contains all that Louvet has said: Roland's report was only made for the purpose of giving Louvet an opportunity of speaking. I approve of Fabre's motion: the convention will give Robespierre priority of motion on Monday: I ask that the club suspend its opinion till then; it is impossible that virtue should be trampled upon by malice in a free country.

"After this quotation, I think I ought to set before the reader the piece that Pétion wrote, in reference to the dispute between Louvet and Robespierre; this, with the citations from Garat, is one which reflects the greatest light upon the character and behaviour of the men of that day, and are those that history ought to preserve as being the most capable of diffusing correct ideas as to this period.

"Citizens! I had made up my mind to maintain perfect silence with regard to the events that have taken place since the 10th of August; I was induced to adopt this reserved line of conduct from a sense of delicacy, and from a desire to serve the public.

"But it is impossible to remain silent any longer; from all sides my testimony is called for; I am urged by every one to deliver my opinion, and I shall candidly declare all that is come under my knowledge concerning individuals, and what I think of the present state of our affairs.

"I have been a close observer of the scenes of the revolution; I have seen cabals, intrigues, and fearful struggles between tyranny and liberty, between vice and virtue.

"When the passions of men appear without disguise,—when the secret springs which have directed the most important operations are made manifest,—when events are traced clearly to their causes,—when all the perils which liberty has encountered are recollected, and when we look down into that abyss of corruption which threatened every moment to engulf us, we may well ask ourselves with astonishment, by what train of wonderful circumstances we have made so rapid a progress in the cause in which we engaged.

"Revolutions should be seen from a distance; through the vista of ages their stains are not perceptible; posterity only considers their results; our grandsons will look back upon us as great men; may they be better than we are!

"I shall pass over all events which were anterior to that day ever memorable for the elevation of liberty on the ruins of tyranny, and which converted a monarchy into a republic.

"The men who attribute to themselves the glory of that day, are those to whom it least belongs; it is due to those who prepared the way for it; to the impulsive necessity which made it inevitable; to the brave confederates, and those who concerted long before the plan of the insurrection, to the people, and to the tutelary genius which has presided over the destinies of France since the first assembling of its representatives!

"It must, however, be confessed that, at one moment, its success was dubious; and those who are truly informed of the details of this day, know who were the intrepid defenders of their country, who dispossessed the Swiss and other satellites of despotism of the field of battle, and who were those who rallied our citizen phalanxes when they wavered.

"The events of this day would nevertheless have equally taken place without that concurrence of the emissaries of several sections, who met together at the house of the commune: the members of the ancient municipality, who had not separated during the night, were in sitting at half past nine o'clock in the morning.

"Yet these emissaries, it must be granted, entered into a bold measure, by investing themselves with all the municipal power, and putting themselves in the place of the council-general, whose corruption and weakness they feared, and thus exposing themselves to the greatest dangers, should the insurrection have proved unsuccessful.

"If the emissaries had had the wisdom to lay down their authority afterwards, and return to the rank of simple citizens after the noble action they had performed, they would have acquired great honour; but they could not resist the attractions of power, and the lust of dominion overpowered them.

"In the first intoxication of conquest, and liberty, and after so violent a commotion, it was impossible that order and tranquillity should be instantly restored; it was unjust to expect it; the reproaches, therefore, which have been addressed to the council-general of the commune were perfectly uncalculated for, and sprung from ignorance of their position; but the emissaries then began to merit censure, when they prolonged the insurrection beyond its necessary term.

"The national assembly had pronounced their will; they had acted greatly; they passed decrees which saved the nation; they had suspended the king; they had effaced the line of demarcation which separated the citizens into two classes, and had convoked the convention! The royalist party was down. All should, therefore, have rallied round the assembly,—have fortified it by public opinion, and have imparted confidence to its members; both duty and policy pointed out this line of conduct.

"But the commune preferred setting up as a rival to the assembly; she entered into a struggle which only served to throw disgrace upon all which had happened, and represented the assembly as acting under the imperious yoke of necessity; she obeyed or resisted its decrees, according as they favoured or thwarted her views; she had

her representations before the legislature in a domineering and irritating manner; she affected power, and knew neither how to enjoy her triumphs, nor to procure pardon for her usurpations.

"The members of this commune succeeded in persuading some, that whilst the revolution lasted, all power should return to its first source,—that the national assembly was destitute of any decisive character,—that its existence was precarious, and that the assemblies of the commune were alone possessed of potency and legality.

"To others it was insinuated that the leading men in the national assembly harboured perfidious projects, and designed to overthrow liberty, and deliver up the republic into the hands of foreign powers.

"By these persuasions, many members of the council believed themselves in the exercise of a legitimate right when they usurped authority, thought they were resisting oppression when they opposed the law, and considered themselves acting as good republicans when they failed in all the duties of a citizen; yet in the midst of all this anarchy, the commune, from time to time, took salutary measures.

"I had been continued in my office, but it was no more than a vain title; I sought in vain to fulfil its functions; they were divided among many, and every one exercised them at his pleasure.

"I resorted to the council; I was dismayed by the disorder which reigned in this assembly, and especially by the spirit which seemed to prevail there; it was no longer an administrative body deliberating on the affairs of the commune, but a political assembly, invested with full powers, discussing the interests of the state, examining the laws already in existence, and promulgating new ones. Then I heard of conspiracies against the public liberty; citizens were accused, summoned to the bar, heard in their defence, summarily sentenced, acquitted, or retained prisoners; all ordinary regulations were dispensed with; the heat and hurry by which all things were precipitated along rendered every attempt at restraint impossible; all deliberations were carried on with precipitation and enthusiasm; they succeeded each other with terrifying rapidity; day and night, without any intermission, the council were always in sitting.

"I was unwilling that my name should be attached to these multitude of irregular acts, so contrary to my principles.

"I felt that it would be prudent not to approve of them, nor give them my countenance by my presence. Those who feared to see me in the council, those whom my presence displeased, were willing, nevertheless, that the people, whose confidence I preserved, should believe that I presided over their operations, and that nothing was done without my consent; my reserve, therefore, increased their dislike, but they dared not show it too openly, fearing to alienate the people, whose favour they courted.

"I appeared rarely among them, and the conduct I observed in this delicate position, between the ancient municipality, who complained of their dismissal, and the new one who pretended that they were legally instituted, was not unserviceable in restoring public tranquillity; for if I had pro-

nounced an opinion for or against either party, it would have produced a rupture which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences.

"The administration was neglected; the mayor was no longer a centre of unity; every hold of authority slipped from between my fingers, all power was divided among a multitude of competitors; every thing was left without superintendence; and all means of repression failed.

"Robespierre then took the ascendant in the council, and considering the situation of affairs, and the cast of his disposition, it would have been surprising if he had not. I heard him make a speech which saddened my heart; the question referred to the decree by which the hussars were ordered to be opened, and on this subject he declaimed in the most animated manner; he perceived nothing but precipices under his feet, and snares laid on every side for liberty; he pointed out the supposed conspirators; he addressed himself to the populace, heated their imaginations, and wrought profoundly on the passions of those who heard him.

"I replied to this speech, with the intention of tranquilizing those whom he had thrown into agitation, of dissipating his dark suspicions, and bringing back the attention of the assembly to the subject before them.

"Robespierre and his partisans drew the commune into inconsiderate measures, and urged them to extremities.

"But I did not on this account suspect his intentions; I blamed his head more than his heart; but the possible consequences of his gloomy apprehensions gave me great alarm.

"The galleries of the council daily echoed with the most violent propositions; its members could no longer persuade themselves that they were magistrates charged to watch over the execution of the laws and the maintenance of order; they regarded themselves as forming a revolutionary association.

"The assemblies of the sections were actuated by the same influence, and communicated it in their turn to others, so that, in a short time, all Paris was in a state of fermentation.

"The committee of superintendence filled the gaols with prisoners, and it cannot be denied that if many of these imprisonments were just and necessary, some were ordered on very slight grounds. But the blame of this is less to be laid on the leading men of the commune than their agents; the police was badly constituted; one man among others, whose very name makes all peaceable citizens shudder, seemed to direct all its measures; assiduous in all conferences, he mingled in all affairs; he harangued and commanded as a master; I complained loudly of this to the commune, and expressed my opinion in these words: *Morad is either the most inessate or the most wicked of men.* I have never since alluded to him.

"Justice delayed to pronounce the fate of the prisoners, and the prisons became thronged to excess. One section sent a deputation to the council of the commune on the 23rd of August, and declared formally, that the citizens, weary and indignant at the dilatoriness of justice, had determined to force open the gates of the gaols, and sacrifice to their vengeance the criminals who were confined there. This petition, which was

drawn up in the most frantic style, received no censure, and was even applauded.

"On the 25th, from a thousand to twelve hundred citizens, in arms, quitted Paris to carry off the state prisoners who were detained at Orleans, and confine them elsewhere.

"On the 27th, the national assembly called upon the department of Paris to furnish thirty thousand men to be despatched instantly to the frontiers; this decree gave rise to a new idea among the people, which concurred with those already excited.

"On the 31st, the acquittal of Montmorin roused the indignation of the populace; the report spread that he had been saved by the perfidy of a messenger of the king's, who had led the jury into error.

"At the same time, the discovery of a plot, revealed by a criminal, was published; this plot had for its object the escape of all the prisoners, who were then to spread through the city, commit every kind of excess, and, finally, carry off the king.

"The public agitation was now at its height. The commune, to excite the zeal of the citizens, had resolved to assemble them together, in military array, at the Champ-de-Mars.

"Finally, the 2nd of September arrived; and the alarm guns were fired; the tocsin sounded. Oh, day of mourning! On this signal, the people assembled, rushed into the prisons, and slew and assassinated! Manuel, and many deputies of the national assembly resorted to these scenes of carnage; their efforts were ineffectual; victims were slaughtered, even in their arms! Alas! I was enjoying a false security; I was ignorant of these massacres, for I had not lately mixed much in public business. Finally, I was informed of them, —but how! in a vague, indirect, and partial manner; it was added, at the same time, that all was then over. The most heart-rending details afterwards came to my knowledge; but I was convinced that these horrors would not be again repeated. Nevertheless they continued. I made urgent applications to the commandant; I required him to protect the prisons by an armed force. At first he made me no reply. I applied again. He then told me that he had given orders. These orders did not appear to be executed; the massacres continued. I went to the council of the commune; I hastened to the "Hôtel de la Force," with many of my colleagues. The citizens, apparently peaceably disposed, obstructed the street which led to this prison; a very weak guard was at its gates. I entered. No, never can the spectacle I there witnessed be effaced from my heart; I saw three municipal officers hanging in their scarfs; I saw two men quietly seated at a table, the prison registers open before them, and calling over the names of the prisoners; others interrogated them; others acted as jury-men and judges; about a dozen executioners, their naked arms covered with blood, some with clubs, others with sabres and cutlasses, executed instant sentence on the wretched victims; the citizens waited impatiently without, receiving with mournful silence the sentences of death, and with exclamations of joy those of acquittal.

"Both the judges and executioners seemed to enjoy the same security as if they had been called upon by the law to exercise these functions. They

boasted of their justice, of their attention to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, of the services they had rendered to the republic, and they demanded,—can it be believed!—they demanded payment for their time spent in these butcheries! I was really confounded at their audacity!

"I addressed them in the austere language of the law. I expressed the deep indignation which I felt. I made them go out before me. But scarcely had I departed, when they returned to their work. I again drove them out. But during the night they completed their horrible butcheries.

"Were these assassins commanded or directed by other men! I have had several lists of names in my possession, I have received reports, I have collected some facts, but if I had to pronounce my opinion as a judge, I could not say of any one, Behold the instigator.

"I think, however, that these crimes would not have had such a free course, and that they might have been arrested, if those who possessed the means of putting a stop to them, had beheld them with horror; but, I must say, for it is the truth, that many public men, many defenders of their country, believed these disastrous and dishonouring scenes necessary to free the nation from dangerous characters, and strike terror into the hearts of the conspirators; they believed that crimes odious to morality were necessary to policy.

"This idea relaxed the energies of those to whom the law has confided the maintenance of public order, to whom it has committed the defence of persons and property.

"It is easy to conceive how the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September have been connected with the immortal day of the 10th of August, and how the scenes of the former have been represented as the natural consequences of those of the latter; but, for my own part, I cannot confound glory with infamy, nor consent to dishonour the 10th of August by imputing to it the crimes of September.

"The committee of superintendance issued on the 4th, whilst the massacres still continued, an order of arrest against Roland. Danton being informed of it, hastened, with Robespierre, to the mayor's; he expressed the warmest indignation against this arbitrary act of madness, which would have ruined, not Roland, but those from whom it proceeded. On his representations, it was recalled.

"I had an animated explanation with Robespierre. I reproached him, to his face, in terms which friendship would have softened in his absence; I said to him: 'Robespierre, you are the cause of much evil. Your denunciations, your alarms, your hatreds, and your suspicions, throw the people into a ferment. But explain yourself; have you facts, have you proofs? I myself contend with you; I love only truth; I am only at the establishment of liberty.'

"'You allow yourself to be prejudiced. You allow yourself to be imposed upon,' replied he, 'you are set against me; you see my enemies daily, you see Brissot and his party.'

"'You deceive yourself, Robespierre, no one is more free from prejudices than myself. I judge of men and things with the strictest impartiality.'

"'It is true I see Brissot, but it is rarely; you

do not know him, but I have known him from his childhood. I have seen him at moments when he has been perfectly free from reserve, and has discovered his heart to me in all the confidence of friendship. I know his disinterestedness, I know his principles, and I protest to you they are pure. Those who make him the head of a party, have a most incorrect idea of his character; he is enlightened, and talented, but he has neither that reserve, nor that dissimulation, nor that power of captivation, nor that methodical mind which are necessary for the leader of a party, and what will astonish you more is, that, far from being able to lead others, he is very easily led himself.'

"Robespierre insisted on the truth of his suspicions, but confined himself to generalities. 'For Heaven's sake,' said I, 'explain yourself. Tell me frankly all that is upon your heart, all that you know.'

"'Well!' replied he, 'I believe that Brissot belongs to Brunswick!'

"'How deeply you are in error,' cried I; 'this is really madness. How does your imagination mislead you! Would not Brunswick be the first to take his head! Brissot is not senseless enough to doubt it. Which of us can seriously capitulate now? which of us has not our life at stake! Let us banish these groundless suspicions!'

"I return to those events of which I have endeavoured to give a slight sketch. These events, and a few of those which preceded the celebrated day of the 10th of August, and the occurrences of many facts and circumstances, about the same time, have given rise to an opinion that some intriguing characters aimed, by these means, at possessing themselves of the physical force of the people, and of thus seizing on absolute authority; Robespierre has been openly pointed out; his connexions have been scrutinized, his conduct minutely examined; the expressions which have escaped from his friends have been caught up, and it has been concluded that he entertains the insensate ambition of making himself dictator of his country.

"But the character of Robespierre satisfactorily explains all his actions. He breathes in an atmosphere of gloom and suspicion; he perceives, on all sides, plots, treasons, and pretexts; his bilious temperament, and epileptic imaginations, present every object to him in dark colours; imperious in his opinion, perversely attached to his own ideas, impatient of contradiction, never acknowledging his errors, or pardoning the wounds inflicted on his self-love, accusing others on the slightest grounds, worried by doubts, believing himself the object of universal attention, considering himself persecuted, devoured by egotism, a stranger to all prudential motives, by which he often injures the causes he defends, aiming, above all things, at the favour of the people, craving them incessantly, and valuing, beyond price, their affection and applause; these are the causes which have made him suspected of aspiring to the dictatorial power.

"For my own part, I cannot persuade myself that this imagination has ever entered into his thoughts, has ever been the object of his desires, or the aim of his ambitions.

"Nevertheless, it is certain that he is singularly attached to this idea, that he ceases not to call for a dictatorship, which he represents as the only thing

which can save us from the anarchy of which he himself is a prime cause. But for whom does he solicit this tyrannical power! You would never believe it; you know not to what a pitch of extravagance his delirious vanity carries him. He solicits it for Marat; for a being, who, if his folly was not surpassed by his ferocity, would be the most ridiculous object on the earth; but nature seems to have set upon him a seal of reprobation."

NOTE 52. Page 228, col. 1.

Amongst the most curious opinions expressed with regard to Marat and Robespierre, we must not omit that which was uttered by the Jacobin club on the sitting of Sunday, the 23rd December, 1792. I know nothing that can better delineate the spirit and the bias of the moment, than the discussion which arose upon the character of these two personages. The following is an extract:—
"Desfieux reads the correspondence. A letter from one club, whose name has escaped us, gave rise to a great discussion well calculated to cause important reflections. This club declares to the parent society that it is unalterably attached to the principles of the jacobins: it observes that it does not suffer itself to be blinded by the calumnies so profusely uttered against Marat and Robespierre, and that it preserves its entire esteem and veneration for those two incorruptible friends of the people.

"This letter has been loudly applauded, but it has been followed by a discussion, which Brissot and Gorsas, who are assuredly prophets, had announced the preceding day.

"Robert. It is very surprising that the names of Marat and Robespierre are always indiscriminately used. How much must the public mind have been corrupted in the departments, since no distinction is made between these two defenders of the people! They both possess rare virtues, 'tis true; Marat is a patriot, he has estimable qualities, I admit, but how different he is from Robespierre. The latter is discreet, moderate in his measures; while Marat is exaggerated, and does not possess that discretion which is so characteristic of Robespierre. It is not enough to be a mere patriot; we must, if we wish to be of real service to the people, be reserved in carrying out our measures, and Robespierre far excels Marat in the mode in which he carries out his designs.

"It is high time, citizens, to pluck away the veil that conceals the truth from the eyes of the departments; it is indeed time that they should be taught to make some distinction between Robespierre and Marat. Let us write to the corresponding societies what we really think of these two citizens; for, I must avow it, I am a great partisan for Robespierre. (*Groans from the galleries, and from a party in the hall.*)

"Bourdon. We ought long since to have plainly stated to the corresponding societies our opinion of Marat. How could Marat and Robespierre be ever confounded! Robespierre is a man truly virtuous, against whom no censure can be made from the commencement of the revolution; Robespierre is temperate in his measures, whereas Marat is an intemperate writer, who does considerable mischief to the jacobins (*murmurs*); and moreover,

it is quite as well to observe, has done us much harm at the national convention.

"The deputies conceive that we are partisans of Marat; they call us *Maratists*; if they perceive that we know how to appreciate Marat, then you will see the deputies come nearer the *Mountain* where we sit, you will see them come into the body of this society, you will find the corresponding societies return from their wanderings, and rally themselves once more around the cradle of liberty. If Marat be a patriot, he ought to acquiesce in the motion I am about to make. Marat ought to sacrifice himself to the cause of liberty. I require that his name be erased from the list of the members of this club.—This motion called forth some few cheers, violent marks of displeasure from one party in the hall, and a great disturbance in the galleries.

"It will be recollected that eight days previous to this novel scene, Marat had been covered with applause in the club; the people of the galleries who had not lost their memory remembered it well; they could not be brought to believe that such a quick change had taken place in public opinion, and as the moral instinct of the people is invariably correct, they were highly indignant at Bourdon's motion; the people rose in defence of their *virtuous friend*; the people had not believed that in eight days Marat could have forfeited the esteem of the society, for although it has been said that ingratitude was a virtue in republics, it will take some trouble to familiarize the French people with that description of virtue.

"The union of the names of Marat and Robespierre presented no revolting association to the people; their ears had been for some time now accustomed to see them joined in correspondence; and after having several times seen the club indignant when the clubs of other departments requested the erasure of Marat's name, they did not think that they ought on this occasion support Bourdon's motion.

"A citizen belonging to a corresponding club has observed to the present society how practically dangerous it is to join the names of Marat and Robespierre together. 'In the departments,' said he, 'a great distinction is made between Marat and Robespierre, and one is surprised to see the present society silent upon the subject of the differences existing between these two patriots. I propose to the society, after having declared what is to be done with Marat, to discontinue the use of the term affiliation, (this word ought not to be named in a republic), but to employ the word *fraternization*.'

"Desfieux. I oppose the motion to erase Marat's name from the list of this society. (*Loud cheering.*) I shall not wrangle upon the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre. These two writers, who resemble each other in their patriotism, yet exhibit remarkably different traits of character; they have both of them served the cause of the people, but by very different means. Robespierre has defended the true principles of action with suitable method, firmness, and wisdom; Marat, on the other hand, has not unfrequently overstepped the limits of sound reason and discretion. Nevertheless, in admitting the difference that does exist between Marat and Robespierre, I am by no means in

favour of the motion for erasing his name: one might be just without being ungrateful to Marat. Marat has been highly serviceable to us, he has served the revolution courageously. (*Loud cheering from the club and the galleries.*) It would be an act of ingratitude to erase his name from the list. (*Yes, yes, from all sides.*) Marat has been an indispensable person; in revolutions there must be such strong-minded men, capable of conciliating all sorts and conditions, and Marat is one of those remarkable men who are indispensably necessary to overthrow despotism. I conclude by moving, that the motion of Bourdon be rejected, and that we content ourselves with writing to the corresponding societies, apprising them of the distinction that we make between Marat and Robespierre.

"The society resolves that she will no longer use the term affiliation, considering it as injurious to republican equality; the society, therefore, substitutes the word *fraternisation*. The society lastly resolves that the name of Marat shall not be erased from the list of its members, but a circular letter shall be sent to all the societies which enjoy the rights of fraternization, in which shall be expressly defined the points, resemblance, dissimilarities, conformities, and contrarieties which exist between Marat and Robespierre: so that all those who fraternize with the jacobins may be able to declare themselves with precision upon these two defenders of the people, and that they may be at last enabled to dismiss two names, that it has been erroneously conceived ought to have eternally associated with each other.

NOTE 53. Page 246, col. 1.

The following is another extract from the *Memoirs of Gwat*, not less curious than the preceding: it is considered the best portrait that has ever been drawn of Robespierre, and the suspicions which were his tormentors. The following is a conversation.

"As soon as Robespierre understood that I was about to speak to him of the quarrels of the convention, he exclaimed, 'All the deputies of the Giroude, Brissot, Louvet, and Barbaroux, are all counter-revolutionists and conspirators!' I could not help laughing at this exclamation, and this laugh hurt him extremely. 'You were always the same,' he replied; 'in the constituent assembly you were disposed to believe that the aristocrats were attached to the revolution; but I have not always been the same. In the constituent assembly I believed there were some nobles who were not aristocrats; I thought so of many, and you yourself still think so of a few. I believed, also, that we might have made some conversions among the real aristocrats, if, of the two means which were at our disposal, reason and force, we had more frequently employed reason, in which we had the exclusive advantage, whereas the tyrants might have used force. Believe me: let us forget those dangers which we have overcome; they have no connexion with those which at present threaten us. War was carried on then between the friends and the enemies of liberty; but, at present, it is waged between the friends of the republic. If an occasion should present itself, I shall tell Louvet that he is entirely mistaken in thinking you a royalist; but I must tell you, also, that Louvet is no more a royalist than

yourself. You resemble, in your quarrels, the Molinists and Jansenists, whose whole dispute turned upon the manner in which divine grace operates in the soul, and who reciprocally accused each other of not believing in God. If they are not royalists, why were they so anxious to save the life of the king? It appears that you, also, are for pardon and clemency. . . . What signifies it on what principles the death of the tyrant was just and necessary; your Girondists, your Brissotines, your appellants to the people, opposed it. They wish to leave to tyranny all the means of re-erecting itself. I do not know that the intention of the appellants to the people was to spare the life of Capet: an appeal to the people always appeared to me imprudent and dangerous; but I can well conceive how those who voted for it might believe that the life of the prisoner Capet would be more serviceable to the republic than his death: I can well conceive that they thought this appeal would be doing honour to the nation in the eyes of the whole world, by affording it an opportunity of exercising a great act of generosity by an act of sovereignty. This is surely putting fine constructions on a measure you disapproved of in favour of men who are conspiring on all sides. Where then are they conspiring? Every where. In Paris, throughout France, and throughout Europe. In Paris, Gensonné is carrying on conspiracies in the faubourg St. Antoine, going from shop to shop and persuading the tradespeople that we patriots wish to plunder their goods; the Giroude have long since formed a design of separating themselves from France, and uniting themselves to England, and their chiefs themselves are the authors of this project, which they are determined to execute, whatever may be the price; Gensonné does not conceal it; he declares aloud that they are not the representatives of the nation, but the plenipotentiaries of the Giroude. Brissot carries on his conspiracies by means of his journal, which is a tocsin of civil war; it is known that he went to England, and the reason why he went is also known; we are not ignorant of his intimate connexion with the minister for foreign affairs; with that Lebrun, who is the creature of the house of Austria; the most intimate friend of Brissot is Claviere, and Claviere conspires wherever he breathes; Ralaud, a traitor, both as a Protestant and a philosopher, cannot conceal from us his correspondence with that traitor and courtier Montcauquin; for the last six months they have both been endeavouring to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese; Servan has been nominated general of the army of the Pyrenees to deliver up the keys of France to the Spaniards; and, finally, behold Dumouriez, who no longer menaces Holland, but Paris; and when that quack of a hero was here, where I wished to have him arrested, it was not with the *Moustain*, but at the houses of the Girondists that he dined every day: three or four times at my house, for instance. I am sorry of the revolution. I am ill: the country never was in greater danger, and I doubt how all will end. Well! do you feel inclined to laugh now; do you still believe these Girondists honest men and good republicans? No, I am no longer inclined to laugh, but I can scarcely restrain my tears, when I see the legislators of my country a prey to such unfounded suspicions. I am sure that nothing which you suspect is true; but I am sure, also, that your suspicions

themselves are really and deeply dangerous; nearly all the men whom you have mentioned are your own enemies, but not one, with the exception of Dumouriez, is an enemy to the republic; and if you could stifle your animosities, the country would be no longer in any danger. You are going to propose to me to renew the motion of the bishop Lamouret; no, I have sufficiently profited by the lessons which you have given me, and by my experience in the three national assemblies, to know that the best patriots hate their enemies better than they love their country; but I have one question to put to you,—I beg you to reflect before you answer it; Have you no doubt of the truth of all you have said to me? 'None,' I then quitted him in astonishment, and trembled at what I had just heard.

"Some few days afterwards, as I was leaving the executive council, I chanced to meet Salles, who was quitting the national convention. Circumstances were every day assuming a more threatening aspect. All those who possessed any regard for one another could not see each other without finding themselves urged to converse upon politics.

"Well! said I to Salles, as I lighted upon him, is there no way of putting an end to these horrible disagements?—Oh! yes, I do hope so; I hope that I shall expose these terrible wretches and their frightful conspiracies to the world. But as for you, I know that you always possess a blind confidence; I know your way is never to believe any thing.—You are in the wrong there; I believe as much as any one else; but I found my credence upon presumptions, and not upon mere suspicions; upon attested facts, and not on imaginary circumstances. Why, then, do you suppose me so incredulous? Is it because in 1789 I would not believe upon your assertion, that Necker was embezzling the public capital, and that mules had been seen laden with gold and silver, which was his mode of transferring millions to Geneva? This hardness of belief, I must confess, is a thing I cannot restrain; for to this day I am persuaded that Necker has left here more millions for himself than ever he carried off with him to Geneva.—Necker was a rascal, but nothing to compare with the rascals by whom we are surrounded, and it is of these latter I wish to speak if you will but hear me. I would have you say all, for I know all; I have unravelled all their plans. All the conspiracies, all the crimes of the *Moussais* have had their commencement with the revolution; it is the duke of Orleans who is at the head of this band of robbers; and it is the author of that detestable romance called *Liaisons dangereuses* who has settled the plan of all the enormities they have been committing for five years past. The traitor Lafayette was their accomplice, and it is he who, by making it appear that he had detected the plot from its birth, sent Orleans to England to arrange every thing with Pitt, the prince of Wales, and the cabinet at Saint-James's. Mirabeau was also there with them; he received the king's money in order to conceal his connexion with the duke of Orleans, but he received a far greater sum of the duke of Orleans to serve him. The great affair for the Orleans party was to get the Jacobins to identify themselves with his designs. They had not dared to undertake this in a direct manner; it was first to the Cordeliers that they paid their

court. Now mark, the Cordeliers have always been not only so numerous, but have made less noise than the Jacobins: it is because that they want every body to be their tool, but will not let every body into their secret. The Cordeliers have always been the nursery of conspirators: it is there that Danton, the most dangerous conspirator of all, brings them up, and adapts their minds to impudence and lying, while Marat renders them fit agents for murder and massacre: it is there that they are getting up the part they must next play at the Jacobins; and the Jacobins, who conduct themselves as if they took the lead in France, are themselves led by the Cordeliers without their at all suspecting it. The Cordeliers, who have the appearance of being concealed in some hole and corner in Paris, negotiate with Europe, and have their envoys at every one of those courts that have sworn to effect the destruction of our liberty; the fact is certain; I can prove it. In short, it is the Cordeliers who have plunged the throne in waves of blood, in order that a new throne should issue therefrom. They well know the right side, where all the virtues preside, is also the side where all the true republicans are to be found; and if they accuse us of royalism, it is because they want this pretext for unleashing upon us the fury of the populace: it is because they can find daggers more easily than answer our arguments. In a single conspiracy there are three or four. When the right side shall be altogether butchered, the duke of York will come to seat himself upon the throne, and Orleans, who has promised it him, will then assassinate him, and then Orleans in his turn will be assassinated by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, who have made him a like promise; and the triumvir will then divide France, covered with ashes and blood, till the man of the greatest ability, and that will be Danton, assassinate the others, and reigns alone; at first, under the style of a dictator, and next, without disguising the term, under the style of king. Now don't you see their plan I don't doubt it: I have considered it so long that I am convinced of it. See how all the circumstances combine and tally with each other: there is not a single fact in the revolution which is not a part and an evidence of these shocking conspiracies. You are astonished, I see it; will you still distrust me?—Indeed, I am astonished; but tell me, are there many amongst you, that is to say of your side, who are entirely of your opinion on this subject?—All, or nearly so. Condorcet once made some objections; Sieyès has but little communication with us; as for Rabaut he entertains another scheme, which sometimes is similar, and sometimes is unlike my own: but all the others have no more doubt than I have upon what I have been telling you; they all feel the necessity there is for acting with promptitude, and to lose no time in *putting the screws into the fire*, in order to prevent so much crime and misery, and that we should not lose the fruits of a revolution that has cost us so dear. On the right side, there are members who do not repose sufficient confidence in you; but as for me, I who have been your colleague, who know you for an honest man, and as a friend of liberty, I assure them that you will be on our side, and that you will assist us by every possible means your situation will admit of. Is there any thing that can tinge with the slightest degree of uncertainty what I

have said of these wretches!—I should be certainly unworthy the regard you manifest towards me, if I left you to believe that I entirely accord with your notions as to this plan, which you conceive is your enemies' device. The more you compare facts, things, and men, the more will appear probable to you, and the less so to me. The greater part of the facts, out of which you frame the tissue of this plan, have had an object with which there is no necessity to charge them; they speak for themselves; and you are assigning an object which does not speak for itself, and which must have a reason assigned for it. Now, we must have proofs before we can throw aside a natural inference, and other proofs are next required before an inference, which cannot be supported in a natural way, can be adopted. For instance, every one believes that Lafayette and Orleans are enemies, and that Paris, France, and the national assembly would be quit of great unbusiness, if Orleans could be prevailed upon or compelled by Lafayette to remove himself from France for some time to come. Now, it must be settled, not by assertion, but by proof.—1. That they were not enemies; 2. That they were coadjutors; 3. That the journey Orleans took to England was for the express purpose of carrying their conspiracies into execution. I know that by adopting such a strict course of reasoning, one exposes oneself to see crimes and miseries committed before one's eyes, without being able to reach them, and without the means of preventing them by foresight; but I also am aware that by indulging one's own imagination, one creates systems out of past and future events, and one lets slip the means of duly discerning and appreciating the present state of things; and by dreaming of thousands of enormities which no one ever devises, one deprives oneself of the faculty of perceiving with certainty those that threaten us. We force our enemies, who want but little encouragement, to commit acts of which they would have no idea but for our suggesting them. I have no doubt whatever that we have about us a pack of wretches: the unrestrained action of their bad passions produces such men, and the gold of the foreigner keeps them in pay. But believe me, if their schemes are horrible, they are neither so vast, or so great, or so complicated, nor conceived and brought from such a distance. There is in all this much more of the robber and murderer than the deep conspirator. The real conspirators against the republic are the kings of Europe and the bad feelings (*passions*) of the republicans. Our armies are well able to keep off the kings of Europe and their regiments, and more than enough: there is one mode of preventing our party feelings from destroying us, and only one—lose no time in organizing a government that has supreme power, and is deserving of confidence. In the state in which your backings leave the government, even a democracy of twenty-five millions of angels would soon become a prey to all the furious passions and hates to which offensive pride gives rise: as Jean Jacques has said, there must be twenty-five millions of gods, and no one can ever bring himself to imagine so many. My dear Salles, men and great assemblies are not so constituted that on one side are gods, and on the other all devils. Wherever you will find men whose interests and opinions are conflicting, even the good are subject to bad feelings, and even those that are bad, if

you will take the pains to dive into their hearts, are susceptible of honest and good impressions. I discover in the depths of my own soul an evident and convincing proof of at least one-half of this truth: I am good, and am as much to be relied upon as any one of you; but when instead of combating my opinions with argument and liberality, you repel them with suspicion and contumely, I am ready to throw argument overboard, and see whether my pistols are well loaded. You have on two occasions made me minister, and twice you have rendered me any thing but a service; it is only the perils that environ you and surround myself which can induce me to remain in the post I now occupy. A brave man does not ask for leave of absence on the eve of a battle. The battle I see is not far off; foreseeing that both the two sides will discharge themselves upon me, I am determined to remain. I shall on every occasion tell you what I, in my reason and conscience, consider true or false; but mind and take warning that I shall be guided entirely by my own conscience and reason, and not by the conscience or argument of any other man upon earth. I shall not have laboured thirty years of my life in making myself a lantern, for the purpose of lighting myself on the road by another's lantern.

"Salles and myself parted, and shook hands, and embraced each other, as if we had still been each other's colleagues in the consistent assembly."

Norr 64. Page 267, col. 2.

The true feelings of Robespierre with regard to the 31st May, are plainly evidenced by the language he used at the Jacobins, where he spoke with greater freedom than at the assembly, and where the work of conspiracy was more overtly conducted. Extracts from his speeches at different important periods will evidence the course of his ideas with regard to the grand catastrophe of the 31st May and 2nd June. His first speech uttered on the occasion of the pillages and spoliation of the month of February, affords us an early indication of his sentiments.

(Sitting of February 26, 1793.)

"Robespierre. As I have always been a friend to humanity, and have never sought to flatter any one, I shall declare the whole truth without any reserve. A snare has been laid for the patriots. The intriguers wish to ruin them, and the people experience a sentiment of just indignation. I have always maintained, even when in the midst of persecution, and without any support, that the people can never be in the wrong; I dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not generally acknowledged, but the course of the revolution has fully developed it.

"The people have so often heard those call out for the law who wished to bring them under their yoke, that they now distrust that language.

"The people suffer; they have not yet reaped the fruit of their labours; they are still persecuted by the rich, and the rich are now, what they ever have been, impizable. (*Applauds*). The people observe the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see wealth accumulate in the hands of these traitors; they feel their own misery, and the necessity of taking decisive measures; and when

they are addressed in the language of reason, they can listen to nothing but invectives against the rich, and allow themselves to be misled by those who only court their favour to abuse it.

"There are two causes for this: the first, a natural disposition to seek the means of solacing their sufferings, by obtaining by their own exertions that protection which the laws do not afford them.

"And the second, the perfidious designs of the enemies of liberty, who were convinced that the only means of delivering us up to foreign powers, is to alarm the people on the subject of subsistence, and make them the victims of those excesses which must naturally arise from their distress. I myself have been a spectator and witness of many popular risings. By the side of honest citizens I have seen foreigners and opulent individuals disguised in the dress of *sans-culottes*. I have heard them thus speak: We were promised abundance after the death of the king, and we have only become more wretched since then. We have heard violent declamations, not against that intriguing and counter-revolutionary portion of the convention, who are seated where the aristocrats of the constituent assembly formerly sat, but against the *Mountain*, against the deputation of Paris, and against the Jacobins.

"I do not say that the people are culpable. I do not say that these commotions are insurrectional; but I ask, when the people rise up, should not the object in view be worthy of a great nation! Should they continually occupy themselves in pitiful trafficking! No advantage has been derived from it, for the sugar-loaves have been gathered up by the hands of the valets of aristocrats; but suppose it had profited, in exchange for this petty advantage, what manifold grievances might have resulted! Our adversaries wish to frighten you away from all moderation and propriety; they wish to persuade you that our system of liberty is subversive of all order and security.

"The people should rise, not to provide themselves with sugar, but to overthrow the robbers. (*Applause.*) Must I recall to your recollection your past dangers! You were on the point of becoming a prey to the Prussians and Austrians; a negotiation was entered into; and those who had before trafficked away your liberty, who had incited you to the commission of outrages and excesses, I proclaim it aloud in the face of the friends of liberty and equality, and in the face of the nation, that in the month of September last, after the affair of the 10th of August, these very men had made every arrangement for the arrival of the Prussians at Paris."

(Sitting of Wednesday, 6th May, 1793.)

"*Robespierre.* We have to fight a battle which rages externally and internally. A civil war is maintained by the enemies of the interior. The army of La Vendée, the army of Brittany and the army of Coblenz are turned against Paris, that stronghold of liberty. People of Paris, tyrants arm themselves against you, because you are the most worthy portion of human kind; the great powers of Europe arise against you, all that corruptionists can perform in France seconds their exertions.

"After having conceived this vast scheme of

your enemies, you ought not to be at a loss as to the means of defending yourselves. I did not communicate my secret to you; I have disclosed it to the convention.

"I am now going to reveal this secret to you, and were it possible that this duty of the representative of a free people could be considered as a crime, I should know how to brave every peril, in order to confound the tyrants and preserve liberty.

"I have this morning stated at the convention that the light troops of Paris would go and meet the wretches of La Vendée, that they would take along with them in their route all their brethren of the departments, and that they would exterminate all, yes, all the rebels at once.

"I have said that all the patriots at home should rise and utterly incapacitate the aristocrats of La Vendée, and the aristocrats disguised under the mask of patriotism, from doing us further harm.

"I have said that the insurrectionists of La Vendée possessed an army at Paris; I have said that that generous and exalted people, who for five years has borne the weight of the revolution, ought to take the necessary precautions, lest our wives and children should be subjected to the counter-revolutionary knife of those enemies that Paris still retains within her precincts. No one has dared to dispute this principle of action. These massacres are of a most emergent and pressing nature. Patriots! fly to meet the *brigands* of La Vendée.

"They are no more to be dreaded, other than as they have taken the precaution to disarm the people. Paris must send her republican legions; but when we shall cause our enemies at home to tremble, our wives and our children will no longer be exposed to the fury of the aristocrats. I have proposed two measures: the first, that Paris do send two legions sufficient to exterminate all the wretches who have dared to raise the standard of rebellion. I have demanded that all the aristocrats, that all the *feuillans*, and that all the moderatists should be banished from those sections they have contaminated with their impure breath. I have demanded that all suspected citizens should be placed in confinement.

"I have demanded that the appellation of a *suspected citizen* should not be restricted to the title of former nobles, procurators, financiers, and merchants. I have required that all citizens who have given proof of incivism, should be imprisoned until the war be at an end, and that we should assume a commanding attitude before our enemies. I have said that the people must be furnished with some means of meeting in their sections without injuring their means of subsistence, and that for this purpose, the convention should declare that every mechanic living by his daily labour should be paid during all the time that he should be compelled to keep himself under arms for preserving the tranquillity of Paris. I have demanded that some necessary millions should be appropriated for the purpose of making arms and pikes, so as to arm all the *sans-culottes* of Paris.

"I have demanded that workshops and forges should be erected in the places of public resort, so that all the citizens should be witnesses of the fidelity and activity with which these works should be conducted. I have also demanded that

all public officers should be dismissed from their employments by the people.

"I have demanded that the municipality and the department of Paris, which enjoy the confidence of the people, be no longer placed under restraint.

"I have demanded that the factions who are in the convention, should cease to vilify the people of Paris, and that those newspaper editors who prevent public opinion should be silenced. All these measures are necessary, and in resuming my discourse, see the acquittance of the debt I have contracted with the people.

"I have demanded that the people make an extraordinary effort to exterminate the aristocrats who exist every where. (*Applause.*)

"I have demanded that an army should be in the precinct of Paris; an army not like that of Dumouriez, but a popular army, which should be continually under arms to overawe the *fouillans* and the moderatis. This army ought to be composed of paid *sans-culottes*; I demand that there be assigned millions enough to arm the mechanics and all good patriots; I demand that they be stationed at every post, and that their commanding majesty should make every aristocrat turn pale.

"I demand that after to-morrow forges be erected in all places of public resort, where arms shall be made for arming the people. I demand that the executive council have the charge of carrying out these measures on its own responsibility. If any one opposes these measures, if there should be any one who should incline to the enemies of liberty, they should be driven away after to-morrow.

"I demand that the constituted authorities be charged with the superintendence of the execution of these measures, and that they be ever mindful that they are the delegates of a city that is the bulwark of liberty, and whose existence is sufficient to render a counter-revolution impossible.

"In this moment of emergency it becomes the duty of all patriots to save the country, by adopting the sternest expedients; if you will allow the patriots to be butchered one by one, all that is virtuous on earth will be extinguished; it remains for you to see whether you will be the saviours of the human race.

[All the members simultaneously rise with one burst of feeling, and cry out while waving their hats: "*Aye, aye, he it is so!*" (*Oui, oui, nous le voulons!*)]

"All the vile wretches in the world have concerted their plans, and all the defenders of liberty are marked out for their victims.

"It is because the question concerns your glory and your welfare, and this is the sole motive for which I so earnestly adjure you to keep a watchful eye over the safety of the country. Perhaps you think that you have to cause a rising, and that you must assume the appearance of an insurrection: by no means, it is by the law that we must exterminate our enemies.

"It is a most scandalous piece of impudence that *perfidious* delegates have wanted to make a distinction between the people of Paris and the departments, that they have desired to make a distinction between the people of Paris and the people of the galleries, as if we were in fault, we

who have made every possible sacrifice to open our galleries for the entire population of Paris, and if that population were assembled within these walls, if that population heard me plead its cause against Buzot and Barbaroux, there is no doubt whatever but that it would come over to my side.

"Citizens, the perils are magnified, the foreign armies united with the rebels of the interior are objected against us; what can their efforts avail against millions of valiant *sans-culottes*? And if you follow up this proposition, that one free man is as good as twenty slaves, you ought to calculate that your force is far beyond all the combined powers.

"You possess by the laws themselves the faculty of legally exterminating our enemies. Have you aristocrats in the sections; drive them forth. Have your liberty to be saved; proclaim the rights of liberty, and use all your energy. Have you a vast population of *sans-culottes*, very honest and very sturdy, they must leave their work, get them paid by the wealthy. You have a national convention, it is very possible that the members of this convention are not all alike friendly to the cause of liberty and equality, but the far greater number have made up their minds to maintain the rights of the people and to save the republic. The gangrened portion of the convention will not be able to prevent the people from fighting the aristocrats.

"Do you think then that the *Mountain* of the convention will not be strong enough to repress all the partisans of Dumouriez, of Orleans, and Coburg! In good sooth you cannot entertain the idea.

"Should liberty fall, it will not be so much the fault of the delegates as of the sovereign power. People, do not forget that your destiny is in your own hands; it is your duty to save Paris and the human race; if you do not do this, you are highly to blame.

"The *Mountain* requires the aid of the people; the people rest their support upon the *Mountain*. Every method is taken to cause you alarm; they want to make you believe that the southern departments are opposed to the jacobins. I declared to you that Marseilles is the eternal friend of the *Mountain*; that at Lyons the patriots have gained a complete victory.

"I resume my proposition, and I demand, 1. That the sections raise an army sufficient to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army, which should include all the *sans-culottes* of the departments, in order to exterminate the rebels. 2. That an army of *sans-culottes* be raised at Paris for the purpose of repressing the aristocracy. 3. That dangerous intriguers and all aristocrats be placed under arrest; that the *sans-culottes* be paid out of the public funds which shall be supported by the wealthy, and that this measure be extended to the entire republic.

"I demand that forges be established in all places of public resort.

"I demand that the commune of Paris do, with all its might, administer to the revolutionary zeal of the people of Paris.

"I demand the revolutionary tribunal do its duty; and that it do punish those who, in these latter days, have blasphemed against the republic.

"I demand that this tribunal do, without delay,

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inflict exemplary punishment upon certain generals taken *flagrante delicto*, and who ought to be condemned.

"I demand that the sections of Paris unite themselves with the commune of Paris, and that they countervail by their influence the perfidious writings of newspaper editors, supported by foreign powers.

"By taking all these measures, without affording any pretence for saying that you have committed a breach of the laws, you will give an impulse to the departments, who will with you unite in endeavouring to save liberty."

(Sitting of Sunday, May 12th, 1793.)

"Robespierre. It has always appeared to me astonishing that, in critical moments, so many propositions are made tending to endanger the friends of liberty, whilst they themselves are left destitute of all support. Until it shall be proved to me that it is not necessary to arm the *sans-culottes*, nor to pay them for mounting guard, and preserving the tranquillity of Paris; until it shall be proved to me that we should not convert some of our public buildings into workshops for the manufacturing of arms, I shall think, and I shall say to those who reject these measures, that they know not the only way to save their country; for extreme measures should never be resorted to till all others have failed. It is not a single effort of enthusiasm that can save the republic; we have for our enemies men of the most subtle minds, who have all the resources of the state at their disposal.

"The measures that have been proposed cannot produce any decisive result; they have only served to propagate calumny; and have furnished the public journalists with a pretext for representing us in the most odious colours.

"When we neglect the most simple dictates of reason, which always offer themselves first to the mind, we may be sure that we are not on the right road. I shall say no more, but I protest against all those measures whose object may be to injure this society, without promoting, in any way, the public interests. Behold my profession of faith!

"When I perceive many anxious to make enemies for the society, and lending a willing ear to all calumnies against it, I cannot but conclude that these men are either blind, or harbour bad intentions.

"I move that the society passes the measures I have proposed, and I shall regard those men as very culpable who prevent their execution. How can a compliance with these measures be refused! How is it that their necessity is not felt! How can any one hesitate for a moment to support and adopt them! I propose that the society enters into a discussion of the principles of the constitution which has been prepared for France; for it is necessary to scrutinize all the projects of our enemies, and if the society should discover their perfidy and fraud, it will not have lost its time. I demand, therefore, permission to read my observations on the constitution."

(Sitting of Sunday, 24th May 1793.)

"Robespierre. I have told you that I ought to repose calmly in its strength, when the people is oppressed, when it is left to save itself, that man would be a coward who would call upon it to rise. It is when all laws are violated, when despotism is at its height, it is when good faith and modesty are trampled under foot that the people ought to rise. This moment has now come: our enemies openly oppress the patriots; they want under colour of law to once more plunge the people into a state of misery and slavery. I shall never be the friend of those corrupt men whatever bribes they may offer me. I rather prefer dying with republicans than triumphing with those wretches. (Loud applause.)

"I know but of two ways in which a people can exist: either where it governs itself, or where it confides that trust to delegates. We, deputies of the republic, are desirous of establishing the government of the people by its delegates, with responsibility; it is to these principles that we refer our opinions, but the more we do so the less inclination is exhibited to hear us. A sudden signal given by the president, strips us of the right of voting. I consider that the sovereignty of the people is violated, since the delegates of the people give to their creatures the places that belong to the people. In accordance with these principles, I am grievously affected. . . ."

The speaker was interrupted by a deputation being announced. (Disorder.) "I am going," shouted Robespierre, "to continue my address, not to those who interrupt me, but to the republicans."

"I exhort every citizen to preserve a respect for his rights; I invite him to rely upon his own strength, and upon that of the nation; I invite the people to put themselves in the national convention in insurrection against all corrupt deputies. (Applause.) I declare that having received from the people the right of defending its rights, I regard him who interrupts me, or refuses me any right of speech, as my oppressor; and I declare that I myself now place myself in insurrection against the president and against all those members who sit in the convention. (Applause.) When a culpable affectation of contempt is exhibited against the *sans-culottes*, I declare, that I place myself in insurrection against the corrupt deputies. I invite all the Mountain deputies to rally, and to engage hand to hand against aristocracy, and I say that there is but one alternative left for them: either to oppose with all their might and main the efforts of the intriguers, or else to give in their resignation.

"At the same time the French people must be made acquainted with its rights, for faithful deputies cannot act without instructions.

"Should treason call the foreign enemy into the bosom of France; if when our cannoners hold in their hands the thunder that must exterminate tyrants and their satellites, we see the enemy approaching our walls, then I declare that I myself will punish the traitors, and I promise you that I will look upon every conspirator as my enemy, and treat him as such." (Applause.)

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DEBTS
OF
THE
NATION
BY
THE
NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY

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