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THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
1789—1800

—BY
LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, FROM THE MOST
AUTHENTIC SOURCES, BY
FREDERICK SHOBERL



*NEW EDITION, WITH UPWARDS OF FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS ON
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IN FIVE VOLUMES
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APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

A.

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MADAME ELIZABETH.

"Madame Elizabeth Philippine Marie Hélène, sister to Louis XVI., was born at Versailles in the year 1764. She was the youngest child of Louis, Dauphin of France, and Marie Josephine of Saxony. At the commencement of the Revolution, Madame Elizabeth saw with terror the convocation of the States-general; but when it was found to be inevitable, she devoted herself from that moment entirely to the welfare of her brother and the royal family. She was condemned to death in 1794, and ascended the scaffold with twenty-four other victims, not one of whom she knew. She was thirty years old at the time of her execution, and demeaned herself throughout with courage and resignation."—*Biographie Moderne.*

B.

[Page 16.]

THE COMTE DE DILLON.

"The Comte Arthur de Dillon, a general officer in the French service, was deputed from Martinique to the States-general, and embraced the revolutionary party. In 1792 he took one of the chief commands in the army of the North. In the year 1794 he was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as a conspirator. He was forty-three years old, and was born at Berwick, in England."—*Biographie Moderne.*

C.

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KELLERMANN.

"François Christophe Kellermann, a French general, began life as a private hussar, but was soon promoted for his skill and good conduct. In 1792 he obtained the command of the army of the Moselle, and distinguished himself at the battle of Valmy. In 1794 he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but acquitted. In 1799 he became a

member of the Consular Senate; in 1802 he obtained the title of grand officer of the Legion of Honour; and soon afterwards was raised to the rank of Marshal of the Empire. He was father of the celebrated Kellermann, whose glorious charge decided the battle of Marengo."—*Biographie Moderne*.

D.

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MAILLARD.

"Maillard, a runner belonging to the Châtelet at Paris, began, from the opening of the States-general, to signalize himself in all the tumults of the metropolis. In September 1792 he presided at the meeting at the Abbaye to regulate the massacre of the prisoners; and it has been said that he seized on the spoils of those who were murdered by his order. He afterwards became one of the denunciators of the prisons, and during the Reign of Terror appeared several times at La Force, to mark the victims who were to be condemned by the revolutionary tribunal."—*Biographie Moderne*.

E.

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BILLAUD-VARENNES.

"Billaud-Varennes was born at Rochelle, which place he quitted several years before the Revolution, at the age of twenty-three, from vexation that the people there had hissed a theatrical piece of his composition. He then went to Paris, where he got himself admitted a barrister, and married a natural daughter of M. de Verdun, the only one of the farmers-general who was not guillotined. In 1792 he was substitute for the attorney of the commune of Paris, and became one of the directors of the September massacres. In 1795 he was sentenced to banishment to Guiana, where he was looked upon by the people as little better than a wild beast. His principal occupation during his exile was in breeding parrots. Billaud-Varennes was the author of many dull pamphlets."—*Biographie Moderne*.

F.

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THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES.

"At half-past two o'clock on Sunday, Sept. 2, we prisoners saw three carriages pass by, attended by a crowd of frantic men and women. They went on to the Abbey cloister, which had been converted into a prison for the clergy. In a moment after, we heard that the mob had just butchered all the ecclesiastics, who, they said, had been put into the

fold there. *Near four o'clock.*—The piercing cries of a man whom they were hacking to pieces with hangers drew us to the turret window of our prison, whence we saw a mangled corpse on the ground opposite to the door. Another was butchered in the same manner a moment afterwards. *Near seven o'clock.*—We saw two men enter our cell with drawn swords in their bloody hands. A turnkey showed the way with a flambeau, and pointed out to them the bed of the unfortunate Swiss soldier Reding. At this frightful moment I was clasping his hand, and endeavouring to console him. One of the assassins was going to lift him up, but the poor Swiss stopped him by saying in a dying tone of voice, 'I am not afraid of death; pray, sir, let me be killed here.' He was, however, borne away on the men's shoulders, carried into the street, and there murdered. *Ten o'clock, Monday morning.*—The most important matter that now employed our thoughts was to consider what posture we should put ourselves in when dragged to the place of slaughter, in order to receive death with the least pain. We sent from time to time some of our companions to the turret window to inform us of the attitude of the victims. They brought us back word that those who stretched out their hands suffered the longest, because the blows of the cutlasses were thereby weakened before they reached the head; that even some of the victims lost their hands and arms before their bodies fell; and that such as put their hands behind their backs must have suffered much less pain. We calculated the advantages of this last posture, and advised one another to adopt it when it should come to our turn to be butchered. *One o'clock, Tuesday morning.*—After enduring inconceivable tortures of mind, I was brought before my judges, proclaimed innocent, and set free."—*From a Journal entitled 'My Thirty-eight Hours' Agony,' by M. Journiac de Saint-Méard.*

G.

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THE PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE.

"The Princesse de Lamballe having been spared on the night of the 2nd, flung herself on her bed, oppressed with every species of anxiety and horror. She closed her eyes, but only to open them in an instant, startled with frightful dreams. About eight o'clock next morning two national guards entered her room to inform her that she was going to be removed to the Abbaye. She slipped on her gown, and went downstairs into the sessions-room. When she entered this frightful court, the sight of weapons stained with blood, and of executioners whose hands, faces, and clothes were smeared over with the same red dye, gave her such a shock that she fainted several times. At length she was subjected to a mock examination, after which, just as she was stepping across the threshold of the door, she received on the back of her head a blow with a hanger, which made the blood spout. Two men then laid fast hold of her, and obliged her to walk over dead bodies, while she was fainting every instant. They then completed her murder by running her through with their spears on a heap of corpses. She was afterwards stripped, and her naked body exposed to the insults of the populace. In this state it remained more than two hours. When any blood gushing from its wounds stained

the skin, some men, placed there for the purpose, immediately washed it off, to make the spectators take more particular notice of its whiteness. I must not venture to describe the excesses of barbarity and lustful indecency with which this corpse was defiled. I shall only say that a cannon was charged with one of the legs! Towards noon the murderers determined to cut off her head, and carry it in triumph round Paris. Her other scattered limbs were also given to troops of cannibals, who trailed them along the streets. The pike that supported the head was planted under the very windows of the Duc d'Orleans. He was sitting down to dinner at the time, but rose from his chair and gazed at the ghastly spectacle without discovering the least symptom of uneasiness, terror, or satisfaction."—*Peltier*.

"One day when my brother came to pay us a visit, he perceived, as he came along, groups of people whose sanguinary drunkenness was horrible. Many were naked to the waist, and their arms and breasts were covered with blood. Their countenances were inflamed, and their eyes haggard; in short, they looked hideous. My brother, in his uneasiness about us, determined to come to us at all risks, and drove rapidly along the Boulevard until he arrived opposite the house of Beaumarchais. There he was stopped by an immense mob, composed also of half-naked people besmeared with blood, and who had the appearance of demons. They vociferated, sang, and danced. It was the Saturnalia of hell! On perceiving Albert's cabriolet they cried out, 'Let it be taken to him; he is an aristocrat.' In a moment the cabriolet was surrounded by the multitude, and from the middle of the crowd an object seemed to arise and approach. My brother's troubled sight did not at first enable him to perceive long auburn tresses clotted with blood, and a countenance still lovely. The object came nearer and nearer, and rested upon his face. My unhappy brother uttered a piercing cry. He had recognized the head of the Princesse de Lamballe!"—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"It is sometimes not unproductive to follow the career of the wretches who perpetrate such crimes to their latter end. In a remote situation on the sea-coast lived a middle-aged man, in a solitary cottage, unattended by any human being. The police had strict orders from the First Consul to watch him with peculiar care. He died of suffocation produced by an accident which had befallen him when eating, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and in the midst of frightful tortures. He had been the principal actor in the murder of the Princesse de Lamballe."—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"Madame de Lamballe's sincere attachment to the Queen was her only crime. In the midst of our commotions she had played no part; nothing could render her suspected by the people, to whom she was only known by repeated acts of beneficence. When summoned to the bar of La Force many among the crowd besought pardon from her, and the assassins for a moment stood doubtful, but soon murdered her. Immediately they cut off her head and her breasts; her body was opened, her heart torn out; and the tigers who had so mangled her took a barbarous pleasure in going to show her head and heart to Louis XVI. and his family at the Temple. Madame de Lamballe was beautiful, gentle, obliging, and moderate."—*Mercier*.

"Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie Carignan Lamballe, widow of Louis Alexander Joseph Stanislas de Bourbon Penthièvre, Prince de Lamballe, was born in September 1749, and was mistress of the household to the Queen of France, to whom she was united by bonds of the tenderest affection."—*Biographie Moderne*.

H.

[Page 46.]

THE DAYS OF SEPTEMBER.

Subjoined are some valuable details respecting the days of September, which exhibit those horrid scenes under their genuine aspect. It was at the Jacobins that the most important disclosures were made, in consequence of the disputes which had arisen in the Convention.

Sitting of Monday, October 29, 1792.

Chabot.—"This morning Louvet made an assertion which it is essential to contradict. He told us that it was not the men of the 10th of August who were the authors of the 2nd of September; and I, as an eye-witness, can tell you that it was the very same men. He told us that there were not more than two hundred persons acting, and I will tell you that I passed under a steel arch of ten thousand swords. For the truth of this I appeal to Bazire, Colon, and the other deputies who were with me: from the Cour des Moines to the prison of the Abbaye, people were obliged to squeeze one another to make a passage for us. I recognized, for my part, one hundred and fifty federalists. It is impossible that Louvet and his adherents should not have been present at these popular executions. Yet a man who can coolly deliver a speech such as Louvet's cannot have much humanity. At any rate I know that since that speech I would not lie down by him for fear of being assassinated. I summon Petion to declare if it be true that there were not more than two hundred men at that execution; but it was to be expected that intriguers would fall foul of that day respecting which all France is not yet enlightened. . . . They want to destroy the patriots in detail. They want decrees of accusation against Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and Santerre. They will soon attack Bazire, Merlin, Chabot, Montaut, and even Grangeneuve, if he had not reconciled himself with them; they will then propose a decree against the whole Faubourg St. Antoine, and against the forty-eight sections, and there will be eight hundred thousand of us decreed under accusation: but let them beware of miscalculating their strength, since they demand the ostracism."

Sitting of Monday, November 5.

"Fabre d'Eglantine made some observations on the events of the 2nd of September. He declared that it was the men of the 10th of August who broke into the prisons of the Abbaye, of Orleans, and of Versailles. He said that in these moments of crisis he had seen the same men come to Danton's, and express their satisfaction by rubbing their hands together; that one of them even desired that Morande might be sacrificed: he added that he had seen in the garden of the minister for foreign affairs, Roland, the minister, pale, dejected, with his head leaning against a tree, demanding the removal of the Convention to Tours or

Blois. The speaker added that Danton alone displayed the greatest energy of character on that day; that Danton never despaired of the salvation of the country; that by stamping upon the ground he made ten thousand defenders start from it; and that he had sufficient moderation not to make a bad use of the species of dictatorship with which the National Assembly had invested him, by decreeing that those who should counteract the ministerial operations should be punished with death. Fabre then declared that he had received a letter from Madame Roland, in which the wife of the minister of the interior begged him to lend a hand to an expedient devised for the purpose of carrying some decrees in the Convention. The speaker proposed that the society should pass a resolution for drawing up an address comprehending all the historical details of the events which had occurred from the acquittal of Lafayette to that day."

Chabot.—"These are facts which it is of importance to know. On the 10th of August the people in their insurrection designed to sacrifice the Swiss. At that time the Brissotins did not consider themselves as the men of the 10th of August, for they came to implore us to take pity on them—such was the very expression of Lasource. On that day I was a god. I saved one hundred and fifty Swiss. Single-handed I stopped at the door of the Feuillans the people eager to penetrate into the hall for the purpose of sacrificing those unfortunate Swiss to their vengeance. The Brissotins were then apprehensive lest the massacre should extend to them. After what I had done on the 10th of August, I expected that on the 2nd of September I should be deputed to the people. Well, the extraordinary commission under the presidency of the supreme Brissot did not choose me. Whom did it choose? Dussaulx, with whom, it is true, Bazire was associated. At the same time it was well known what men were qualified to influence the people, and to stop the effusion of blood. The deputation was passing me; Bazire begged me to join it, and took me along with him. . . . Had Dussaulx private instructions? I know not; but this I know, that he would not allow any one to speak. Amidst an assemblage of ten thousand men, among whom were one hundred and fifty Marseillais, Dussaulx mounted a chair. He was extremely awkward: he had to address men armed with daggers. When he at length obtained silence, I said hastily to him, 'If you manage well, you will put a stop to the effusion of blood: tell the Parisians that it is to their interest that the massacres should cease, that the departments may not be alarmed for the safety of the National Convention which is about to assemble in Paris.' Dussaulx heard me; but whether from insincerity or the pride of age, he would not do what I told him; and this is that M. Dussaulx who is proclaimed the only worthy man in the deputation of Paris! A second fact not less essential is, that the massacre of the prisoners of Orleans was not committed by the Parisians. This massacre ought to appear much more odious, because it was farther distant from the 10th of August, and was perpetrated by a smaller number of men. The intriguers nevertheless have not mentioned it; they have not said a word about it. And why? Because there perished an enemy of Brissot, the minister for foreign affairs, who had ousted his *protégé*, Narbonne. . . . If I alone at the door of the Feuillans stopped the people who wanted to sacrifice the Swiss, how much greater is the probability that the Legislative Assembly might have prevented the effusion of blood! If, then, there be any guilt, to the Legislative Assembly it must be imputed, or rather to Brissot, who was then its leader."

I.

[Page 50.]

COMTE DE CLAIRFAYT.

“Comte de Clairfayt, a Walloon officer, field-marshal in the Austrian service, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, served with great credit in the war with the Turks, and in 1791 was employed against France. He assisted in taking Longwy in August, and in November lost the famous battle of Jemappes. In 1793 the Prince of Coburg took the chief command of the Austrian army; yet its successes were not the less owing to Clairfayt. In 1794 he continued to command a body of men, and met Pichegru in West Flanders, with whom he fought seven important battles before he resigned the victory to him. In 1796 Clairfayt entered the aulic council of war, and died at Vienna in 1798. Military men consider him the best general that was ever opposed to the French during the revolutionary war.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

J.

[Page 52.]

GENERAL BEURNONVILLE.

“Pierre Ryel de Beurnonville was born at Champigneul in 1752, and intended for the Church, but was bent on becoming a soldier. He was employed in 1792 as a general under Dumouriez, who called him his Ajax. During the war he was arrested, and conveyed to the headquarters of the Prince of Coburg; but in 1795 he was exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. In 1797 Beurnonville was appointed to the command of the French army in Holland; and in the following year was made inspector-general by the Directory. He was one of those who sided with Bonaparte when the latter brought about a new revolution in 1799, and afterwards received from him the embassy to Berlin. He was at a subsequent period sent as ambassador to Madrid; and in 1805 was chosen a senator. From the year 1791 to 1793 Beurnonville was present in not less than 172 engagements.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

K.

[Page 57.]

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

“Dumouriez says that Miranda was born in Peru; others, that he was a native of Mexico. He led a wandering life for some years, traversed the greatest part of Europe, lived much in England, and was in Russia at the time of the French Revolution; which event opening a career

to him, he went to Paris, and there, protected by Petion, soon made his way. He had good natural and acquired abilities, and was particularly skilful as an engineer. In 1792 he was sent to command the artillery in Champagne under Dumouriez, whom he afterwards accompanied into the Low Countries. While there he intrigued against that general in the most perfidious manner, and was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, by whom, however, he was acquitted. In 1803 he was arrested at Paris on suspicion of forming plots against the consular government, and was sentenced to transportation. The battle of Nerwinde, in 1793, was lost entirely by the folly or cowardice of Miranda, who withdrew almost at the beginning of the action, and abandoned all his artillery."—*Biographie Moderne*.

L.

[Page 73.]

DAVID.

"Jacques Louis David, a celebrated painter, elector of Paris in 1792, was one of the warmest friends of Robespierre. He voted for the death of Louis XVI. He contrived the Mountain on which Robespierre gave a public festival in the field of Mars. In 1794 he presided in the Convention. In 1800 the Consuls made him the national artist, when he painted for the Hospital of the Invalids a picture of General Bonaparte. In 1805 he was appointed to paint the scene of the Emperor's coronation. David was unquestionably the first French painter of the modern school; and this consideration had some weight in obtaining his pardon in 1794, when he had been accused of being a Terrorist. A swelling which David had in his cheeks rendered his features hideous. He was a member of the Legion of Honour; and his daughter, in 1805, married a colonel of infantry."—*Biographie Moderne*.

M.

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FABRE D'EGLANTINE.

"Fabre d'Eglantine was a native of Carcassone. He was known at the commencement of the Revolution by works which had little success, and since that time by comedies not destitute of merit; but above all, by criminal conduct both as a public and a private man. Of low birth, he possessed a vanity which rendered him intolerable. He could not endure the nobility. While he was obliged to bend before it, he was content with abusing it, as he could do no more; but when the course of events had placed him in a position to crush those he hated, he rushed on them with the rage of a tiger, and tore them to pieces with delight. I have heard him say, nearly like Caligula, that he wished the nobles had but one head, that he might strike it off at a single blow.

In 1793, during the trial of Louis XVI., he was solicited to be favourable to that unfortunate Prince. 'You will enjoy the pleasure of doing a good action,' said the applicant. 'I know a pleasure far superior to that,' replied Fabre; 'it is the pleasure felt by a commoner in condemning a king to death.'—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.*

N.

[Page 73.]

COLLOT-D'HERBOIS.

"Jean Marie Collot-d'Herbois first appeared on the stage, and had little success. He played at Geneva, at the Hague, and at Lyons, where, having been often hissed, he vowed the most cruel vengeance against that town. The line of acting in which he played best was that of tyrants in tragedies. He went to Paris at the beginning of the Revolution, and embraced the popular cause. Possessed of a fine face, a powerful voice, and great boldness, he became one of the oracles at the Jacobin Club. He was no stranger to the September massacres. During the King's trial he sat at the top of the Mountain, by Robespierre's side, and voted for the monarch's death. It has been said of this man, who was surnamed the Tiger, that he was the most sanguinary of the Terrorists. In 1793 he took his departure for Lyons, and protested that the South should soon be purified. It is from the time of this mission that his horrible celebrity takes its rise. He sent for a column of the revolutionary army, and organized the demolitions, and the employment of cannon in order to make up for the slowness of the guillotine at Lyons. The victims, when about to be shot, were bound to a cord fixed to trees, and a picket of infantry marched round the place, firing successively on the condemned. The *mitrillades*, the executions by artillery, took place in the Brotteaux. Those who were destined for this punishment were ranged two by two on the edge of the ditches that had been dug to receive their bodies, and cannons loaded with small bits of metal were fired upon them; after which some troops of the revolutionary army despatched the wounded with swords or bayonets. Two women and a young girl having solicited the pardon of their husbands and brothers, Collot-d'Herbois had them bound on the scaffold where their relations expired, and their blood spouted out on them. On his return to Paris, being denounced to the National Convention by petitioners from Lyons, he answered that 'the cannon had been fired but once on sixty of the most guilty, to destroy them with a single stroke.' The Convention approved of his measures, and ordered that his speech should be printed. In the year 1794, returning home at one o'clock in the morning, Collot was attacked by Admiral, who fired at him twice with a pistol, but missed his aim. The importance which this adventure gave him, both in the Convention, of which he was nominated president, and elsewhere, irritated the self-love of Robespierre, whom Collot afterwards denounced. In 1795 he was transported to Guiana, where he endeavoured to stir up the blacks against the whites. He died in the following year of a violent fever, which was increased by his drinking a bottle of brandy. Collot published some pamphlets and several theatrical pieces, but none of them deserve notice."—*Biographie Moderne.*

O.

[Page 74.]

L. S. FRERON.

"L. S. Freron was son of the journalist Freron, the antagonist of Voltaire and of the philosophic sect. Brought up at the college Louis-le-Grand with Robespierre, he became in the Revolution his friend, his emulator, and at last his denouncer. In 1789 he began to edit the 'Orator of the People,' and became the coadjutor of Marat. Being sent with Barras on a mission to the South, he displayed extreme cruelty and activity. On their arrival at Marseilles in 1793, they published a proclamation announcing that Terror was the order of the day, and that to save Marseilles, and to raze Toulon, were the aims of their labours. 'Things go on well here,' wrote Freron to Moses Bayle: 'we have required twelve thousand masons to raze the town; every day since our arrival we have caused two hundred heads to fall, and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot. All the great measures have been neglected at Marseilles; if they had only shot eight hundred conspirators, as has been done here, and had appointed a committee to condemn the rest, we should not have been in the condition we now are.' It was at first intended to put to death all who had accepted any office, or borne arms in the town during the siege. Freron consequently signified to them that they must all go, under pain of death, to the Champ de Mars. The Toulonese, thinking to obtain pardon by this submission, obeyed, and eight thousand persons were assembled at the appointed place. All the representatives (Barras, Salicetti, Ricord, Robespierre the younger, &c.) were shocked at the sight of this multitude; Freron himself, surrounded by a formidable train, saw these numerous victims with terror; at last, by the advice of Barras, a jury was appointed, and a great number of the most guilty instantly shot. The shooting with muskets being insufficient, they had afterwards recourse to the *mitraillede*; and it was in another execution of this nature that Freron, in order to despatch the victims who had not perished by the first discharge, cried out, 'Let those who are still living, rise; the republic pardons them.' Some unhappy creatures trusting to this promise, he caused them to be immediately fired upon. On quitting Toulon, Freron went with his coadjutors to finish the depopulation of Marseilles, which they declared a commune without a name, and where they destroyed more than four hundred individuals, by means of a criminal tribunal, and afterwards of a military committee. At the same time they caused the finest edifices of the city to be destroyed. Returning from his proconsulship, Freron soon became an object of suspicion to Robespierre, whom he attacked in return, and contributed greatly to his ruin. From this period he showed himself the enemy of the Terrorists, and pursued them with a fury worthy of a former companion. He proposed in the Convention that death should no longer be inflicted for revolutionary crimes, except for emigration, promotion of the royal cause, and military treason, and that transportation should be substituted instead. At the time of the expedition to St. Domingo in 1802, Freron was appointed prefect of the South, and went with General Leclerc; but he sank under the influence of the climate, after an illness of six days."—*Biographie Moderne*.

P.

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BUZOT.

"F. N. L. Buzot was born at Evreux in 1760, and was an advocate in that city at the time of the Revolution, which he embraced with ardour. In 1792 he was deputed by the Eure to the National Assembly. At the time of the King's trial he voted for his death, though not for his immediate execution, and he was even one of those who most warmly solicited a reprieve for him. In the March following he more than once gave warning of the despotism of the mob of Paris, and ended one of his speeches by threatening that city with the sight of the grass growing in the streets if confusion should reign there much longer. In April he contended against the Jacobins, who, he said, were influenced by men of blood. Having been denounced as a Girondin, he made his escape from Paris, and after wandering about some time, was found, together with Petion, dead in a field, and half eaten by wolves."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Q.

[Page 97.]

GARAT.

"D. J. Garat the younger was a man of letters, a member of the Institute, and professor of history in the Lyceum of Paris. In 1792 he was appointed minister of justice, and commissioned to inform Louis of his condemnation. In the following year he became minister of the interior. Garat survived all the perils of the Revolution, and in 1806 he pronounced in the Senate one of the most eloquent speeches that were ever made on the victories of the Emperor Napoleon. Garat published several works on the Revolution."—*Biographie Moderne*.

R.

[Page 98.]

THE TEMPLE.

"The small tower of the Temple in which the King was then confined stood with its back against the great tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square, flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets there was a narrow staircase that led from the first floor

to a gallery on the platform; in the other were small rooms, answering to each storey of the tower. The body of the building was four storeys high. The first consisted of an ante-chamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there was a library containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes. The second storey was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the Queen's bed-chamber, in which the Dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the Queen's by a small ante-chamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room in this storey, and the turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the royal family, the municipal officers, and the soldiers. The King's apartments were on the third storey. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret closet. There was a kitchen separated from the King's chamber by a small dark room, which had been successively occupied by M. de Chamilly and M. de Hue, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth storey was shut up; and on the ground-floor there were kitchens of which no use was made. The King usually rose at six in the morning. He shaved himself, and I dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the municipal officer on duty remained in the bed-chamber with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. His Majesty continued praying on his knees for some time, and then read till nine. During that interval, after putting his chamber in order, and preparing the breakfast, I went down to the Queen, who never opened her door till I arrived, in order to prevent the municipal officer from going into her apartment. At nine o'clock the Queen, the children, and Madame Elizabeth went up to the King's chamber to breakfast. At ten the King and his family went down to the Queen's chamber and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his son, made him recite passages from Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The Queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining time till noon was passed in needlework, knitting, or making tapestry. At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the royal family were conducted to the garden by four municipal officers and the commander of a legion of the national guards. At two we returned to the tower, where I served the dinner, at which time Santerre regularly came to the Temple, attended by two aides-de-camp. The King sometimes spoke to him; the Queen, never. In the evening the family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse the children. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. After the Dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen heard him say his prayers. At nine the King went to supper, and afterwards went for a moment to the Queen's chamber, shook hands with her and her sister for the night, kissed his children, and then retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The Queen and the Princesses locked themselves in, and one of the municipal officers remained in the little room which parted their chamber, where he passed the night; the other followed his Majesty. In this manner was the time passed as long as the King remained in the small tower."—*Clery*.

S.

[Page 100.]

COMTE CUSTINE.

"Comte Adam Philippe Custine, born at Metz in 1740, served as captain in the Seven Years' War. Through the influence of the Duc de Choiseul, he obtained, in 1762, a regiment of dragoons, which was called by his name. In 1780 he exchanged this for the regiment of Saintonge, which was on the point of going to America to the aid of the colonies. On his return he was appointed *Maréchal de Camp*. In 1789 he was deputy of the nobility of Metz, and was one of the first who declared for the popular party. He subsequently entered the army of the North, and in 1792 made himself master of the pass of Porentruy. He then received the command of the army of the Lower Rhine, and opened the campaign by taking possession of Spire. He next took Worms, then the fortress of Mentz, and then Frankfort-on-the-Maine, on which he laid heavy contributions. In 1793 he was denounced, and received his dismissal; but the Convention afterwards invested him with the command of the Northern army. But he had hardly time to visit the posts. Marat and Varennes were unceasing in their accusations against him; and the revolutionary tribunal soon afterwards condemned him to death."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

T.

[Page 109.]

SPEECH OF COLLOT-D'HERBOIS.

The report of the speech addressed by Collot-d'Herbois to Dumouriez, as given in the *Journal des Jacobins*, is as follows:—

"I meant to speak of our armies, and I congratulated myself on having to speak of them in the presence of the soldier whom you have just heard. I meant to censure the answer of the president; I have already said several times that the president ought never to reply to the members of the society; but he has replied to all the soldiers of the army. This answer gives to all a signal testimony of your satisfaction. Dumouriez will share it with all his brethren in arms, for he knows that without them his glory would be nothing. We must accustom ourselves to this language. Dumouriez has done his duty. This is his best 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 a glorious thing to command a republican army? that thou hast found a great difference between this army and those of despotism? The French are not possessed of bravery only; they have something beyond the mere contempt of death; for who is there that fears death? But those inhabitants of Lille and Thionville, who coolly await the red-hot balls, who continue immovable amid the bursting of bombs and the destruction of their houses—is not this the

development of all the virtues? Ah, yes, those virtues are above all triumphs! A new manner of making war is now invented, and our enemies will not find it out: tyrants will not be able to do anything so long as free men shall be resolved to defend themselves.

"A great number of our brethren have fallen in the defence of liberty: they are dead, but their memory is dear to us. They have left examples which live in our hearts—but do they live who have attacked us? No; they are crushed, and their cohorts are but heaps of carcasses which are rotting on the spot where they fought; they are but an infectious dung-hill which the sun of liberty will have great difficulty to purify. . . . That host of walking skeletons closely resembles the skeleton of tyranny; and like it they will not fail to succumb. . . . What is become of those old generals of high renown? Their shadow vanishes before the almighty genius of liberty; they flee, and they have but dungeons for their retreat, for dungeons will soon be the only palaces of despots: they flee because the nations are rising.

"It was not a king who appointed thee, Dumouriez; it was thy fellow-citizens: recollect that a general of the republic ought never to treat with tyrants; recollect that such generals as thyself ought never to serve any but liberty. Thou hast heard of Themistocles: he had saved Greece by the battle of Salamis: he was calumniated—thou hast thy enemies, Dumouriez: thou shalt be calumniated, and that is the reason I talk to thee—Themistocles was calumniated; he was unjustly punished by his fellow-citizens; he found an asylum among tyrants, but still he was Themistocles. He was asked to bear arms against his country. 'My sword,' said he, 'shall never serve tyrants!' and he plunged it into his heart. I will also remind thee of Scipio. Antiochus endeavoured to bribe that great man by offering him a most valuable hostage, his own son. 'Thou hast not wealth enough to purchase my conscience,' replied Scipio, 'and nature knows no love superior to the love of country.'

"Nations are groaning in slavery. Thou wilt soon deliver them. What a glorious mission! Success is not doubtful; the citizens who are waiting for thee, hope for thee; and those who are here urge thee on. We must, however, reproach thee with some excess of generosity towards thine enemies; thou hast conducted back the King of Prussia rather too much in the French manner—in the old French manner, that is to say. (*Applause.*) But let us hope that Austria will pay double; she has money; don't spare her; thou canst not make her pay too much for the outrages which her race has committed upon mankind.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez (*applause*); thou wilt pass through Courtrai. There the French name has been profaned; the traitor Jarry has burned houses. Thus far I have spoken only to thy courage. I now speak to thy heart. Be mindful of those unfortunate inhabitants of Courtrai; disappoint not their hopes this time; promise them the justice of the nation; the nation will stand by thee.

"When thou shalt be at Brussels . . . I have nothing to say to thee concerning the conduct which thou hast to pursue. . . . If thou there findest an execrable woman who came to the foot of the walls of Lille to feast her ferocity with the sight of red-hot balls . . . but that woman will not await thee. . . . If thou shouldst find her, she would be thy prisoner; we have others belonging to her family . . . thou wouldst send her hither . . . let her be shaved in such a manner that she never again could wear a wig.

"At Brussels liberty will revive under thy auspices. A whole nation

will give itself up to joy: thou wilt restore children to their fathers, wives to their husbands; the sight of their happiness will be a recreation to thee after thy labours. Boys, citizens, girls, women, will throng around thee—will all embrace thee as their father! Ah! how happy wilt thou be, Dumouriez! . . . My wife, she comes from Brussels; she will embrace thee too.”

This speech was frequently interrupted by vehement applause.

U.

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MARAT'S VISIT TO DUMOURIEZ.

The following account of the visit paid by Marat to Dumouriez at Mademoiselle Candaille's is extracted from the *Journal de la République Française*. It was written by Marat himself, and published in his paper of Tuesday, October 17, 1792.

“*Declaration of the Friend of the People.*”

“Less surprised than indignant at seeing former valets of the Court, placed by the course of events at the head of our armies, and since the 10th of August kept in their places by influence, intrigue, and stupidity, carry their audacity so far as to degrade and treat as criminals two patriot battalions, upon the ridiculous and most probably false pretext that some individuals had murdered four Prussian deserters; I presented myself at the tribune of the Jacobins to expose this odious proceeding, and to apply for two commissioners distinguished for their civism to accompany me to Dumouriez, and to be witnesses of his answers to my questions. I repaired to him with citizens Bentabolle and Monteau, two of my colleagues in the Convention. We were told that he was gone to the play, and was to sup in town.

“We knew that he had returned from the Variétés; we went in quest of him to the club of D. Cypher, where we were told that he was expected to be. Labour lost. At length we learned that he was to sup at the little house of Talma, in the Rue Chantreine. A file of carriages and brilliant illuminations pointed out to us the temple where the children of Thalia were entertaining a son of Mars. We were surprised to find Parisian national guards within and without. After passing through an ante-chamber full of servants, intermixed with heiduks, we arrived at a salon containing a numerous company.

“At the door was Santerre, general of the Parisian army, performing the office of lackey, or gentleman-usher. He announced me in a loud voice the moment he saw me, which displeased me exceedingly, inasmuch as it was likely to drive away certain masks which one would like to be acquainted with. However, I saw enough to gain a clue to the intrigues. I shall say nothing of half a score of fairies destined to grace the entertainment. Politics were probably not the object of their meeting. Neither shall I say anything of the national officers who were paying their court to the great general, or of the old valets of the Court

who formed his retinue, in the dress of aides-de-camp. And lastly, I shall say nothing of the master of the house, who was among them in the costume of a player. But I cannot help declaring, in illustration of the operations of the Convention, and of the character of the jugglers of decrees, that in the august company were Kersaint, the great busybody Lebrun, Roland, Lasource, . . . Chenier, all tools of the faction of the federative republic, and Dulaure and Gorsas, their libelling errand-boys. As there was a large party, I distinguished three conspirators only; perhaps they were more numerous; and as it was now still early, it is probable that they had not all arrived, for the Vergniauds, the Buzots, the Camuses, the Rabauts, the Lacroix, the Guadets, the Barbaroux, and other leaders were no doubt of the party, since they belong to the secret conclave.

"Before I proceed to our conversation with Dumouriez, I shall here pause a moment to make with the judicious reader some observations that will not be misplaced. Is it to be conceived that this generalissimo of the republic, who has suffered the King of Prussia to escape from Verdun, and who has capitulated with the enemy, whom he might have cooped up in his camps, and forced to lay down his arms, instead of favouring his retreat, should have chosen so critical a moment to abandon the armies under his command, to run to playhouses, to get himself applauded, and to indulge in orgies at an actor's with nymphs of the opera?"

"Dumouriez has disguised the secret motives which call him to Paris, under the pretext of concerting with the ministers the plan of the operations of the campaign. What! with a Roland, a *frère coupe-choux* and petty intriguer, acquainted only with the mean ways of lying and low cunning! with a Lepage, a worthy disciple of his patron, Roland! with a Clavières, who knows nothing but the terms of stockbroking! with a Garat, who comprehends nothing but the affected phrases and the tricks of an academic parasite! I shall say nothing of Monge: he is deemed a patriot; but he is just as ignorant of military operations as his colleagues, who know nothing at all about them. Dumouriez is come to concert with the leaders of the party which is caballing for the establishment of a federative republic. That is his errand.

"On entering the salon where the entertainment was given, I perceived plainly that my presence damped the gaiety of the guests, which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that I am a bugbear to the enemies of the country. Dumouriez in particular appeared disconcerted. I begged him to step with me into another room, as I wished to converse with him a few moments in private. I addressed him, and our conversation was word for word as follows:—'We are members of the National Convention, and we come, Sir, to beg you to give us some explanation relative to the affair of the two battalions, the Mauconseil and the Republican, accused by you of having murdered four Prussian deserters in cold blood. We have searched the offices of the military committee and those of the war department; we cannot there find the least proof of the crime; and nobody can furnish information on all these points but yourself.' 'Gentlemen, I have sent all the documents to the minister.' 'We assure you, Sir, that we have in our hands a memorial, drawn up in his office and in his name, purporting that there are no facts whatever for pronouncing upon this alleged crime, and that for such we must address ourselves to you.' 'But, gentlemen, I have informed the Convention, and to it I refer

you.' 'Permit us, Sir, to observe that the information furnished is not sufficient, since the committees of the Convention, to which this matter has been referred, have declared in their report that it was impossible for them to pronounce for want of particulars and proofs of the crime denounced. We beg you to say whether you know all the circumstances of this affair.' 'Certainly, of my own knowledge.' 'Then it is not merely a confidential denunciation made by you on the faith of M. Duchaseau?' 'But, gentlemen, when I assert a thing, I think I ought to be believed.' 'Sir, if we thought as you do on that point, we should not have taken the step that has brought us hither. We have great reasons to doubt; several members of the military committee have informed us that these pretended Prussians were four French emigrants.' 'Well, gentlemen, if that were the case?' 'Sir, that would absolutely change the state of the matter, and without approving beforehand the conduct of the battalions, perhaps they are absolutely innocent: it is the circumstances which provoked the murder that it is important to know. Now, letters from the army state that these emigrants were discovered to be spies sent by the enemy, and that they even rose against the national guards.' 'What, Sir, do you then approve the insubordination of the soldiers?' 'No, Sir, I do not approve the insubordination of the soldiers; but I detest the tyranny of the officers. I have too much reason to believe that this is a machination of Duchaseau against the patriot battalions, and the manner in which you have treated them is revolting.' 'Monsieur Marat, you are too warm; I cannot enter into explanations with you.' Here Dumouriez, finding himself too closely pressed, extricated himself from the dilemma by leaving us. My two colleagues followed him, and in the conversation which they had with him he confined himself to saying that he had sent the documents to the minister. While they were talking I found myself surrounded by all the aides-de-camp of Dumouriez, and by the officers of the Parisian guard. Santerre strove to appease me; he talked to me about the necessity of subordination in the troops. 'I know that as well as you,' I replied; 'but I am disgusted at the manner in which the soldiers of the country are treated: I have still at heart the massacres at Nancy and in the Champ de Mars.' Here some aides-de-camp of Dumouriez began to declaim against agitators. 'Cease those ridiculous exclamations!' I exclaimed; 'there are no agitators in our armies but the infamous officers, their spies, and the perfidious courtiers, whom we have had the folly to leave at the head of our troops.' I spoke to Moreton Chabillant and to Bourdoin, one of whom was formerly a valet of the Court, and the other a spy of Lafayette.

"I was indignant at all that I had heard, and at all the atrocity that I suspected in the odious conduct of our generals. As I could not bear to stay any longer, I left the party, and I beheld with astonishment in the adjoining room, the doors of which were ajar, several of Dumouriez's heiduks with drawn swords at their shoulders. I know not what could be the object of this ridiculous farce; if it was contrived for the purpose of intimidating me, it must be admitted that the valets of Dumouriez entertain high notions of liberty. Have patience, gentlemen, we will teach you to know it. Meanwhile be assured that your master dreads the point of my pen much more than I fear the swords of his ragamuffins."

V.

[Page 113.]

MONTESQUIOU.

“Anne Pierre Montesquiou Fèzenzac, born in 1741, was a major-general, a member of the French Academy, and deputy from the nobility of Paris to the States-general. In 1791, at the time of the King's flight, he declared himself devoted to the Assembly, and renewing his civic oath, was sent into the departments of the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Ardennes, in order to dispose the minds of the people in favour of the Assembly. Some time after he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the South; he was soon afterwards denounced by Barrère as having sought to favour the King of Sardinia, and hurt the interest of the patriots in his treaty with the republic of Geneva. A decree of accusation was then passed against him, but when the commissioners appointed to seize him arrived at the gates of Geneva, they learned that he was gone into Switzerland, and had carried with him the military chest, to compensate for the property he had left in France. A decree of 1795 left Montesquiou at liberty to return to France; and in 1797 he reappeared in the constitutional circle, which the Directory then endeavoured to oppose to the Clichyan party. He died at Paris in 1798.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

W.

[Page 119.]

JEROME PETION.

Among the coolest and most impartial minds of the Revolution must be placed Petion. No one has formed a sounder judgment of the two parties which divided the Convention. His equity was so well known that both sides agreed to choose him for their umpire. The accusations which took place at the very opening of the Assembly excited warm disputes at the Jacobins. Fabre d'Eglantine proposed that the matter should be referred to Petion's decision. On this subject he thus expressed himself in the sitting of October 29, 1792:—

“There is another way which I think useful, and which will produce a greater effect. Almost always when any vast intrigue has been on foot, it has had need of power. It has been obliged to make great efforts to attach a great personal credit to itself. If there existed a man who had seen everything, who had appreciated everything in both parties, you could not doubt that this man, a friend to truth, would be most fit to make it known. Well, I propose that you invite this man, a member of your society, to pronounce upon the crimes that are imputed to the patriots. Force his virtue to tell all that he has seen—that man is Petion. Whatever partiality a man may have for his friends, I venture to assert that intriguers have not corrupted Petion ;

he is still pure, still sincere. I say so here. I frequently talk to him in the Convention, in moments of agitation, and he always tells me that he grieves. I see that he does grieve—inwardly. This morning he determined to ascend the tribune. He cannot refuse to write you his opinion, and we shall see if intriguers can divert him from it.

“Observe, citizens, that this step of itself will prove that you seek nothing but the truth. It is an homage which you pay to the virtue of a good patriot, with the more urgent motives, since liars have wrapped themselves up in his virtue to give themselves consequence. I demand that the motion be put to the vote.” (*Applause.*)

Legendre then spoke. “The thing was contrived, that is evident. The distribution of Brissot’s speech, the report of the minister of the interior, the speech of Louvet brought in his pocket, all proved that the matter was concerted. The speech of Brissot on the erasure contains all that Louvet has said. The report of Roland was intended to furnish Louvet with an opportunity for speaking. I approve of Fabre’s motion; the Convention will soon pronounce; Robespierre is to be heard on Monday. I beg the society to suspend the decision. It is impossible that in a free country virtue should succumb to crime.”

After this quotation, I think it right to introduce the paper written by Petion relative to the dispute between Louvet and Robespierre. This paper, and the extracts given elsewhere from Garat, contain the most valuable particulars respecting the conduct and character of the men of that time, and they are documents which history ought to preserve as most capable of conveying just ideas of that epoch.

“Citizens, I had determined to observe the most absolute silence relative to the events which have occurred since the 10th of August; motives of delicacy and solicitude for the public welfare decided me to use this reserve.

“But it is impossible to be silent any longer: on both sides my testimony is called for; every one urges me to declare my sentiments. I will tell with frankness what I know of men, what I think of things.

“I have been a near spectator of the scenes of the Revolution. I have seen the cabals, the intrigues, the tumultuous struggles between tyranny and liberty, between vice and virtue.

“When the working of the human passions is laid bare, when we perceive the secret springs which have directed the most important operations, when we know all the perils which liberty has incurred, when we penetrate into the abyss of corruption which threatened every moment to engulf us, we ask ourselves with astonishment by what series of prodigies we have arrived at the point where we this day are!

“Revolutions ought to be seen at a distance: this veil is highly necessary to them; ages efface the stains which darken them; posterity perceives only the results. Our descendants will deem us great. Let us render them better than ourselves.

“I pass over the circumstances anterior to that ever-memorable day which erected liberty upon the ruins of tyranny, and changed the monarchy into a republic.

“The men who have attributed to themselves the glory of that day are the men to whom it least belongs: it is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperious nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists, and to their secret directory, which had long been concerting the plan of the insurrection; it is due to the people; lastly, it is due to the guardian spirit which has constantly presided over the destinies of France ever since the first assembly of her representatives.

"Success, it must be admitted, was for a moment uncertain; and those who are really acquainted with the particulars of that day know who were the intrepid defenders of the country, that prevented the Swiss and all the satellites of despotism from remaining masters of the field of battle, and who they were that rallied the civic legions, which were for a moment staggered.

"That day had been brought about, too, without the concurrence of the commissioners of several sections assembled at the house of the commune. The members of the old municipality, who had not separated the whole night, were still sitting at half-past nine in the morning.

"These commissioners conceived, nevertheless, a grand idea, and took a bold step by possessing themselves of all the municipal powers, and in stepping into the place of a general council, of whose weakness and corruption they were apprehensive. They courageously risked their lives in case success should not justify the enterprise.

"Had these commissioners been wise enough to lay down their authority at the right time, to return to the rank of private citizens after the patriotic action which they had performed, they would have covered themselves with glory; but they could not withstand the allurements of power, and the ambition of governing took possession of them.

"In the first intoxicating moments of the triumph of liberty, and after so violent a commotion, it was impossible that everything should be instantly restored to tranquillity and to its accustomed order; it would have been unjust to require this: the new council of the commune was then assailed with reproaches that were not well founded, and that proved an ignorance both of its situation and of circumstances; but these commissioners began to deserve them when they themselves prolonged the revolutionary movement beyond the proper time.

"The National Assembly had spoken out; it had assumed a grand character; it had passed decrees which saved the empire; it had suspended the King; it had effaced the line of demarcation which divided the citizens into two classes; it had called together the Convention. The royalist party was cast down. It was necessary thenceforth to rally around it, to fortify it with opinion, to environ it with confidence: duty and sound policy dictated this course.

"The commune deemed it more glorious to vie with the Assembly. It began a struggle likely only to throw discredit on all that had passed, to induce a belief that the Assembly was under the irresistible yoke of circumstances; it obeyed or withstood decrees according as they favoured or thwarted its views; in its representations to the Legislative Body it used imperious and irritating language; it affected power, and knew not either how to enjoy its triumphs or to cause them to be forgiven.

"Pains had been successfully taken to persuade some, that so long as the revolutionary state lasted, power had reverted to its source, that the National Assembly was without character, that its existence was precarious, and that the communal assemblies were the only legal depositaries of authority.

"To others it had been insinuated that the leaders of opinion in the National Assembly entertained perfidious designs, and intended to overthrow liberty, and to deliver the republic into the hands of foreigners.

"Hence a great number of members of the council conceived that they were exercising a legitimate right when they usurped authority, that they were resisting oppression when they opposed the law, and that they were performing an act of civism when they were violating their

duties as citizens; nevertheless amidst this anarchy the commune from time to time passed salutary resolutions.

"I had been retained in my office; but it was now merely an empty title; I sought its functions to no purpose; they were dispersed among a thousand hands, and everybody exercised them.

"I went during the first days to the council. I was alarmed at the tumult which prevailed in that assembly, and still more at the spirit by which it was swayed. It was no longer an administrative body, deliberating on the communal affairs; it was a political assembly, deeming itself invested with full powers, discussing the great interests of the State, examining the laws enacted, and promulgating new ones; nothing was there talked of but plots against the public liberty; citizens were denounced; they were summoned to the bar, they were publicly examined, they were tried, they were dismissed, acquitted, or confined; the ordinary rules were set aside. Such was the agitation of the public mind, that it was impossible to control this torrent; all the deliberations were carried on with the impetuosity of enthusiasm; they followed one another with frightful rapidity; night and day there was no interruption; the council was continually sitting.

"I would not have my name attached to a multitude of acts so irregular, so contrary to sound principles.

"I was equally sensible how wise and how useful it would be not to approve, not to sanction by my presence, all that was done. Those members of the council who were afraid to see me there, who were annoyed at my attendance, strongly desired that the people, whose confidence I retained, should believe that I presided over its operations, and that nothing was done but in concert with me: my reserve on this point increased their enmity; but they durst not display it too openly, for fear of displeasing the people, whose favour they coveted.

"I rarely attended; and the conduct which I pursued in this very delicate situation between the old municipality, which complained of its removal, and the new one, which pretended to be legally instituted, was not unserviceable to the public tranquillity; for if I had then pronounced decisively for or against, I should have occasioned a rupture that might have been attended with most mischievous consequences. In everything there is a point of maturity which it is requisite to know how to seize.

"The administration was neglected; the mayor was no longer a centre of unity; all the threads that I held in my hands were cut; the power was dispersed; the action of superintendence was destitute of power; the restraining action was equally so.

"Robespierre assumed, then, the ascendancy in the council, and it could scarcely have been otherwise under the circumstances in which we were, and with the temper of his mind. I heard him deliver a speech which grieved me to the soul! the decree for opening the barriers was under discussion, and on this topic he launched out into extremely animated declamations, full of the extravagances of a gloomy imagination; he saw precipices beneath his feet, plots for the destruction of liberty; he pointed out the alleged conspirators; he addressed himself to the people, heated their minds, and produced in his hearers the strongest ferment.

"I replied to this speech for the purpose of restoring calmness, dispelling those dark illusions, and bringing back the discussion to the only point that ought to occupy the attention of the assembly.

"Robespierre and his partisans were thus hurrying the commune into inconsiderate proceedings—into extreme courses.

"I was not on this account suspicious of the intentions of Robespierre. I found more fault with his head than with his heart; but the consequences of these gloomy visions excited in me not the less apprehension.

"The tribunes of the council rang every day with violent invectives. The members could not persuade themselves that they were magistrates appointed to carry the laws into execution and to maintain order. They always considered themselves as forming a revolutionary association.

"The assembled sections received this influence, and communicated it in their turn, so that all Paris was at once in a ferment.

"The committee of surveillance of the commune filled the prisons. It cannot be denied that, if several of its arrests were just and necessary, others amounted to a stretch of the law. The chiefs were not so much to be blamed for this as their agents; the police had bad advisers; one man in particular, whose name has become a byword, whose name alone strikes terror into the souls of all peaceable citizens, seemed to have seized the direction of its movements. Assiduous in his attendance at all conferences, he interfered in all matters; he talked, he ordered, like a master. I complained loudly of this to the commune, and I concluded my opinion in these words: 'Marat is either the most wrong-headed or the most wicked of men.' From that day I have never mentioned him.

"Justice was slow in pronouncing upon the fate of the prisoners, and the prisons became more and more crowded. On the 23rd of August a section came in deputation to the council of the commune, and formally declared that the citizens, tired of and indignant at the delay of judgment, would break open the doors of those asylums, and sacrifice the culprits confined in them to their vengeance. . . . This petition, couched in the most furious language, met with no censure; nay, it received applause!

"On the 25th, from one thousand to twelve hundred armed citizens set out from Paris to remove the State prisoners confined at Orleans to other places.

"Disastrous intelligence arrived to increase still more the agitation of the public mind; the treason of Longwy became known, and some days afterwards the siege of Verdun.

"On the 27th the National Assembly invited the department of Paris, and those contiguous to it, to furnish thirty thousand armed men to be despatched to the frontiers. This decree excited a fresh sensation, which combined with that already prevailing.

"On the 31st the acquittal of Montmorin produced a popular commotion. It was rumoured that he had been saved through the perfidy of an emissary of the King, who had led the jurors into error.

"At the same moment a revelation of a plot made by a condemned person was published—a plot tending to effect the escape of all the prisoners, who were then to spread themselves through the city, to commit all sorts of excesses, and to carry off the King.

"Agitation was at its height. The commune, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the citizens, and to induce them to enrol themselves the more freely, had resolved that they should assemble with great parade in the Champ de Mars, amidst the discharge of cannon.

"The 2nd of September arrived. Oh, day of horror! The alarm-gun was fired, the tocsin rang. At this doleful and alarming sound a mob collected, broke into the prisons, murdering and slaughtering. Manuel and several deputies of the National Assembly repaired to those scenes of carnage. Their efforts were useless; the victims were sacrificed in

their very arms! I was meanwhile in a false security: I was ignorant of these cruelties; for some time past, nothing whatever had been communicated to me. At length I was informed of them; but how? In a vague, indirect, disfigured manner I was told at the same time that all was over. The most afflicting particulars afterwards reached me; but I felt thoroughly convinced that the day which had witnessed such atrocious scenes could never return. They nevertheless continued: I wrote to the commandant-general. I required him to despatch forces to the prisons. At first he gave me no answer. I wrote again. He told me that he had given his orders. Nothing indicated that those orders were attended to. Still they continued. I went to the council of the commune; thence I repaired to the hotel of La Force with several of my colleagues. The street leading to that prison was crowded with very peaceable citizens; a weak guard was at the door; I entered. . . . Never will the spectacle that I there beheld be effaced from my memory. I saw two municipal officers in their scarfs: I saw three men quietly seated at a table, with lists of the prisoners lying open before them; these were calling over the names of the prisoners. Other men were examining them, others performing the office of judges and jurors; a dozen executioners with bare arms, covered with blood, some with clubs, others with swords and cutlasses dripping with gore, were executing the sentences forthwith; citizens outside awaiting these sentences—with impatience observing the saddest silence at the decrees of death, and raising shouts of joy at those of acquittal.

“And the men who sat as judges, and those who acted as executioners, felt the same security as if the law had called them to perform those functions. They boasted to me of their justice, of their attention to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, of the services which they had rendered. They demanded—will it be believed—they demanded payment for the time they had been so employed! . . . I was really confounded to hear them!

“I addressed to them the austere language of the law. I spoke to them with the feeling of profound indignation with which I was penetrated. I made them all leave the place before me. No sooner had I gone myself than they returned; I went back to the places to drive them away; but in the night they completed their horrid butchery.

“Were these murders commanded—were they directed by any persons? I have had lists before me, I have received reports, and I have collected particulars. If I had to pronounce as judge, I could not say, This is the culprit.

“It is my opinion that those crimes would not have had such free scope, that they might have been stopped, if all those who had power in their hands and energy had viewed them with horror; but I will affirm, because it is true, that several of these public men, of these defenders of the country, conceived that those disastrous and disgraceful proceedings were necessary, that they purged the empire of dangerous persons, that they struck terror into the souls of the conspirators, and that these crimes, morally odious, were politically serviceable.

“Yes, this is what cooled the zeal of those to whom the law had committed the maintenance of order—of those to whom it had assigned the protection of persons and property.

“It is obvious how the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September may be connected with the immortal 10th of August; how the former may be represented as a sequel to the revolutionary movement imparted on that day, the first in the annals of the republic; but I cannot bring

myself to confound glory with infamy, and to stain the 10th of August with the atrocities of the 2nd of September.

"The committee of surveillance actually issued an order for the arrest of Roland, the minister. This was on the 4th, and the massacres still continued. Danton was informed of it; he came to the *mairie*; he was with Robespierre; he warmly inveighed against this arbitrary, this mad act; it would have ruined, not Roland, but those who had decreed it. Danton obtained its revocation; it was buried in oblivion.

"I had an explanation with Robespierre; it was very warm. To his face I have never spared those reproaches which friendship has tempered in his absence. I said to him, 'Robespierre, you are doing a great deal of mischief. Your denunciations, your alarms, your animosities, your suspicions, agitate the people. But come, explain yourself. Have you facts? have you proofs? I am ready to meet you; I am attached to truth alone; I want but liberty.'

"'You suffer yourself to be surrounded, you suffer yourself to be prepossessed,' said he; 'you are biassed against me; you see my enemies every day; you see Brissot and his party.'

"'You are mistaken, Robespierre. No man is more on his guard than myself against prepossessions, or judges more coolly of men and things. I see Brissot, it is true, though very rarely; but you do not know him, whereas I have known him from a boy. I have seen him in those moments when the whole soul exhibits itself to view, when it abandons itself without reserve to friendship and confidence. I know his disinterestedness, I know his principles, and I protest to you that they are pure. Those who make a party leader of him have not the slightest idea of his character: he possesses intelligence and knowledge, but he has neither the reserve, nor the dissimulation, nor the insinuating manners, nor that spirit of sequence, which constitute a party leader; and what will surprise you is, that instead of leading others, he is very easily misled himself.'

"Robespierre persisted in his opinion, but confined himself to generalities. 'Do let us understand one another,' said I; 'tell me frankly what you have upon your mind, what you know.'

"'Well then,' he replied, 'I believe that Brissot is with Brunswick.'

"'What an egregious mistake!' I exclaimed: 'nay, it is truly insanity: that is the way in which your imagination misleads you: would not Brunswick be the first to cut off his head? Brissot is not silly enough to doubt it. Which of us seriously can capitulate? which of us does not risk his life? Let us banish unjust suspicions.'

"I return to the events of which I have given you a faint sketch. These events, and some of those which preceded the celebrated 10th of August, an attentive consideration of the facts and of a multitude of circumstances, have induced a belief that intriguers were striving to make a tool of the people, in order with the people to make themselves masters of the supreme authority. Robespierre has been openly named; his connections have been examined, his conduct analyzed; an expression, dropped, it is said, by one of his friends, has been caught up, and it has been inferred that Robespierre cherished the mad ambition of becoming the dictator of his country.

"The character of Robespierre accounts for his actions. Robespierre is extremely suspicious and distrustful. He everywhere perceives plots, treasons, precipices. His bilious temperament, his splenetic imagination, present all objects to him in gloomy colours. Imperious in his opinion, listening to none but himself, impatient of contradiction, never forgiving

any one who may have hurt his self-love, and never acknowledging himself in the wrong; denouncing on the slightest grounds, and irritating himself on the slightest suspicion, always conceiving that people are watching and designing to persecute him; boasting of himself, and talking without reserve of his services; an utter stranger to decorum, and thus injuring the cause which he defends; coveting above all things the favour of the people, continually paying court to them, and earnestly seeking their applause; it is this, it is, above all, this last weakness that, mixing itself up with all the acts of his public life, has induced a belief that Robespierre aspired to high destinies, and that he wanted to usurp the dictatorial power.

"For my part, I cannot persuade myself that this chimera has seriously engaged his thoughts, that it has been the object of his wishes and the aim of his ambition.

"He is nevertheless a man who has intoxicated himself with this fantastic notion, who has never ceased to call for a dictatorship in France as a blessing, as the only government that could save us from the anarchy that he preached, that could lead us to liberty and happiness! He solicited this tyrannical power, for whom? You would never believe it; you are not aware of the full extent of the delirium of his vanity: he solicited it for whom, yes, for whom, but Marat! If his folly were not ferocious, there would be nothing so ridiculous as that creature on whom nature seems purposely to have set the seal of reprobation."

X.

[Page 129.]

PACHE.

"Jean Nicolas Pache, war minister, and afterwards mayor of Paris, son of the Marshal de Castries's Swiss porter, received a liberal education, and at the time of the Revolution went to Paris, and eagerly embraced the new ideas. An air of modesty and disinterestedness, which seemed to exclude all ambition, gave him some weight with the revolutionary party. He connected himself with Brissot, and first began to work under the ministers, with a view of becoming one himself. In 1792 he succeeded Servan in the war department. Pache, having chosen his coadjutors from among persons new to office, who were anxious to figure in the Jacobin Society rather than to fulfil their duty, frequently gave cause of complaint. In 1793 he was made mayor of Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Convention, at the head of a deputation of the sections, to demand the expulsion of Brissot and others of the Gironde party. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was accused by the Directory of various arbitrary acts, but contrived to escape prosecution, and quitting Paris in 1797, lived afterwards in retirement and obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"The peculation, or the profuse expenditure at least, that took place in the war department during Pache's administration was horrible. In the twenty-four hours that preceded his dismissal he filled up sixty different places with all the persons he knew of who were base enough to pay their court to him, down to his very hairdresser, a blackguard boy of nineteen, whom he made a muster-master."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs*.

Y.

[Page 131.]

GENERAL BEAULIEU.

"Baron de Beaulieu was an Austrian general of artillery. After having served in the Seven Years' War, he lived peaceably till 1789, the time of the revolt in Brabant. He there commanded a body of the shattered Austrian army, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and soon put an end to the war. In 1792 Beaulieu defeated a numerous French corps under General Biron, and forced them to draw back towards Valenciennes. In 1794 he commanded in the province of Luxembourg, and gained a battle near Arlon over a division of Jourdan's army. In 1796 he took the chief command of the army of Italy, but was constantly beaten by Bonaparte. The same year he quitted his command, and was succeeded by M. de Wurmsler, who was still more unfortunate than he had been."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Z.

[Page 132.]

KING LOUIS PHILIPPE.

"Louis Philippe, eldest son of the Duc d'Orleans (Egalité) and of Marie Adelaide de Bourbon Penthièvre, grand-daughter of a natural son of Louis XIV. by Madame Montespan, was born at Paris in 1773. The line of Bourbon-Orleans was founded by Philippe, brother of the Grand Monarque, who conferred on him the duchy of Orleans. In 1782 the Duc de Chartres's education was entrusted to the Comtesse de Genlis. In 1792 he fought under Dumouriez at Valmy, and displayed great bravery and judgment. He also distinguished himself highly at the battle of Jemappes. Shortly afterwards, having frankly expressed his horror of the revolutionary excesses in France, a decree of arrest was issued against him. He then quitted the army and his country, and obtained passports for Switzerland, but received notice that no part of the cantons was safe for him. Alone, however, and on foot, and almost without money, he began his travels in the interior of Switzerland and the Alps, and at length obtained the situation of professor at the college of Reichenau, where he taught geography, history, the French and English languages, and mathematics, for four months, without having been discovered. It was here he learned the tragical end of his father. On quitting Reichenau, the Duc de Chartres, now become Duc d'Orleans, retired to Bremgarten, where he remained, under the name of Corby, till the end of 1794, when, his retreat being discovered, he resolved on going to America; but being unable to obtain the necessary pecuniary means, he travelled instead through Norway and Sweden, journeyed on foot with the Laplanders, and reached the North Cape in 1795. In the following year he set out for America, and paid

a visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon. He afterwards went to England, and established himself with his brothers at Twickenham. In 1809 the Duke was married at Palermo to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the King of Sicily. After the fall of Napoleon he returned to Paris, and in 1815 was ordered by Louis to take the command of the army of the North. He soon, however, resigned it, and fixed his residence, with his family, again at Twickenham. After the Hundred Days he went back to Paris, took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, but manifested such liberal sentiments as to render himself obnoxious to the administration. In consequence of the memorable events of July 1830, he was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and finally, on the abdication of Charles X., King of the French."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

AA.

[Page 133.]

GENERAL DAMPIERRE.

"Dampierre was an officer in the French guards, afterwards colonel of the 5th dragoon regiment, and finally a republican general. In 1792 he served under Dumouriez, and excited particular notice by his bravery at Jemappes. At the time of Dumouriez's defection he addressed a proclamation to the army of the North and of Ardennes, urging them to remain faithful to the Convention, for which he was appointed commander-in-chief. In 1793 he had his leg carried away by a cannon-ball while attacking the woods of Ruismes and St. Amand, and died two days afterwards. Dampierre was patronized by the Duc d'Orleans. His air was gloomy, and his make heavy; but he united to an extraordinary degree of vivacity the bravery of a soldier."—*Biographie Moderne*.

BB.

[Page 139.]

THE ABBÉ D'ESPAGNAC.

"M. R. Sahuguet, Abbé d'Espagnac, was destined for the Church, and obtained a canonry in the metropolitan church of the capital. He first drew attention by his literary talents; but his love of money soon swallowed up every other consideration. He connected himself with Calonne, became his agent, and engaged in several lucrative speculations. He was one of the original members of the Jacobin Club. In 1791 he became a purveyor to the army of the Alps, and being denounced by Cambon for fraudulent dealings, was ordered to be arrested. He contrived to clear himself from this accusation, and speculated in the baggage waggons of Dumouriez's army. Being soon afterwards denounced as an accomplice and a dishonest purveyor, he was arrested in 1793, and in the following year sent to the guillotine by the revolutionary tribunal. At the time of his death d'Espagnac was forty-one years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

CC.

[Page 141.]

CAMBON.

"J. Cambon, a merchant, born of Protestant parents, eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In the Legislative Assembly he devoted himself chiefly to finance; and to him is owing the formation of the Great Book of the public debt. In 1792 he caused assignats to be issued for thirty millions, and proposed that the statues of the tyrants in the capital should be converted into cannon. Cambon was the last president of the Legislative Assembly. In 1792 his influence obtained the famous decree which set bounds to the power of generals in a hostile country—a measure which removed Dumouriez's mask. In the following year he voted for the immediate death of the King. After the fall of Robespierre, Cambon directed the finance, but was outlawed soon afterwards, and was subsequently restored to liberty. He then went to live in obscurity at Montpellier.—*Biographie Moderne*.

DD.

[Page 146.]

RONSIN.

"Ronsin was born at Soissons in 1752. He figured in the early scenes of the Revolution, and in 1789 brought out a tragedy at one of the minor Paris theatres, which, though despicable in point of style, had a considerable run. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was guillotined in 1794. His dramatic pieces were collected and published after his death."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

EE.

[Page 146.]

CAMUS.

"A. G. Camus, deputy to the States-general, and to the National Convention, was counsel for the clergy at Paris at the period of the Revolution. In 1792 he was deputed to go into Holland to inquire into the truth of the complaints brought by Dumouriez against the war minister and the commissioners of the treasury, when he obtained the adoption of plans to improve the commissariat department. In the following year he voted for the King's death. Being appointed one of five commissioners to arrest Dumouriez, he was anticipated by that general, who delivered up him and his colleagues to the Austrians. He was, however, soon afterwards exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. Camus died at Paris of an apoplectic attack in 1804."—*Biographie Moderne*.

FF.

[Page 146.]

LACROIX.

"Lacroix, who was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal in 1794, was originally a country lawyer; in two or three months he became a colonel and a major-general, acquired wealth, was the accomplice of Danton, long held a secret correspondence with Dumouriez, whom he pretended to denounce; favoured the tribunes and the tumults of the sections; was one of the opposers of the Convention by caressing the anarchical commune, and defending it with his stentorian voice."—*Mercier's Nouveau Paris*.

GG.

[Page 152.]

MONGE.

"Gaspard Monge was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards of the French Institute. In 1793, acting as war minister for Servan, he signed the order for the execution of Louis. In the following year he was made secretary and president of the Jacobin Club. Having attached himself to the fortunes of Bonaparte, he was appointed in 1804 to the situation of grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Monge was the author of several scientific works."—*Biographie Moderne*.

HH.

[Page 163.]

ANTOINE ST. JUST.

"St. Just was austere in manners, like Robespierre, but more enthusiastic; and the image of a thousand religious or political fanatics, who, being of a gloomy temperament, and full of visionary aspirations, think that good is always to be worked out of evil, and are ready to sacrifice themselves and the whole world to any scheme they have set their minds upon. St. Just was nicknamed the Apocalyptic."—*Haslitt's Life of Napoleon*.

"St. Just exhibited the true features of gloomy fanaticism; a regular visage, dark and lank hair, a penetrating and severe look, a melancholy expression of countenance, revived the image of those desperate Scottish enthusiasts of whom modern genius has drawn so graphic a picture. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, austere in private, and indefatigable in public, St. Just was the most resolute, because the most sincere, of the Decemvirs. Enthusiastic in his passion for the multitude, he disdained to imitate its vices, or pander to its desires. Steeled against every sentiment of pity, he demanded the execution of victims in the same manner as the supply of armies."—*Alison*.

II.

[Page 167.]

FAUCHET.

“Clement Fauchet, a priest, born at Dorne, embraced the principles of the Revolution with eagerness, and distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille, where he appeared at the head of the assailants with a sabre in his hand. At the time of Louis’s trial he declared that he had indeed deserved death, but that nevertheless he ought to be saved. Fauchet was condemned to death as a Girondin, in his forty-ninth year.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

JJ.

[Page 173.]

THE CONVENTION.

Here is the picture of the two sides of the Convention, drawn by Garat, the acutest observer we have had of the actors in the Revolution:—

“To this side of the Convention almost all the men of whom I have been just speaking belonged: I could never discover in them any other spirit than that which I had known in them. There I saw then both that republicanism of sentiment which does not consent to obey any man, unless that man speaks *in the name* of the nation, and *as* the law itself, and that much more rare republicanism of thought, which has taken to pieces and put together again all the springs of the organization of a society of men, alike in rights as in nature; which has found out by what happy and profound contrivance it is possible to associate in a great republic what appears inassociable—equality and submission to the magistrates, the agitation fertile in minds and souls, and a constant, immutable order; a government whose power shall always be absolute over individuals and over the multitude, and always submissive to the nation; an executive power whose show and forms of useful splendour shall always awaken ideas of the splendour of the republic, and newer ideas of the greatness of a person.

“On this same side I beheld seated the men best acquainted with those doctrines of political economy which teach how to open and to enlarge all the channels of private and of national wealth; how to combine the public revenue with the precise portions due to it from the fortune of every citizen; how to create new sources and new rivers for private fortunes by a good use of what they have poured into the coffers of the republic; how to protect and to leave unshackled all the branches of industry without favouring any; how to regard great properties, not as those sterile lakes which absorb and retain all the waters poured by the mountains into their bosom, but as reservoirs necessary for multiplying and cherishing the germs of universal fecundity, for the purpose of diffusing them farther and farther over all those places which would

otherwise be left dry and sterile—admirable doctrines, which introduced liberty into the arts and commerce before it existed in governments, but peculiarly adapted by their essence to the essence of republics, alone capable of giving a solid foundation to *equality*, not in a general *frugality* which is always violated, and which shackles desires much less than industry, but in a universal opulence, in those labours whose ingenious variety and continual revival can alone absorb, happily for liberty, that turbulent activity of democracies, which, after it had long agitated, at length swept away the ancient republics amidst the storms and tempests in which their atmosphere was constantly enveloped.

“On the right side there were five or six men whose genius was capable of conceiving those grand theories of social and of economic order, and a great number whose understandings could comprehend and diffuse them. On that side, too, were ranged a certain number of spirits, in times past extremely impetuous, extremely violent, but who, having run the entire round of their demagogic extravagances, aspired only to disavow and to combat the follies which they had propagated. There also sat, as the pious kneel at the foot of the altar, those men whom mild passions, a decent fortune, and an education which had not been neglected, disposed to honour with all the private virtues that republic which permitted them to enjoy their repose, their easy benevolence, and their happiness.

“On turning my eyes from this right side to the left, on casting them upon the Mountain, what a contrast struck me! There I saw a man agitating himself with all possible emotions, whose face, of a copper yellow hue, made him look as if he had issued from the bloodstained caves of cannibals, or from the scorching threshold of hell; a man whom, by his convulsive, abrupt, and unequal gait, you recognized as one of those murderers who had escaped from the executioner, but not from the furies, and who seem desirous of annihilating the human race, to spare themselves the dread which the sight of every man excites in them. Under despotism, which he had not covered with blood as he had liberty, this man had cherished the ambition of producing a revolution in the sciences; and he had attacked, in systems more daring than ingenious, the greatest discoveries of modern times and of the human mind. His eyes, roving through the history of ages, had dwelt upon the lives of four or five great exterminators who converted cities into deserts, for the purpose of re-peopling those deserts with a race formed in their own image or in that of tigers; this was all that he had retained of the annals of nations, all that he knew and that he cared to imitate. From an instinct resembling that of ravenous beasts rather than from any deep vein of perversity, he had perceived into how many follies and crimes it is possible to lead an immense people whose religious and political chains have just been broken. This is the idea which dictated all his writings, all his words, all his actions. And he fell but by the dagger of a woman! and more than fifteen thousand images of him were set up throughout the republic!

“Beside him were seated men who would not themselves have conceived such atrocities, but who, thrown along with him, by an act of extreme audacity, into events whose height turned them dizzy, and whose dangers made them shudder, while disavowing the maxims of the monster, had perhaps already followed them, and were not sorry that it should be feared that they could follow them still. They abhorred Marat, but they did not abhor making use of him. They placed him in their midst, they put him in their van, they bore him, as

it were, upon their breast, like a head of Medusa. As the horror of such a man was everywhere, you fancied that you perceived him everywhere; you almost imagined that he was the whole Mountain, or that the whole Mountain was, as it were, he. Among the leaders, in fact, there were several who found no other fault with the misdeeds of Marat but that they were too undisguised.

"But among these leaders—and here nothing but truth makes me differ in opinion from many worthy men—among these leaders themselves were a great number of persons who, connected with others by events much more than by their sentiments, turned their eyes and their regrets towards wisdom and humanity; who would have had many virtues, and might have rendered many services at the moment when they should have begun to be thought capable of them. To the Mountain repaired, as to military posts, those who had much passion for liberty and little theory; those who deemed equality threatened or even violated by grandeur of ideas and elegance of language; those who, elected in hamlets and in workshops, could not recognize a republican in any other costume than that which they wore themselves; those who, entering for the first time upon the career of the Revolution, had to signalize that impetuosity and that violence in which the glory of almost all the great Revolutionists began; those who, still young and better qualified to serve the republic in the field than in the sanctuary of the laws, having seen the republic start into existence amid the crash of thunder, conceived that it was with the crash of thunder that it ought to maintain itself and promulgate its decrees. On this side also several of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a seat, who, having been brought up in the proscribed castes of the nobility and the priesthood, though always pure, were always liable to suspicions, and fled to the top of the Mountain from the charge of not attaining the height of principles. Thither repaired to feed their suspicions and to live among phantoms those austere and melancholy characters who, having too frequently seen falsehood united with politeness, believe in virtue only when it is gloomy, and in liberty when it is wild. There ranged themselves some of those minds who had borrowed from the exact sciences stiffness at the same time with rectitude, who, proud of possessing knowledge immediately applicable to the mechanical arts, were glad to separate themselves by their place as well as by their disdain from those scholars, those philosophers, whose acquirements are not so promptly beneficial to the weaver or to the smith, and do not reach individuals until they have enlightened society in general. There, lastly, those liked to vote, whatever might be in other respects their sentiments and their talents, who, from the springs of their character being too tightly wound up, were disposed to go beyond rather than to fall short of the limit that it was necessary to set to revolutionary energy and enthusiasm.

"Such was the idea which I formed of the *elements* of the two sides of the National Convention.

"To judge of each side from the majority of its elements, both appeared to me capable of rendering, in different ways and degrees, great services to the republic: the right side for organizing the interior with wisdom and grandeur; the left, for infusing from their own souls into the souls of all Frenchmen those republican and popular passions so necessary to a nation assailed on all sides by the league of kings and the soldiery of Europe."

KK.

[Page 174.]

ST. ANDRÉ.

"Jean Bon St. André, a Protestant minister, and deputy to the Convention, declared against an appeal to the people on the King's trial, and voted for his death. He was one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety during the reign of the Mountain, and took possession of the marine department. Being despatched on a mission to Brest, he filled the prisons, put the public authorities into the hands of the Jacobins, admitted all the galley-slaves to depose against the soldiers and the citizens, and caused the erection of two permanent guillotines. He also converted two of the churches into temples of Reason. He was afterwards present, in the French fleet, at the celebrated battle of the 1st of June, in which Lord Howe was victorious; and being slightly wounded, withdrew into a frigate, where he remained in the hold to have his wound dressed. In the time of the consulate St. André was made prefect of the department of Mont Tonnerre."—*Biographie Moderne*.

LL.

[Page 176.]

REWBEL.

"Rewbel, born at Colmar in 1746, chief of the barristers in the supreme council of Alsace, was long the agent of several German princes who had possessions in Alsace, and afterwards undertook different causes against them, which at the time of the Revolution he represented as a mark of patriotism. In 1791 he presided in the National Assembly, and next to Robespierre, was the member who most plainly showed his desire for a republic. In the following year he earnestly pressed the King's trial, and demanded that the Queen should be included in the same decree of accusation. Rewbel took care to keep in the background during the stormiest period of Robespierre's reign, and after his fall declared loudly against the Jacobins. He was a violent man, and terminated his legislative career at the overthrow of the Directory, under which his eldest son was adjutant-general."—*Biographie Moderne*.

MM.

[Page 182.]

TALLIEN.

"Jean Lambert Tallien, son to the porter of a nobleman, became afterwards an attorney's clerk, and lastly, corrector of the press in the *Moniteur* office. On the 10th of August 1792 he was named secretary-

general for the commune, and from that time began to play a conspicuous part in the Revolution. He warmly urged the trial of Louis XVI., and opposed the granting him counsel. During the year 1793 he was out on missions, and everywhere conducted himself like a zealous partisan of revolutionary measures. Love, however, appeared all at once to change his character. Madame de Fontenai, whose maiden name was Cabarrus, had come to Bordeaux in order to embark for Spain, whither she was going to rejoin her husband; she was imprisoned, and fearing to increase the number of victims, she, in order to save her life, flattered the violent passion with which she had inspired Tallien, who, from that time entirely given up to luxury and pleasure, not only ceased to persecute, but in 1794 dissolved the military and revolutionary tribunals in Bordeaux. In the same year he was one of those who materially assisted in bringing Robespierre to the scaffold. In 1806 Tallien was commissioner of the Board of Trade at Alicant."—*Biographie Moderne*.

NN.

[Page 183.]

MALESHERBES.

"Christian William de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, an eminent French statesman, was the son of the chancellor of France, and was born at Paris in 1721. In the year 1750 he succeeded his father as president of the Court of Aids, and was also made superintendent of the press, in both which offices he displayed a liberal and enlightened policy. On the banishment of the parliaments and the suppression of the Court of Aids, Malesherbes was exiled to his country-seat. In 1775 he was appointed minister of State. He took no part in the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the monarchy; but on the decree of the Convention for the King's trial he emerged from his retreat to become the voluntary advocate of his sovereign. Malesherbes was guillotined in 1794, and almost his whole family were extirpated by their merciless persecutors."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

OO.

[Page 185.]

MARAT AND ROBESPIERRE.

Among the singular opinions expressed concerning Marat and Robespierre must not be omitted that which was put forth by the society of the Jacobins, at their sitting of Sunday, December 23, 1792. I know nothing that furnishes a better picture of the spirit and dispositions of the moment than the discussion which took place relative to the character of those two persons. Here follows an extract from it:—

"Desfieux read the correspondence. A letter from a society, whose name has escaped us, gave rise to a warm discussion, which cannot fail to suggest some very important reflections. This society informed the mother society that it was invariably attached to the principles of the

Jacobins; it observed that it had not suffered itself to be blinded by the calumnies circulated so profusely against Marat and Robespierre, and that it retained all its esteem and all its veneration for those two incorruptible friends of the people.

"This letter was loudly applauded; but it was followed by a discussion which Brissot and Gorsas, who are most assuredly prophets, had predicted on the preceding day.

"*Robert.* 'It is very astonishing that the names of Marat and Robespierre are always coupled together. How corrupt the public mind must be in the departments, since no difference is made between these two defenders of the people! Both possess virtues, it is true. Marat is a patriot; he has estimable qualities, I admit; but how different is he from Robespierre! The latter is discreet, moderate in his means; whereas Marat is exaggerated, and has not that discretion which characterizes Robespierre. It is not sufficient to be a patriot; in order to serve the people usefully, it is necessary to be reserved in the means of execution, and most assuredly Robespierre surpasses Marat in the means of execution.

"'It is high time, citizens, to tear off the veil which hides the truth from the eyes of the departments. It is high time that they should know that we can distinguish between Robespierre and Marat. Let us write to the affiliated societies what we think of those two citizens; for I confess I am a staunch partisan of Robespierre, and yet I am not a partisan of Marat.' (*Murmurs in the tribunes and in part of the hall.*)

"*Bourdon.* 'We ought long since to have acquainted the affiliated societies with our opinion of Marat. How could they ever connect Marat and Robespierre together! Robespierre is a truly virtuous man, with whom we have no fault to find from the commencement of the Revolution. Robespierre is moderate in his means; whereas Marat is a violent writer, who does great harm to the Jacobins (*murmurs*); and besides, it is right to observe that Marat does us great injury with the National Convention. The deputies imagine that we are partisans of Marat; we are called Maratists. If we show that we duly appreciate Marat, then you will see the deputies draw nearer to the Mountain where we sit, you will see them come into the bosom of this society; you will see the affiliated societies that have gone astray, return and rally anew around the cradle of liberty. If Marat is a patriot, he must accede to the motion that I am going to make. Marat ought to sacrifice himself to the cause of liberty. I move that his name be erased from the list of the members of this society.'

"This motion excited some applause, violent murmurs in part of the hall, and vehement agitation in the tribunes.

"It will be recollected that a week before this scene of a new kind, Marat had been covered with applause in the society; the population of the tribunes, which has a memory, recollected this circumstance perfectly well; it could not conceive that so speedy a change had been wrought in opinions; and as the moral instinct of the people is always just, it was highly indignant at the motion of Bourdon: the people therefore defended their *virtuous friend*; they did not imagine that in a week he could have forfeited his claim to the regard of the society; for though it may be said that ingratitude is a virtue of republics, it will be very difficult to accustom the French people to this kind of virtue.

"The coupling of the names of Marat and Robespierre was not revolting to the people. Their ears had long been accustomed to their being so united in the correspondence; and after witnessing the indignation

of the society on several occasions when the clubs of the other departments demanded the expulsion of Marat, they did not deem it right on this day to support the motion of Bourdon.

"A citizen of an affiliated society pointed out to the society how dangerous it was, in fact, to join together the names of Marat and Robespierre. 'In the departments,' said he, 'a great difference is made between Marat and Robespierre; but they are surprised at the silence of the society concerning the differences which exist between those two patriots. I propose to the society, after it has decided the fate of Marat, to make no further mention of affiliation—a word that ought never to be uttered in a republic—but to employ the term *fraternization*.'

"*Dufourny*. 'I oppose the motion for expelling Marat from the society. (*Vehement applause*.) I will not deny the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre. These two writers, who may resemble one another in patriotism, have very striking differences. They have both served the cause of the people, but in different ways. Robespierre has defended the true principles with method, with firmness, and with all becoming discretion; Marat, on the contrary, has frequently passed the bounds of sound reason and prudence. Still, though admitting the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre, I am not in favour of the erasure: it is possible to be just without being ungrateful to Marat. Marat has been useful to us; he has served the Revolution with courage. (*Vehement applause from the society and the tribunes*.) There would be ingratitude in striking him out of the list. (*Yes, yes, from all quarters*.) Marat has been a necessary man. Revolutions have need of strong heads, capable of uniting States; and Marat is one of those rare men who are necessary for the overthrow of despotism. (*Applause*.) I conclude with proposing that the motion of Bourdon be rejected, and that merely a letter be written to the affiliated societies to acquaint them with the difference that we make between Marat and Robespierre.' (*Applause*.)

"The society resolved that it will cease to use the term affiliation, deeming it offensive to republican equality, and substitute the word *fraternization* in its stead. The society then resolved that Marat shall not be erased from the list of its members, but that a circular shall be sent to all the societies having the right of fraternization, in which shall be detailed the resemblances and the differences, the conformities and the difformities, which may be found between Marat and Robespierre, that all those who fraternize with the Jacobins may be able to pronounce, with a thorough knowledge of circumstances, respecting those two defenders of the people, and that they may at length learn to separate two names which they invariably but erroneously couple together."

PP.

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DESÈZE.

"Raymond Desèze was of an ancient family. His father was a celebrated parliamentary advocate at Bordeaux, in which town Raymond was born in 1750. He displayed uncommon talents in the legal pro-

fession, and was entrusted with the defence of Louis XVI., which was considered a masterpiece. He survived the Reign of Terror, and refused all office under Napoleon. On the return of the Bourbons he was appointed first president of the Court of Cassation, and grand treasurer of the royal order. He was afterwards made a peer of France. Desèze died at Paris in 1828."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

QQ.

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LANJUINAIS.

"J. D. Lanjuinais, an advocate and professor of civil law, was one of the original founders of the Breton Club, which afterwards became the Jacobin Society. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention; but in proportion to the increasing horrors of the Revolution, he became more moderate in his principles. On the King's trial he declared that his Majesty was guilty, and voted for his imprisonment, and his exile when a peace should take place. In 1794 the Convention outlawed him; but having evaded all research, he solicited to be reinstated in the Legislative Body, and was recalled in 1795. In the year 1800 Lanjuinais became a member of the conservative Senate, and showed himself on several occasions the inflexible defender of the true principles of morality and justice."—*Biographie Moderne*.

RR.

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SALLES.

"J. B. Salles, a physician at Vezelise, was a man of an enlightened mind and acute penetration, and showed himself a warm partisan of the Revolution. After the overthrow of monarchy on the 10th of August he was appointed deputy to the National Convention, and became one of the founders of the republic. In this Assembly he voted for the confinement of Louis XVI., and his banishment on the conclusion of peace. In 1793 he boldly denounced Marat as exciting the people to murder and pillage, and as having solicited them, especially in his journal, to hang monopolizers at the doors of their magazines. Being outlawed by the Jacobin faction, Salles wandered for a long time from asylum to asylum, and from cavern to cavern, but was at length seized at the house of Guadet's father, tried at Bordeaux, and executed in 1794. Salles was thirty-four years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

SS.

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ST. ETIENNE.

"J. P. Rabaut St. Etienne, a lawyer, a man of letters, and a minister of the reformed religion, was an ardent convert to the Revolution, and a sworn enemy to the Catholic clergy. He was one of those whose sectarian spirit added greatly to the revolutionary enthusiasm. When, however, he had only monarchy to contend against, he became more moderate. On the occasion of the King's trial he forcibly combated the opinion of those who desired that the Convention should itself try Louis. At the time of the nominal appeal concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the King, St. Etienne voted for his confinement, and his banishment in the event of a peace, as well as for the appeal to the people to confirm the sentence. In 1793 he was president of the National Convention; but opposing the Terrorist party, a decree of outlawry was passed against him, and he was executed at Paris, having been delivered up by an old friend, of whom he went to beg an asylum. Rabaut St. Etienne was fifty years of age, and a native of Nîmes. He was the author of 'Letters on the Primitive History of Greece,' and of an 'Historic Summary of the French Revolution.' He also assisted in editing the *Moniteur*."—*Biographie Moderne*.

TT.

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MAILHE.

"Jean Mailhe was a lawyer and attorney syndic of Upper Garonne, whence he was deputed to the Legislature. At the time of the King's trial he voted for death, but moved an amendment to the effect that execution should be delayed. Having escaped the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror, he was in 1800 appointed by the consuls secretary-general to the prefecture of the Upper Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne*.

UU.

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MERLIN OF DOUAI.

"Merlin always pursued a revolutionary career, and never departed from his principles, never accepted a commission to pillage or slay in the departments, and, devoted to the fatigue of incessant labour, never manifested undue ambition. He wanted, perhaps, the courage and firmness necessary to a true statesman; but he had some qualities which

are desirable in a minister: more remarkable for address than vigour, he succeeded in all he attempted, by patience, attention, and that persevering spirit which is not character, but which frequently supplies its place."—*Carnot's Memoirs*.

VV.

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THE COMTE DE KERSAINT.

"Comte de A. G. S. Kersaint was a captain in the royal navy, and at the period of the Revolution attached himself to the Girondins. On the King's trial, when sentence of death had been pronounced, in opposition to his vote for imprisonment till the peace, Kersaint sent in his resignation as member of the Convention. In 1793 he was guillotined by the Jacobin faction. He was born in Paris, was a man of good natural abilities and of moderate principles, and at the time of his death was fifty-two years old."—*Biographie Moderne*.

WW.

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THE KING'S CONFESSOR.

"Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, father-confessor of Louis XVI., was born in Ireland in 1745, in the village of Edgeworthstown. His father, an episcopalian clergyman, adopted the Catholic faith with his family, and went to France. His piety and good conduct obtained him the confidence of the Princesse Elizabeth, who chose him for her confessor, and made him known to Louis, who, after his condemnation, sent for him to attend him in his last moments. M. Edgeworth accompanied the King to the place of execution; and having succeeded in escaping from France, arrived in England in 1796. Pitt offered him a pension, which he declined. He soon after followed Louis XVIII. to Blankenburg, in Brunswick, and thence to Mittau. M. Edgeworth died, in 1807, of a contagious fever, caught in attending to some sick French emigrants. The Duchesse d'Angoulême waited on him in his last moments; the royal family followed him to the tomb; and Louis XVIII. wrote his epitaph."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

XX.

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THE KING'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS FAMILY.

"At eight o'clock the King came out of his closet, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to his family. They replied, that could not be, but his family should be brought down if he desired it. 'Be it so,' said his Majesty; and accordingly at half-past eight the

door opened, and his wife and children made their appearance. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes, only broken by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards his Majesty's chamber. 'No,' said the King, 'we must go into this room; I can only see you there.' They went in, and I shut the glass door. The King sat down; the Queen was on his left hand; Madame Elizabeth on his right; Madame Royale nearly opposite; and the young Prince stood between his legs. All were leaning on the King, and often pressed him to their arms. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three-quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything. It could, however, be seen that after every sentence uttered by the King the agitation of the Queen and Princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak again. It was plain from their gestures that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation. At a quarter-past ten the King rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm; their Majesties gave each a hand to the Dauphin. Madame Royale, on the King's left, had her arms round his body; and behind her Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you,' said the King, 'that I will see you again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.' 'You promise,' said they all together. 'Yes, I promise.' 'Why not at seven o'clock?' asked the Queen. 'Well, yes, at seven,' replied the King. 'Farewell!' He pronounced farewell in so impressive a manner that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. His Majesty, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. 'Farewell! farewell!' said he, and went into his chamber. The Queen, Princesses, and Dauphin returned to their own apartments; and though both the doors were shut, their screams and lamentations were heard for some time on the stairs. The King went back to his confessor in the turret closet."—*Clery*.

YY.

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LEPELLETIER ST. FARGEAU.

"L. M. de Lepelletier St. Fargeau, president of the parliament of Paris, was deputed by the nobility of that city to the States-general. He possessed an immense fortune, and was noted before the Revolution for very loose morals, but at the same time for a gentle disposition. In 1790 he declared in favour of the abolition of honorary titles, and filled the president's chair of the Assembly. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to the Convention, and on the occasion of the King's trial voted for his death. He was assassinated four days after at the Palais Royal, in the house of the cook Fevrier, where he was going to dine. He immediately expired, having barely time to pronounce these words, 'I am cold!' Lepelletier was born at Paris in the year 1760."—*Biographie Moderne*.

ZZ.

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THE MORNING OF THE EXECUTION.

"On hearing five o'clock strike, I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bedside. 'I have slept soundly,' said his Majesty, 'and I stood in need of it; yesterday was a trying day to me. Where is M. Edgeworth?' I answered, 'On my bed.' 'And where were you all night?' 'On this chair.' 'I am sorry for it,' said the King, and gave me his hand, at the same time tenderly pressing mine. I then dressed his Majesty, who, as soon as he was dressed, bade me go and call M. Edgeworth, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended the King to the turret. Meanwhile I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying mass. The necessary articles of dress had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and when everything was ready I went and informed his Majesty. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and finding the place of the mass, gave it me; he then took another book for himself. The priest meanwhile was dressing. Before the altar I had placed an arm-chair for his Majesty, with a large cushion on the ground: the cushion he desired me to take away, and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly used at his prayers. When the priest came in, the municipal officers retired into the ante-chamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The mass began at six o'clock. There was profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard mass with the most devout attention, and received the communion. After the service he withdrew to his closet, and the priest went into my chamber to put off his official attire."—*Clery*.

AAA.

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LOUIS CONDUCTED TO THE SCAFFOLD.

"All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the sound of trumpets, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon which were incessantly carried from one place to another—all resounded in the tower. At half-past eight o'clock the noise increased; the doors were thrown open with great clatter; and Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement the King came out of his closet, and said to

Santerre, 'You are come for me?' 'Yes,' was the answer. 'Wait a moment,' said his Majesty, and went into his closet, whence he instantly returned, followed by his confessor. I was standing behind the King, near the fireplace. He turned round to me, and I offered him his great-coat. 'I shall not want it,' said he; 'give me only my hat.' I presented it to him, and his hand met mine, which he pressed for the last time. His Majesty then looked at Santerre and said, 'Lead on.' These were the last words he spoke in his apartments."—*Clery*.

BBB.

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THE KING'S LAST MOMENTS.

"On quitting the tower, the King crossed the first court, formerly the garden, on foot; he turned back once or twice towards the tower as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court a carriage waited; two gendarmes held the door: at the King's approach one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front; his Majesty followed, and placed me by his side, at the back of the carriage; the other gendarme jumped in last, and shut the door. The procession lasted almost two hours; the streets were lined with citizens, all armed; and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, 'We have arrived, if I mistake not.' My silence answered that we had. On quitting the vehicle, three guards surrounded his Majesty, and would have taken off his clothes; but he repulsed them with haughtiness; he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to lean on my arm, and from the slowness with which he proceeded I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when, arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold; silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and heard him pronounce distinctly in a loud voice these memorable words: 'I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France.' He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners, who immediately seized the King with violence, and dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body."—*Abbé Edgeworth*.

CCC.

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THE KING'S EXECUTIONERS.

The executioners who officiated on this occasion were brothers, named Samson, of one of whom Mercier thus speaks in his *Nouveau Tableau de Paris*: "What a man is that Samson! Insensible to suffering, he has always been identified with the axe of execution. He has beheaded the most powerful monarch in Europe, his Queen, Couthon, Brissot, Robespierre—and all this with a composed countenance! He cuts off the head that is brought to him, no matter whose. What does he say? What does he think? I should like to know what passes in his head, and whether he considers his terrible functions only as a trade. The more I meditate on this man, the president of the great massacre of the human species, overthrowing crowned heads like that of the purest republican, without moving a muscle, the more my ideas are confounded. How did he sleep after receiving the last words, the last looks, of all those severed heads? I really would give a trifle to be in the soul of this man for a few hours. He sleeps, it is said, and very likely his conscience may be at perfect rest. The guillotine has respected him, as making one body with itself. He is sometimes present at the Vaudeville. He laughs—looks at me—my head has escaped him—he knows nothing about it; and as that is very indifferent to him, I never grow weary of contemplating in him the indifference with which he has sent a crowd of men to the other world."

DDD.

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THE GRAVE OF LOUIS XVI.

"The body of Louis was removed immediately after the execution into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine. Large quantities of quicklime were thrown into the grave, which occasioned so rapid a decomposition that when his remains were sought after in 1815 it was with great difficulty that any part could be recovered. Over the spot where he was interred, Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory after the battle of Jena; and the superb edifice was completed by the Bourbons, and now forms the Church of the Madeleine, the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures in Paris. Louis was executed on the same ground where the Queen, the Princesse Elizabeth, and so many other noble victims of the Revolution perished; where Robespierre and Danton afterwards suffered; and where the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns took their station when their victorious troops entered Paris in 1814! The history of modern Europe has not a scene fraught with equally interesting recollections to exhibit. It is now marked by the colossal obelisk of blood-red granite which was brought from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in 1833, by the French government."—*Alison*.

EEE.

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THE EMPRESS CATHERINE.

"Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, was born at Stettin in 1729, where her father, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Prussian field-marshal, was governor. The Empress Elizabeth chose her for the wife of her nephew, Peter, whom she appointed her successor. The marriage was celebrated in 1745. It was not a happy one; but Catherine consoled herself by a variety of lovers. Among others, a young Pole, Stanislaus Poniatowski, gained her affections, and by her influence was appointed by the King of Poland his ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. In 1761 the Empress Elizabeth died, and Peter III. ascended the throne. He now became more than ever estranged from his wife Catherine, which led to a conspiracy headed by Gregory Orloff, her favourite; and the result of which was the death of Peter in prison. In 1774 the Empress concluded an advantageous peace with the Porte, by which she secured the free navigation of the Black Sea. At this time Potemkin was Catherine's chief favourite, who in 1784 conquered the Crimea, and extended the confines of Russia to the Caucasus. In 1787 the Empress's memorable triumphal journey to Tauris took place, when throughout a distance of nearly a thousand leagues nothing but feasts and spectacles of various kinds was to be seen. Palaces were raised on barren heaths, to be inhabited only for a day, and Catherine was surrounded by a multitude of people, who were sent forward during the night to afford her the same spectacle the following day. When in 1791 Poland wished to change its constitution, the Empress took part with the opponents of the plan, garrisoned the country with her troops, and concluded a new treaty of partition with the Cabinet of Berlin in 1792. About this time Catherine broke off all connection with the French republic, assisted the emigrants, and entered into an alliance with England against France. She died of apoplexy in 1796. With all the weakness of her sex, and with a love of pleasure carried to licentiousness, she combined the firmness and talent becoming a powerful sovereign. She favoured distinguished authors, and affected great partiality for the French philosophers."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

FFF.

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BURKE.

"However the arguments of Burke may seem to have been justified by posterior events, it yet remains to be shown that the war-cry then raised against France did not greatly contribute to the violence which characterized that period. It is possible that, had he merely roused the attention of the governments and wealthy classes to the dangers of this new political creed, he might have proved the saviour of Europe; but he made such exaggerated statements, and used arguments so alarming

to freedom, that on many points he was not only plausibly but victoriously refuted."—*Dumont*.

"There was something exaggerated at all times in the character as well as the eloquence of Burke; and upon reading at this distance of time his celebrated composition, it must be confessed that the colours he has used in painting the extravagances of the Revolution ought to have been softened, by considering the peculiar state of a country which, long labouring under despotism, is suddenly restored to the possession of unembarrassed licence. On the other hand, no political prophet ever viewed futurity with a surer ken."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

"Mr. Burke, by his tropes and figures, so dazzled both the ignorant and the learned that they could not distinguish the shades between liberty and licentiousness, between anarchy and despotism. He gave a romantic and novel air to the whole question. A crazy, obsolete government was metamorphosed into an object of fancied awe and veneration, like a mouldering Gothic ruin which, however delightful to look at or read of, is not at all pleasant to live under. Mr. Pitt has been hailed by his flatterers as 'the pilot that weathered the storm;' but it was Burke who at this giddy, maddening period stood at the prow of the vessel of the State, and with his glittering pointed spear harpooned the Leviathan of the French Revolution."—*Hazlitt*.

"On the second reading of the Alien Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke, in mentioning that an order for making three thousand daggers had arrived some time before at Birmingham, a few of which had been actually delivered, drew one from under his coat, and threw it indignantly on the floor: 'This,' said he, 'is what you are to gain by an alliance with France! Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice must also follow.' The speech which Mr. Burke made on this occasion was excellent; but the action which accompanied it was not in such good taste."—*Prior's Life of Burke*.

GGG.

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THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

Don Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of the Peace, and favourite of King Charles of Spain, was born in 1764 at Badajoz. He was distinguished by a tall, handsome figure, and excelled in most light accomplishments. He early entered the body-guard of the King, and became a favourite at Court, especially with the Queen. In 1792 he was made premier in the place of Aranda, and in 1795, as a reward for his pretended services in making peace with France, he was created Prince of the Peace, a grandee of the first class, and presented with an estate that secured him an income of fifty thousand dollars. He married, in 1797, Donna Maria Theresa of Bourbon, a daughter of the Infant Don Luis, brother of King Charles. In 1798 he resigned his post as premier, but was in the same year appointed general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. A decree in 1807 bestowed on him the title of Highness, and unlimited power over the whole monarchy. In the meantime the hatred of the people against the overbearing favourite was excited to the

highest degree; and he would have lost his life if the Prince of Asturias had not exerted himself to save him, at the instance of the King and Queen, on condition that he should be tried. The occurrences at Bayonne, however, intervened. Napoleon, who wished to employ the influence of the Prince of the Peace with King Charles, procured his release from prison, and summoned him to Bayonne, where he became the moving spring of everything done by the King and Queen of Spain. Since that time he lived in France, and later, in Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship of the King and Queen till the death of both in 1819, after which he returned to Paris."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"The Prince of the Peace is one of those extraordinary characters who have obtained celebrity without any just grounds. I both saw and heard a great deal respecting him during my stay in Spain. One day on entering the audience chamber, where I had scarcely room to move, as the King and Queen were both standing very near the door, I beheld a man at the other end of the apartment whose attitude and bearing appeared to me particularly ill-suited to the audience chamber of royalty. He appeared to be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, and his countenance was of that description which a fine, well-grown, hearty young man usually presents; but there was no trace of dignity in his appearance. He was covered with decorations and orders, and I might reasonably suppose, therefore, that he was an important personage. And I was not wrong: it was Godoy, Prince of the Peace! I was struck with surprise at his free and easy manner. He was leaning, or rather lying, on a *console* at the further end of the apartment, and was playing with a curtain tassel which was within his reach. At this period his favour at Court was immense, and beyond all example. He was prime minister, councillor of State, commander of four companies of life-guards, and generalissimo of the forces by sea and land, a rank which no person in Spain had ever possessed before him, and which was created expressly to give him precedence over the captains-general."—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of contempt and execration to all who were not his creatures. What other sentiments indeed could have been inspired by a man who owed the favour of the King only to the favours of the Queen? Godoy's power was absolute, and he made the most infamous use of it."—*Bourrienne*.

HHH.

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THE MARQUIS DE CHAUVELIN.

"François Marquis de Chauvelin, descended from a celebrated French family, was born in 1770, and eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In 1791 he became first aide-de-camp of General Rochambeau, and displayed so much talent that in the following year, on the proposal of Dumouriez, he was appointed ambassador to England, who, however, broke off all diplomatic intercourse with France after the execution of Louis XVI. During the Reign of Terror, Chauvelin was thrown into prison, from which he was soon afterwards released, and under the

Directory devoted himself entirely to the sciences. Napoleon appointed him prefect of the department of the Lys, and subsequently sent him into Catalonia as intendant-general. After the Restoration he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and much admired as a popular orator."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

III.

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MARET.

"Hugues Bern Maret, born at Dijon in 1758, and engaged in the French diplomatic corps, was in the year 1792 first sent by the French to the English government, in order to prevent it from joining the coalition; but his efforts were fruitless. Shortly after he was appointed ambassador to Naples; but on his way thither he was seized by the Austrian troops and imprisoned at Custrin. He obtained his release in 1795. In the year 1799 he became secretary to the consular council of State, and in 1803 accompanied the First Consul to Holland, and afterwards attended him in his various journeys. Napoleon created him Duc de Bassano."—*Biographie Moderne*.

JJJ.

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THE COMTE DE VALENCE.

"Cyrus de Timbrune, Comte de Valence, born at Toulouse, a colonel of dragoons in the service of France, married the daughter of Madame de Genlis, devoted himself to the revolutionary party, and in 1791 became a general officer. In the following year he was employed in Luckner's army, and afterwards served under Dumouriez; on whose defection he became suspected, and was outlawed by the Convention. In 1799 he returned to France, was called to the Senate in 1805, and appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*.

KKK.

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GORSAS.

"A. J. Gorsas, born at Limoges in 1751, edited a journal in 1789, and was one of the first promoters of the Revolution. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and connected himself with the Girondins, in whose fate he was involved, being condemned to death in 1793. Gorsas was the author of an amusing satirical work entitled 'The Carrier Ass.'"—*Biographie Moderne*.

LLL.

[Page 239.]

CHAUMETTE.

"P. G. Chaumette, attorney of the commune of Paris, was born at Nevers in 1763. His father was a shoemaker. After having been a cabin-boy, a steersman, a transcriber, and an attorney's clerk at Paris, he worked under the journalist Prudhomme, who describes him as a very ignorant fellow. He soon acquired great power in the capital, and in 1793 proposed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal without appeal, and a tax on the rich. At the same time he contrived the Festivals of Reason, and the orgies and profanations which polluted all the churches in Paris, and even proposed that a moving guillotine, mounted on four wheels, should follow the revolutionary army, 'to shed blood in profusion!' Chaumette also proposed the cessation of public worship and the equality of funerals, and procured an order for the demolition of all monuments of religion and royalty. He was executed, by order of Robespierre, in 1794, twenty days after Hebert, to whose party he had attached himself."—*Biographie Moderne*.

MMM.

[Page 243.]

HEBERT.

"J. R. Hebert, born at Alençon, was naturally of an active disposition and an ardent imagination, but wholly without information. Before the Revolution he lived in Paris by intrigue and imposture. Being employed at the theatre of the Variétés as receiver of the checks, he was dismissed for dishonesty, and retired to the house of a physician, whom he robbed. In 1789 he embraced with ardour the popular party, and soon made himself known by a journal entitled *Father Duchesne*, which had the greatest success among the people, on account of the violence of its principles. On the 10th of August Hebert became one of the members of the insurrectional municipality, and afterwards, in September, contributed to the prison massacres. He was one of the first to preach atheism and organize the Festivals of Reason. His popularity, however, was brief, for he was brought to the scaffold, together with his whole faction, by Robespierre, in 1794. He died with the greatest marks of weakness, and fainted several times on his road to execution. On all sides he heard, 'Father Duchesne is very uneasy, and will be very angry when Samson (the executioner) makes him tipsy.' A young man, whose entire family he had destroyed, called out to him, 'To-day is the great anger of Father Duchesne!' On the occasion of the Queen's trial Hebert cast an imputation on her of so atrocious and extravagant a nature, that even Robespierre was disgusted with it, and

exclaimed, 'Madman! was it not enough for him to have asserted that she was a Messalina, without also making an Agrippina of her?' Hebert married a nun, who was guillotined with Chaumette and the rest of the faction of the commune."—*Biographie Moderne*.

NNN.

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VALAZÉ.

"C. E. Dufrique Valazé, a lawyer, was born at Alençon in 1751. He first followed the military career, and then went to the bar. At the period of the Revolution he embraced the cause of the people, and early attached himself to the party of the Gironde. He was condemned to death in 1793, but stabbed himself as soon as he had heard his sentence; his body, nevertheless, was carried in a cart to the foot of the scaffold. At his death Valazé was forty-two years of age. He was the author of several works."—*Biographie Moderne*.

OOO.

[Page 248.]

THE PRINCE OF COBURG.

"Frederick Josias, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, an Austrian field-marshal, was born in 1737. In 1788 he took Choczim, and in connection with the Russian general Suwaroff defeated the Turks at Focsani in 1789, and conquered Bucharest. In 1793 he commanded against the French, was victorious at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden, and took Valenciennes, and several other towns; but when the Duke of York separated himself from the Austrians in order to besiege Dunkirk, Coburg was beaten at Maubeuge, Clairfayt at Tournay, and the English at Dunkirk. The Prince in consequence retreated over the Rhine, and gave up his command. He died in his native city in 1815."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

PPP.

[Page 249.]

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

"Charles Louis, Archduke of Austria, son of Leopold II., and brother of the late Emperor Francis, was born in 1771. He commenced his military career in 1793, commanded the vanguard of the Prince of Coburg, and distinguished himself by his talent and bravery. In 1796 he was made field-marshal of the German empire, and took the chief

command of the Austrian army on the Rhine. He fought several successful battles against the French generals Moreau and Jourdan, and forced them to retreat over the Rhine. After the battle of Hohenlinden, when the French entered Austria, the Archduke, who had previously retired from service by reason of ill health, was again placed at the head of the troops, but was compelled at length to make peace at Luneville. In 1805 he commanded an Austrian army in Italy, against Massena, over whom he gained a victory at Caldiero. In 1809 he advanced into Bavaria, where he was opposed by the whole French army, commanded by Napoleon; a hard-fought and bloody battle, which lasted five days, ensued, and the Austrians were compelled to retreat. In the same year the Archduke gained a victory at Aspern, opposite to Vienna, and compelled the French to retreat across the Danube with great loss. At the memorable battle of Wagram he was wounded, and compelled to give way, after a contest of two days. Soon after this the Archduke resigned the command of the army. In 1815 he married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg. He is the author of two able works on military matters."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

QQQ.

[Page 254.]

CAMBACÉRÈS.

"Jean Jacques Régis Cambacérès, descendant of an ancient family of lawyers, was born at Montpellier in 1753. At the commencement of the Revolution he received several public offices, and in 1792 became a member of the Convention. In 1793 he declared Louis XVI. guilty, but disputed the right of the Convention to judge him, and voted for his provisory arrest, and in case of a hostile invasion, for his death. As a member of the committee of public safety, Cambacérès reported the treason of Dumouriez. After the fall of the Terrorists he entered into the council of Five Hundred, where he presented a new plan for a civil code, which became subsequently the foundation of the Code Napoleon. On the 18th Brumaire he was chosen second consul, and after Bonaparte had ascended the throne, was appointed arch-chancellor of the empire. In 1808 he was created Duke of Parma. On the approach of the Allies in 1814 he followed the government, whence he sent his consent to the Emperor's abdication. On the return of Napoleon in the following year he was made president of the House of Peers, and on the Emperor's second downfall was banished, and went to live at Brussels. In 1818 the King permitted him to return to Paris, where he lived afterwards as a private individual, and died in 1824."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"The Consul Cambacérès received company every Tuesday and Saturday, and no other house in Paris could stand a comparison with his hôtel. He was a consummate epicure, had great conversational powers, and the incidents of his narratives acquired novelty and grace from the turn of his language. I may be allowed to call him an honest man, for, looking round on all his equals in power, I have never found one of such absolute good faith and probity. His figure was extra-

ordinarily ugly as well as unique. The slow and regular step, the measured cadence of accentuation, the very look, which was three times as long as another's to arrive at its object—all was in admirable keeping with the long person, long nose, long chin, and the yellow skin, which betrayed not the smallest symptoms that any matter inclining to sanguine circulated beneath its cellular texture. The same consistency pervaded his dress; and when demurely promenading the galleries of the Palais Royal, then the Palais Egalité, the singular cut and colour of his embroidered coat, his ruffles, at that time so uncommon, his short breeches, silk stockings, shoes polished with English blacking, and fastened with gold buckles, his old-fashioned wig and queue, and his well-appointed and well-placed three-cornered hat—produced altogether a most fantastic effect. The members of his household, by their peculiarities of dress, served as accessories to the picture. Cambacérés went every evening to the theatre, and afterwards seldom failed to make his appearance with his suite, all in full costume, either in the gardens of the Tuileries or of the Palais Egalité, where everything around exhibited the most ludicrous contrast to this strange group.”—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

“Cambacérés, who was an inveterate epicure, did not believe it possible that a good government could exist without good dinners; and his glory (for every man has his own particular hobby) was to know that the luxuries of his table were the subject of eulogy throughout Paris, and even Europe. A banquet which commanded general suffrage was to him a Marengo.”—*Bourrienne*.

RRR.

[Page 256.]

FERAUD.

“Feraud, deputy to the Convention, voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and when the commune of Paris desired that the Girondins should be tried, he proposed to declare that they had not forfeited the confidence of the Assembly. These sentiments would have involved him in their ruin, had he not been saved by a mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees, where he received a wound in charging at the head of the columns. Being returned again to the Convention, he became a partisan of Barras, and assisted him in turning the armed force against Robespierre and his faction. When the revolt happened in 1795, he showed more courage than any of the other deputies in opposing the Terrorists at the moment when they forced the entrance of the hall; but he became the victim of his valour, for, after having been abused by the crowd, he received a pistol-shot in his breast, at the time when he was endeavouring to repulse several men who were making towards the president. His body was immediately seized and dragged into an adjoining passage, where his head was cut off, fixed on the top of a pike, and brought into the hall to the president, Boissy d'Anglas, to terrify him as well as the rest of the representatives. Feraud was born in the valley of the Daure at the foot of the Pyrenees.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

SSS.

[Page 257.]

DUBOIS DE CRANCÉ.

"E. L. A. Dubois de Crancé joined the King's musqueteers, and became lieutenant of the marshals of France. In 1792 he was chosen deputy to the Convention, and on the King's trial, opposed the appeal to the people, and voted for his death. In the following year he was chosen president of the Convention, and member of the committee of public safety. He contributed to the fall of the Girondins, and afterwards to that of Robespierre and the Terrorists. In 1799 the Directory raised him to the administration of the war department, in the place of Bernadotte. Dubois de Crancé died in 1805, at an estate to which he had retired."—*Biographie Moderne*.

TTT.

[Page 258.]

JEAN BAPTISTE LOUVET.

The following spirited sketch of this distinguished Girondin is from the pen of one who knew him well:—"Louvet is ill-looking, little, weakly, short-sighted, and slovenly. He seems a mere nobody to the generality, who do not observe the dignity of his brow, and the fire which animates his eyes at the expression of any great truth. Men of letters are acquainted with his pretty novels; but politics owe more important obligations to him. It is impossible to have more wit, less affectation, and more simplicity than Louvet. Courageous as a lion, simple as a child, a feeling man, a good citizen, a vigorous writer, he in the tribune can make Catiline tremble; he can dine with the Graces, and sup with Bachaumont."—*Madame Roland*.

UUU.

[Page 269.]

COLONEL MACK.

"Charles, Baron von Mack, an Austrian general, was born in Franconia in 1752. On leaving college his inclination led him to enlist as a private in a regiment of dragoons; and in the war with Turkey he obtained a captain's commission. On the occurrence of war with France, Mack was appointed quartermaster-general of the army of Prince Coburg, and directed the operations of the campaign of 1793. In 1797 he succeeded the Archduke Charles in the command of the army of the

Rhine. In 1804 he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and Italy. In the following year Napoleon forced him to retreat beyond the Danube, and to submit to the famous capitulation of Ulm. Mack died in obscurity in the year 1828."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

VVV.

[Page 275.]

SKETCH OF ROBESPIERRE.

Here is the most accurate picture ever drawn of Robespierre and of the suspicions by which he was haunted. It is a conversation.

"No sooner was Robespierre aware that I was going to speak to him about the quarrels of the Convention than he said, 'All those deputies of the Gironde, those Brissots, those Louvets, those Barbaroux, are counter-revolutionists, conspirators.' I could not refrain from laughing, and the laugh which escaped me soured him immediately. 'You were always *like that*. In the Constituent Assembly you were disposed to believe that the aristocrats were fond of the Revolution.' 'I was not precisely *like that*. The utmost that I could believe was that some of the nobles were not aristocrats. I thought so of several, and you still think so yourself of some of them. I was also ready to believe that we should have made some conversions among the aristocrats themselves if, out of the two means which were at our disposal, reason and force, we had more frequently employed reason, which was on our side only, and less frequently force, which may be on the side of tyrants. Take my advice: forget these dangers which we have surmounted, and which have nothing to do with those that threaten us at this moment. War was then waging between the friends and the enemies of liberty; it is now waging between the lukewarm and the earnest friends of the republic. If an opportunity were to present itself, I would say to Louvet that he is egregiously mistaken to believe you to be a royalist; but to you I deem it my duty to say that Louvet is no more a royalist than yourself. You resemble in your quarrels the Molinists and the Jansenists whose whole dispute turned on the manner in which divine grace operates upon the soul, and who mutually accused each other of not believing in God.' 'If they are not royalists, why did they labour so hard to save the King's life? I would wager that you were yourself for mercy, for clemency. . . . But what signifies it what principle rendered the King's death just and necessary, your Brissot, your Girondins, and your appealers to the people were against it? Did they then wish to leave to tyranny all the means of raising itself again?' 'I know not whether the intention of the *appealers to the people* was to spare Capet the punishment of death; the *appeal to the people* always appeared to me imprudent and dangerous; but I can easily conceive how those who voted for it might have believed that the life of Capet as a prisoner might be, in the course of events, more useful than his death; I can conceive how they might have thought that the appeal to the people was a grand means of honouring a republican nation in the eyes of the whole world, by giving it occasion to exercise itself a signal act of generosity by an act of sovereignty.' 'It is certainly attributing fine

intentions to measures which you do not approve, and to men who are conspiring on all sides.' 'But where are they conspiring?' 'Everywhere: in Paris, all over France, all over Europe. In Paris, Gensonné is conspiring in the Faubourg St. Antoine, by going from shop to shop and persuading the shopkeepers that we patriots want to plunder their houses. The Gironde long since formed a plan for separating itself from France, and uniting itself with England; and the leaders of its deputation are themselves the authors of this plan, which they are determined to execute at any rate. Gensonné does not conceal this; he tells everybody who chooses to listen to him, that they are not here the representatives of the nation, but the plenipotentiaries of the Gironde. Brissot conspires in his journal, which is a tocsin of civil war; it is well known that he is gone to England, and it is equally well known why he is gone; we are not ignorant of his intimate connection with the minister for foreign affairs, with Lebrun, who is from Liege, and a creature of the house of Austria; the best friend of Brissot is Clavières, and Clavières has conspired wherever he has breathed; Rabaud, traitor, like a Protestant and a philosopher as he is, has not been cunning enough to conceal from us his correspondence with the courtier and traitor Montesquiou: they have been labouring for these six months together to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese; Servan has been appointed general of the army of the Pyrenees merely to give up the keys of France to the Spaniards; lastly, there is Dumouriez, who no longer threatens Holland, but Paris; and when that charlatan of heroism was here, when *I was anxious to have him arrested*, it was not with the Mountain that he dined every day, but with the ministers and the Girondins.' 'Three or four times with me for example.' 'I am quite tired of the Revolution; I am ill. Never was the country in greater dangers, and I doubt whether it will extricate itself from them. Well, are you still in the humour to laugh, and to believe that these are very upright men, very good republicans?' 'No, I am not tempted to laugh; but I can hardly repress the tears which must be shed for the country, when one sees its legislators a prey to such frightful suspicions on such paltry grounds. I am sure that there is nothing real in all your suspicions; but I am sure, too, that your suspicions are a very real and a very great danger. Almost all these men are your enemies; but none of them, excepting Dumouriez, is an enemy to the republic; and if you could on all sides divest yourselves of your animosities, the republic would no longer be in any danger.' 'Are you not going to propose to me to remodel Bishop Lamouret's motion?' 'No; I have profited sufficiently by the lessons at least which you have given me; and the three National Assemblies have taken the trouble to teach me that the best patriots hate their enemies much more than they love their country. But I have one question to ask; and I beg you to reflect before you answer me: Have you any doubt about all that you have just been saying?' 'None.' I left him, and withdrew in long amazement, and in great fear on account of what I had just heard.

"A few days afterwards I was leaving the executive council; I met Salles coming out of the National Convention. Circumstances became more alarming. All who had any esteem for one another could not meet without feeling irresistibly impelled to talk about public affairs.

"Well," said I to Salles, on meeting him, "is there no way of putting an end to these horrible quarrels?" "Why, yes, I hope so; I hope that I shall soon tear off all the veils that still cover those atrocious villains

and their atrocious conspiracies. But as for you, I know that you always had a blind confidence; I know that it is your mania not to believe anything.' 'You are wrong: I believe, like other people, but on presumptions, not on suspicions, on attested facts, not on imaginary ones. Why do you suppose me, then, to be so incredulous? Is it because I would not believe you in 1789 when you assured me that Necker was plundering the exchequer, and that people had seen mules laden with gold and silver which he was sending off by millions to Geneva. This credulity, I confess, has been quite incorrigible in me; for to this very day I am persuaded that Necker left here more millions of his own than he carried away of ours to Geneva.' 'Necker was a knave; but he was nothing in comparison with the villains by whom we are now surrounded; and it is about these that I want to talk to you if you will hear me. I will tell you everything, for I know it all. I have unravelled all their plots. All the plots, all the crimes of the Mountain began with the Revolution: Orleans is the chief of that band of brigands; and it is the author of that infernal novel *Liaisons Dangereuses*, who drew up the plan of all the atrocities which they have been committing for these five years. The traitor Lafayette was their accomplice, and it was he who, making believe to thwart the plot in its very outset, sent Orleans to England to arrange everything with Pitt, the Prince of Wales, and the Cabinet of St. James's. Mirabeau was also in that affair. He received money from the King to cloak his connection with Orleans; but he received still more from Orleans to be serviceable to him. The grand business for the Orleans party was to induce the Jacobins to enter into its designs. They durst not attempt this in a direct manner; it was therefore to the Cordeliers that they first applied. In the Cordeliers all were instantly bought up, and became their devoted tools. Bear in mind that the Cordeliers have always been less numerous than the Jacobins, and have always made less noise; that is, because they wish everybody to be their instrument, but they do not wish everybody to be in their secret. The Cordeliers have always been the hotbed of conspirators: it is there that Danton, the most dangerous of all, forms and trains them to audacity and lying, brings them up to murder and massacres; it is there that they practise the part which they are afterwards to act at the Jacobins; and the Jacobins, who assume the air of leading France, are themselves led, without being aware of it, by the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers, who seem to be concealed in a hole in Paris, are negotiating with Europe, and have envoys in all the Courts, who have sworn the ruin of our liberty. The fact is certain; I have proofs of it. In short, it is the Cordeliers who have engulfed one throne in a sea of blood, in order to make another throne spring up from it. They well know that the right side, on which are all the virtues, is also the side that includes the genuine republicans; and if they accuse us of royalism, it is because they want a pretext for letting loose upon us the fury of the multitude—it is because it is easier to find daggers against us than reasons. In a single conspiracy there are three or four. When the whole of the right side shall be slaughtered, the Duke of York will come and place himself on the throne, and Orleans, who has promised it him, will assassinate him; Orleans will himself be assassinated by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, who have given him the same promise, and the triumvirs will divide France, covered with ashes and blood, among them, until the ablest of them, that is, Danton, assassinates the other two, and reigns alone, first under the title of dictator, afterwards, without disguise, under that of king. Such is

their plan, be assured; by dint of reflection I have found it out; everything proves and makes it evident: see how all the circumstances bind and unite together: there is not an occurrence in the Revolution but is a part and a proof of these horrid plots. You look surprised, I see; can you still be incredulous?' 'I am indeed surprised; but tell me, are there many of you, that is, of the right side, who think like you on this subject?' 'All, or nearly all. Condorcet once made some objections; Sièyes communicates but little with us; Rabaud, for his part, has another plan, which in some respects agrees with, and in some differs from mine: but all the others have no more doubt than myself of what I have just told you; all feel the necessity of acting promptly, of *putting the irons in the fire*, in order to prevent so many crimes and calamities, in order not to lose all the fruit of a Revolution which has cost us so dear. In the right side there are members who have not sufficient confidence in you; but I who have been your colleague, who know you for an honest man, for a friend of liberty, assure them that you will be for us, that you will assist us with all the means that your office places at your disposal. Can you now have the slightest doubt left as to what I have just told you about those villains?' 'I should be too unworthy of the esteem which you express for me if I gave you reason to think that I believe the truth of this whole plan, which you conceive to be that of your enemies. The greater the number of circumstances, men, and things you introduce into it, the more probable it appears to yourself, and the less so it appears to me. Most of the circumstances out of which you weave the tissue of this plan have had an object which there is no need to lend them, which is self-evident; and you give them an object which is not self-evident, and which you must lend them. Now, there must be proofs, in the first place, for rejecting a natural explanation; and there must be other proofs afterwards to induce the adoption of an explanation that does not naturally present itself. For instance, everybody believes that Lafayette and Orleans were enemies, and that it was to deliver Paris, France, and the National Assembly from many inquietudes that Orleans was prevailed upon or forced by Lafayette to withdraw for a time from France: it is necessary to establish, not by assertion, but by proofs, 1st, that they were not enemies; 2ndly, that they were accomplices; 3rdly, that the journey of the Duc d'Orleans to England had for its object the execution of their plots. I know that with so strict a mode of reasoning we run the risk of letting crimes and calamities run off before us without overtaking them, and without stopping them by foresight; but I know, too, that in giving the reins to the imagination, we build systems upon past events and upon future events; we lose all the means of clearly discerning and duly appreciating present events; and while dreaming of thousands of misdeeds which nobody is meditating, we deprive ourselves of the faculty of seeing with certainty those by which we are threatened; we drive enemies who are not over-scrupulous to the temptation of committing such as they would never have thought of. I have no doubt that there are many villains about us: the unbinding of all the passions has produced them, and they are paid by foreign gold. But depend upon it, if their plans are atrocious, they are neither so vast, nor so great, nor so complicated, nor so conceived and framed at such a distance. In all this there are many more thieves and murderers than profound conspirators. The real conspirators against the republic are the kings of Europe and the passions of the republicans. To repulse the kings of Europe our armies are sufficient, and more than sufficient;

to prevent our passions from consuming us there is one way **SERVAN**
 unique—lose no time in organizing a government possessing strength **SO**
 and deserving confidence. In the state in which your quarrels leave the
 government, a democracy even of twenty-five millions of angels would
 soon be a prey to all the furies and to all the dissensions of pride; as
 Jean-Jacques observed, it would require twenty-five millions of gods,
 and nobody ever yet took it into his head to imagine so many. My
 dear Salles, men and great assemblies are not so formed as that there
 shall be only gods on one side, and only devils on the other. Wherever
 there are men with conflicting interests and opinions, even the good
 have bad passions; and the bad themselves, if you strive to penetrate
 into their souls with kindness and patience, are susceptible of right
 and good impressions. I find in the bottom of my soul the evident and
 invincible proof of at least one-half of this truth: I am good myself,
 and as good, I will venture to say, as any of you; but when, instead of
 refuting my opinions with argument and good temper, they are repelled
 with suspicion and insult, I am ready to drop reasoning and to see if my
 pistols are properly charged. You have made me twice minister, and
 twice you have done me a very ill service: nothing but the dangers
 that surround you and that surround me could induce me to retain
 the post which I hold. A brave man does not apply for leave of absence
 on the eve of a battle. The battle, I foresee, is not far distant; and
 though I foresee, too, that you will fire at me from both sides, I am
 determined to remain. I will tell you on every occasion what I shall
 believe in my reason and my conscience to be true; but let me tell you
 that I shall take for guides my own conscience and my own reason, and
 not those of any other man on earth. I have not laboured for thirty
 years of my life to make a lantern for myself, and then to suffer myself
 to be lighted on my way by the lantern of others.'

"Salles and I parted, shaking hands and embracing, as though we had
 still been colleagues in the Constituent Assembly."—*Garat's Memoirs.*

WWW.

[Page 276.]

THE INSURRECTION IN LA VENDÉE.

"When the agitation of the public mind in La Vendée first occupied
 the attention of government, Petion proposed that a force should be
 sent there sufficient to overawe the people, and thus spare the effusion
 of blood. But the ruling party ceased to preach moderation, when the
 tidings of the more general insurrection reached the Convention. It
 came indeed from all sides—one cry of alarm. The Convention instantly
 outlawed every person who should have taken part with the counter-
 revolutionists; the institution of juries was suspended; every man
 taken in arms was to be put to death within four and twenty hours;
 and the evidence of a single witness before a military commission was
 to be considered proof sufficient. Death and confiscation of property
 were also declared against the nobles and priests. The effect which
 this system produced was to madden the Vendéans—cruelties pro-
 voked cruelties; and on their side the burning desire of vengeance was

exasperated by conduct on the part of their enemies more resembling that of infernal agents than of men. It is affirmed that it was one of their pleasures to burn the cattle alive in their stalls, and that more than eleven hundred thousand were destroyed by them thus wantonly and in sport. Rossignol offered a reward of ten livres for every pair of royalist ears—it was actually claimed and paid, and there were men who wore human ears as cockades! The insurrection in La Vendée, according to Hoche's statement, cost the lives of six hundred thousand Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population was left alive. The state in which these unhappy provinces were left may be understood from a single anecdote. Near Chollet there were extensive bleaching-grounds, the proprietors of which kept a great number of watch-dogs; the town, after having been sacked and burned, was repeatedly disputed, till at length, both parties, weary of contending for a heap of ruins, abandoned it. The dogs, to the number of four or five hundred, took possession of the ruins, and remained there for many weeks feeding on the unburied bodies. After the pacification, when the refugees attempted to return and rebuild their houses, the animals had become so ferocious that they attacked and would have devoured them; and a battalion of republican soldiers were actually obliged to march against the dogs, and exterminate them, before the place could be reinhabited."—*Quarterly Review*.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR IN LA VENDÉE.

The Bocage is an appellation of local fitness which has been disregarded in the political divisions of the country. Under the old monarchy it made part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the Comté Nantais; under the revolutionary distribution, it lies in the four departments of the Lower Loire, the Maine and Loire, the two Sèvres, and La Vendée. The nature of the country, and the character and circumstances of the inhabitants, were alike peculiar. The whole surface consists of low hills and narrow valleys; scarcely a single eminence rises above the other sufficiently to give a commanding view, and there is no extent of level ground. These valleys are watered with innumerable brooklets flowing in different directions, some towards the Loire, some making their way to the sea, others winding till they reach the Plain, a slip of land on the south border of the Bocage, where they form small rivers. Such is the general appearance of the country. Along the Sèvre towards Nantes it assumes a wilder character; farther east towards the Loire, the valleys expand, and the declivities fall in wider sweeps. There are few forests; but the whole region has the woody appearance of a Flemish landscape. The enclosures are small, and always surrounded with quick hedges, in which trees stand thickly; these trees are pollarded every fifth year, a stem of twelve or fifteen feet being left standing. Only one great road, that from Nantes to Rochelle, traverses the country. Between this and the road from Tours to Bordeaux, by way of Poitiers, an interval of nearly one hundred miles, there are only cross-roads of the worst description. The byways are like those in Herefordshire, where the best account which a traveller hears is, that there is a good bottom when you come to it. They are narrow passes worn in a deep soil between high hedges, which sometimes meet overhead—miry in the wet season, and rugged in summer. Upon a descent, the way usually serves both for a road and the bed of a brook. One of these ways is like another: at the

end of every field you come to a cross-road, and the inhabitants themselves are bewildered in this endless labyrinth if they go a few miles from their own home.

“The Bocage includes about seven-ninths of the Vendean country: There are two other natural divisions: the Plain, which has already been slightly mentioned, and which took no direct part in the war; and the Marsh, or the sea-coast, a track intersected with innumerable ditches and canals, where the inhabitants bear all the external marks of sickliness and misery; yet have they enjoyments of their own; and charms might be found in the region itself were it not for its insalubrity. M. Berthre de Bourniseaux, a Vendean, compares his native country to a vast body covered with arteries—but without a heart; without roads, without navigable rivers, without any means of exportation—it had no trade to stimulate, no centre to enliven, no cities to civilize it. The largest towns contained not more than from two to three thousand inhabitants: the villages were small and at wide intervals, and the country was divided into small farms, rarely any one exceeding six hundred francs in rent. The chief wealth was in cattle; and the landholders usually divided the produce with the tenant. A property which consisted of five and twenty or thirty such farms was thought considerable. There was therefore no odious inequality in La Vendée, and the lords and vassals were connected by ties which retained all that was good of the feudal system, while all that was evil had passed away. The French writers lament the unimproved state of the people, their ignorance, their prejudices, and their superstitions; but nowhere in France were the peasantry more innocent or more contented, nowhere have they shown themselves capable of equal exertions and equal heroism. There was little pride among the gentry, and no ostentation; they dwelt more upon their estates than was usual in other provinces, and thus, for the most part, escaped the leprous infections of Paris. Their luxury lay in hospitality, and the chase was their sole amusement; in this the peasantry had their share. When the wolf, the boar, or the stag was to be hunted, the curé gave notice in the church, and the country turned out at the time and place appointed, every man with his gun, with the same alacrity and obedience which they afterwards displayed in war. On Sundays the peasantry danced in the court of the Château, and the ladies of the family joined them. The lords seem to have been their own stewards: they went about their farms, talked with their tenants, saw things with their own eyes, shared in the losses as well as the gains, attended at the weddings and drank with the guests. It was not possible that revolutionary principles could mislead a people thus circumstanced.

“There are historical grounds for supposing that the Vendean are descended from the Huns, Vandals, and Picts who subdued the western parts of France; their form and complexion support this opinion, giving strong indications that they are neither of Gallic nor Frank descent. Perhaps nothing distinguishes them more from Frenchmen in general than their remarkable taciturnity, unless it be the purity of manners for which their countrymen extol them. Drunkenness is the sin which most easily besets them; worse vices are said to have been almost unknown to them before the civil wars; and the Vendeans in general were said to be good fathers, good sons, and good husbands. Few quarrels occurred among them, and no lawsuits; they had a wholesome proverb, that no saint had ever been a lawyer, and their disputes therefore were always referred and easily accommodated by friendly arbitration. Among

their sports, there are two which seem deserving of notice. Commune would challenge commune to a trial of strength, like that which concludes the game of steal-clothes in the West of England—a line is drawn, an equal number of picked men lay hold of a long rope, and the party which pulls the other out of its own ground is victorious. The other sport is of an intellectual character. He who kills a pig usually invites his neighbours to a feast which is called *les rilles*; after the supper, when their spirits are all raised by wine, some one of the company mounts the table and delivers a satirical sermon. *La manière de faire l'amour tient un peu dans ce pays de celle des chats*, says M. Bourniseaux. The men pinch the girls, untie their aprons, and steal kisses, for all which the girls box their ears in return. At marriages, the bridemaids present the bride with a distaff and spindle, to remind her of her domestic duties; and with a branch of thorn, ornamented with ribbons and fruit or sweetmeats, emblematical of the sorrows as well as pleasures of the state which she is about to enter: at the same time a marriage song is sung; its tenor is that the season of joy and thoughtlessness is past, that the morning of life is gone by, that the noon is full of cares, and that as the day advances we must prepare for trouble and grief—a mournful but wholesome lesson, which is seldom heard without tears. If the bride has an elder sister still in her state of spinsterhood, she is made to spin coarse flax; and if an elder brother of the bridegroom be unmarried, he has the severe task assigned him of making a faggot of thorns. The sports continue till all the wine is consumed.

“The smaller landholders and the townsmen were on good terms with the nobles, but had not the same attachment to them as was felt by the peasantry. Among them the beginning of the Revolution was regarded with pleasure: the towns, indeed, were generally attached to the new principles; but the bond of goodwill was not broken, and the Vendéans acquit their countrymen, who took part with the republic, of any share in the atrocities which were committed. In the Plain some personal animosity was displayed during the first movement of 1789, and some châteaux were destroyed—this part of the country was much more civilized, and it may be presumed that vice had kept pace with civilization. But in the Bocage the people wished to remain as they were, believing that no change could improve a condition in which they enjoyed peace, plenty, security, and contentment. When the national guards were formed, the lord was called upon in every parish to take the command; when mayors were to be appointed, it was the lord who was everywhere chosen; and when orders were published to remove the seats of the lords from the churches, they were not obeyed in La Vendée. The peasantry had neither been stung by insults nor aggrieved by oppression; they regarded the lords as their friends and benefactors, and respect and gratitude are natural to the heart of uncorrupted man. The law which imposed a constitutional oath upon the clergy injured them more deeply; their priests were almost all born among them, they spoke the dialect as their mother-tongue, they were bred up in the same habits, and the people were attached to them by every possible tie of respect and love. Even General Turreau confesses that their lives were exemplary, and their manners truly patriarchal—*Il faut en convenir, la plupart de ceuzzi menaient une vie exemplaire, et avaient conservé les mœurs patriarcales*. When therefore their pastors were superseded by men who had taken an oath which the Vendéans held in abhorrence, the churches were deserted, the new clergy were in some places insulted, in others driven away. In a parish consisting of four thousand inhabitants,

one of these men could not obtain fire to light the church tapers. Partial insurrections took place, and blood was shed. A peasant of Bas Poitou resisted the gendarmes with a pitchfork; he had received two and twenty sabre strokes, when they cried to him, *Rends-toi ! Rendez-moi mon Dieu !* was his reply, and he died as the words were uttered.

"After the 10th of August, a persecution of the refractory priests began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual father. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously. The national guards of the Plain routed this ill-armed and worse conducted crowd, and slew about a hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry *Vive la nation !* There were very few who would accept of life upon these terms: the greater number fell on their knees, not in supplication to man, but in prayer to heaven, and offered themselves bravely to the stroke of death; from man they requested no other favours than that a little earth might be thrown over their remains, to preserve them from the wolves and dogs.

"The revolutionary writers insist that the war in La Vendée was the result of plans long existing and ably concerted. General Turreau says, *Il faut être bien ignorant ou de bien mauvaise foi, pour assigner une cause éventuelle et instantanée à la révolte du Bas Poitou.* General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba: he hated the old government, and he hated the Bourbons, whatever government they might establish; but he never objected to the wildest excesses of revolutionary madness, nor to the heaviest yoke of imperial despotism. General Turreau, therefore, may be sincere in disbelieving that a sense of religion and loyalty could instantaneously rouse a brave and simple people to arms, because, never having felt either the one sentiment or the other, he is utterly ignorant of their nature and their strength. He supposes a conspiracy of the emigrants, the nobles, and the priests, fomented by foreign powers. M. Bourniseaux, with more knowledge of the circumstances and the people, with more truth, with sounder philosophy, and with a better heart, ascribes the moving impulse to its real source. To expect, he says, that the nobles and clergy—insulted, injured, outraged, and plundered, as they were by the Revolution—should have embraced the Revolution, would be to know little of the human heart—*C'eut été demander à la philosophie un miracle, et l'on sait que la philosophie n'en fit jamais.* But he declares that in the insurrection of La Vendée the priests and nobles were, for the most part, forced to make common cause with the insurgents; that with very few exceptions they did not come forward voluntarily to take the lead; that having taken arms, they exerted themselves strenuously; but that when terms of pacification were proposed, they were the first to submit, and the peasantry were the last. That the peasants should thus have acted, he says, may well astonish posterity; for they derived nothing but benefit from the Revolution, which delivered them from the payment of tithes and from the feudal grievances. Thus, however, it was: in Jacobinical phrase, they were not ripe for the Revolution; which is, being interpreted, they loved their King and their God, their morals were uncorrupt, their piety was sincere and fervent, their sense of duty towards God and man unshaken. Hitherto what tumults had broken out had been partial, and provoked merely by local vexations, chiefly respecting the priests; but when the Convention called for a

conscription of three hundred thousand men, a measure which would have forced their sons to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously and without concert or plan. The same principle which made them take arms made them look to their own gentry for leaders; the opportunity was favourable; nor can it now be doubted, that if the Bourbon princes and the allied powers had known how to profit by the numerous opportunities offered them in these western provinces, the monarchy might long since have been restored.

"The 10th of March 1793 was the day appointed for drawing the conscription at St. Florent, in Anjou, upon the banks of the Loire. The young men assembled with a determination not to submit to it. After exhorting them in vain, the republican commander brought out a piece of cannon to intimidate them, and fired upon them; they got possession of the gun, routed the gendarmes, burnt the papers, and after passing the rest of the day in rejoicing, returned to grow sober, and contemplate upon the vengeance which would follow them. One of the most respectable peasants in this part of the country was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, by name Jacques Cathelineau. About twenty young men promised to follow wherever he would lead: he was greatly beloved and respected in his neighbourhood, being a man of quiet manners, great piety, and strong natural talents. They rang the tocsin in the village of Poitevinière; their number soon amounted to about a hundred, and they determined to attack a party of about eighty republicans who were posted at Jallars with a piece of cannon. On the way they gathered more force; they carried the post, took some horses and prisoners, and got possession of the gun, which they named *Le Missionnaire*. Encouraged by this success, which also increased their numbers, they attacked two hundred republicans the same day at Chemillé, with three pieces of artillery, and they met with the same success. At the same time a young man, by name Foret, in the same part of the country, killed a gendarme who sought to arrest him, ran to the church, rang the tocsin, and raised a second body of insurgents. A third was raised in like manner by Stofflet, a man who had served sixteen years as a soldier, and was at that time gamekeeper to the Marquis de Maulevrier. On the 16th of March both these troops joined Cathelineau; they marched that very day upon Chollet, the most important town in that part of the country, garrisoned by five hundred soldiers. These also fell into their power, and they found there arms, ammunition, and money. Easter was at hand; and the insurgents, thinking they had done enough to make themselves feared, thought they might keep the holidays as usual: they dispersed, every man to his own house; and a republican column from Angers traversed the country without meeting with the slightest resistance, and also without committing the slightest act of violence—a moderation which M. de Larochejaquelein ascribes to fear. When the holidays were over the insurgents appeared again; success had given them confidence in their strength; and looking forward with hope of some important results from the devoted spirit of loyalty which they felt in themselves, and which they well knew pervaded the country, they called for the gentry of the country to lead them on.

"There was more discipline in a feudal army, or among the troops of guerillas, than among the Vendéans. The men could not be induced to form a patrol, or act as sentinels—these were charges which they

would not undertake for any reward; and when it was necessary, the officers were obliged to perform this duty themselves. To this defect in their system some of their most ruinous defeats must be ascribed. When the army was assembled, and different columns were to be formed to march against the various points of attack, the manner of forming them was singular, and not without its advantage. Notice was given, M. de Larochejaquelein is going by such a road, who will follow him? M. Cathelineau goes in yonder direction, who follows him? The men were thus allowed to follow their favourite leader, with no other restriction than that when a sufficient number had volunteered, no more were allowed to join. A system of tactics had been formed, perfectly adapted to the nature of the troops and of the country. We have heard much of the improvements made by the French republicans in the art of war, and of the advantages which their armies derived when the field was once left open to merit, and men rose from the ranks to the highest military rank. These things imposed upon the English people too long. In La Vendée it is perfectly certain that the generals who were employed by the government had no other claim to promotion than their brutality, and their services amongst mobs or in the clubs of the metropolis. Among the royalists they were first selected from old feelings of hereditary respect; but intellect immediately rose to its level, and even before any feelings of selfishness, or ambition, or vanity mingled with and defaced the principle which first roused them to arms. Stofflet and Cathelineau were attended to in the council with as much deference, and obeyed in the field with as much readiness, as Lescure and Larochejaquelein. The first principle of the Vendéans was always to be assailants, to fight only when they pleased and where they pleased; and inasmuch as they observed this principle, they always fought to advantage. When they reached the point of attack, the companies were formed in the same manner as the column, every man following the captain whom he preferred. Their usual order of battle, according to General Turreau, was in a crescent, with the wings *en flèche*, composed of the best marksmen, men who never fired a shot without taking a steady aim, and who never at ordinary distances failed in their mark: their skill in the use of fire-arms was such that he says no military people, however trained, however skilful, could compare with the hunters and sportsmen of Loroux and the Bocage as musketeers. But order of battle was what they seldom thought of; and their tactics are more clearly explained by the Marchioness, who understood them better from the conversation of her husband and her friends, than General Turreau did from his defeats or his victories. Their whole tactics, she says, consisted in creeping behind the hedges and surrounding the enemy, which the nature of the country easily enabled them to do; then they poured in on all sides a murderous fire—not in platoons, but every man as fast as he could load, and make sure of his victim, loading with four or five balls, and firing point-blank against men in close ranks. The moment that the Blues appeared confused, or offered opportunity, they set up their dreadful yell, and sprang upon them like bloodhounds in pursuit. Men of the greatest strength and agility had it in charge to seize the artillery, to prevent it, as they said, from doing mischief. 'You, Sir, you are a strong fellow, leap upon the cannon.' Sometimes with no better weapon than a stake pointed with iron, the peasants would do this, and drive the enemy from their guns. If the attack was made in a more open country, they accelerated

the decisive movement, and rushed at once upon the cannon, falling upon the ground when they saw the flash, rising instantly and running towards them. But they preferred the cover in which, from their manner of firing, they were sure of killing five for one. Their officers never thought of saying, to the right or to the left; they pointed out some visible object, a house or a tree.

"Before they began the battle they said their prayer, and almost every man crossed himself before he fired his piece. Meantime, as soon as the firing was heard, the women and children, and all who remained in the villages, ran to the church to pray for the victory; and they who happened to be working a-field fell on their knees there under the canopy of heaven, and called upon the God of Hosts to protect those who were fighting for His altars and for His holy name. Throughout all La Vendée, says the Marchioness, there was but one thought and one supplication at one time. Every one waited in prayer the event of a battle upon which the fate of all seemed to depend. Turreau speaks with horror of the effect of such a system, and calls upon those officers who had served upon the frontiers, before they were sent into these departments, to say if the Austrians, or the disciplined troops of old Frederick, were as terrible in action, or possessed as much address, stratagem, and audacity as the peasants of the Bocage; to say if it were possible that any war could be more cruel and more fatiguing for soldiers of all sorts; and if they would not rather make a year's campaign upon the frontiers than serve a single month in La Vendée. 'You are crushed,' says he, 'before you have time to reconnoitre, under a mass of fire, with which the effect of our ranks is not to be compared. If you withstand their violent attack, they rarely dispute the victory; but you derive little fruit from it: it is scarcely ever that cavalry can be employed in pursuit; they disperse, and escape from you over fields and hedges, through woods and thickets, knowing every path, gap, gorge, and defile, every obstacle which may impede their flight, and every means of avoiding them.' Home they went, out of breath, but not out of heart, ready and eager for the next summons, and crying, *Vive le Roi! quand même.* . . . But inasmuch as their flight was easy, retreat for the republicans became murderous. Lost among the labyrinthine roads of the Bocage, they fell in small parties into the hands of the villagers, who made sure, in the retreat, of all stragglers. The pursuit was terrible: the conquerors knew the ground; they understood where and how to intercept the fugitives; they could load as they ran, and keep up as quick a fire in the chase as in the battle. The benefits which the republicans derived from five or six victories were not equal to the evils which they endured in one defeat. 'Dead bodies,' says Turreau, 'were all the spoils of the field: neither arms nor ammunition were ever taken. If the Vendean was pursued he had his musket, and when in danger of being taken he broke it. But the raw levies whom the Convention at first sent against them threw away their arms and encumbrances as soon as they took panic; and if only two or three hundred men were left upon the field, the royalists gathered up twelve or fifteen hundred muskets.'

"If there be one thing more honourable to the Vendean than another in this memorable contest, it is that the republicans never could establish a system of espionage among them; whenever they attempted to employ one of the natives as a spy, the man either trifled with them, or betrayed them. And this Turreau gives as one reason for laying waste the country with fire and sword, and exterminating the people—but of

this hereafter. Their zeal was carried to the utmost height; even this general, the agent of Robespierre and Bonaparte, compares it to that with which the crusaders were animated, and says that the defenders of the Throne and the Altar seemed to have taken the *Preux* of the days of chivalry for their models. They went to battle, he says, as to a festival; women and old men, and priests and children, exciting and partaking the rage of the soldiers; he had himself seen boys of twelve years old slain in the ranks; and he may be believed, for M. de Puisaye affirms that Boisguay, who commanded a division of three thousand men among the Chouans, was but fifteen. M. Berthre de Bourniseaux denies the stories which are related of their superstition and gross credulity; yet there are passages in the Marchioness's Memoirs which clearly show their proneness to superstition; and surely the cause in which they were engaged, the perpetual danger in which they lived, and the horrors which were continually before their eyes, were likely to inflame their imaginations. It is said that some of the priests promised them a miracle, and declared that all who were killed by the enemy in the cause of the holy church should rise again from the dead on the third day. It is added that many women kept the bodies of their husbands and their sons unburied, in expectation of this resurrection; and a yet wilder tale is told by Prudhomme, which some German poet whose imagination revolts at no conceivable horror might think a fit subject to be clothed in verse. A girl who had heard and believed this opinion, suddenly remembered it as she was watching by the death-bed of her lover. It occurred to her how happy it would be for both if he could be made a partaker of this resurrection: he was too weak to leave his bed—oh, that the Blues might find him there, and give him his crown of martyrdom! Some republican troops entered the village; she fired at them from the window, and escaped by a back door into the woods. They broke open the doors and murdered the dying man. After some hours she returned; her first design had been accomplished; and she closed the door carefully. The second day she placed provisions by the bedside; the third day, came and called him; and clung still to the hope of seeing him revive, till the fourth morning, when she could no longer resist the painful evidence of her senses.

"This was a case of individual madness, the effect of love, grief, credulity, and insane hope. From such cases no general inferences can be drawn; but that the Vendéans were generally under the influence of strong religious enthusiasm is certain. Man, who is by nature religious, always becomes superstitious in proportion as he is ignorant or ill-instructed; and times of public calamity are always times of fanaticism. But however exalted the imaginations of this brave people may have been, and however extravagant their expectations of the visible interference of heaven, their earthly desires, if the monarchy should by their efforts be restored, indicate equal moderation and nobleness of mind. First they would have asked that the whole of the Bocage, which now made part of three provinces, should be formed into a separate province under the name of La Vendée, a name which they now regarded with becoming pride; they would have entreated the King that he would be pleased once to honour it with his presence; that a corps of Vendéans might form part of his body-guard; and that in memory of the war the white flag might always be hoisted upon the towers of all their churches. They desired no diminution of imposts, no exemption from military services, no peculiar privileges; but they would have solicited that some former plans for opening roads and rendering their streams navigable might

be effected. Such was the recompense which the Vendéans would have asked if they had succeeded in overthrowing the Jacobin tyranny, and placing the innocent Dauphin upon the throne of his murdered father. Shame be to the Bourbons if it be not accorded them now!"—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xv.

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LAMARQUE.

"F. Lamarque was a member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis XVI. He early declared against the Girondins, and was sent to the army of the North, with some other commissioners, to arrest Dumouriez; but that general delivered them up to the Prince of Coburg, and they were kept in confinement by the Austrians till 1795, when they were exchanged for the daughter of Louis. In 1800 Lamarque was appointed prefect of the department of the Tarn, which he held till the year 1804, when he was appointed one of the tribunal of cassation, and decorated with the legionary cross."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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GENERAL FERRAND.

"P. E. Ferrand, a nobleman, and during the Revolution a general of brigade, was born at Castres. In 1792 he was employed under Dumouriez, and commanded part of his left wing at Jemappes. Some time after he was appointed commander of Mons, and in 1793 defended Valenciennes for eighty-seven days. In 1804 he retired to La Planchette, near Paris, and died there in 1805, at seventy years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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BOUCHOTTE.

"Bouchotte, commandant of Cambrai, having long remained in obscurity, was raised in 1793 to the administration of the war department, in the room of Beurnonville. Having escaped the perils of the Reign of Terror, he retired to Metz, and was there called to the municipal and elective functions in 1799. He retired from active life in the year 1805."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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BRÉARD.

"Jean Jacques Bréard was a landholder at Marennes. In 1791 he was appointed deputy to the Legislative Assembly, was re-elected to the National Convention, and voted for the death of the King. He was then appointed president, and soon afterwards a member of the committee of public safety. In 1795 he entered into the council of ancients, and retired into private life in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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LINDET.

"Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet, a lawyer, and attorney-syndic of the district of Bernay, was deputy from Eure to the Legislature, where he showed some degree of moderation; but having afterwards connected himself with the party of the Mountain, he was generally considered as one of the most wary chiefs of the party. He voted for the King's death in the Convention, and proposed a scheme for organizing a revolutionary tribunal. In 1799 he was summoned to the administration of finance, a place which he retained till the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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CHALIER.

"M. J. Chalier, an extravagant Jacobin, an inhabitant of Lyons, was born in 1747 at Beautard, in Dauphiné, of a Piedmontese family, who returned to their native country, where he was educated. He embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was driven from his country, and after having narrowly escaped the gibbet in Portugal, and again in Naples, he went to Lyons, was received into the family of a merchant as a preceptor, said mass in that town for about two years, and at last went into business, in which he accumulated a considerable fortune by dishonesty and trickery. He joined the revolutionary party with an enthusiasm bordering on madness; and went to Paris, where he spent six months with Marat to profit by his lessons. On his return to Lyons he was appointed municipal officer, and all his colleagues were ready to second his fury. The mayor alone sought to oppose their efforts. Twelve hundred citizens had been imprisoned. Chalier, despairing of their condemnation, appeared in 1793 in the central society, with a poniard

in his hand, and obtained a decree that a tribunal, similar to those at Paris which had committed the September massacres, should be established on the Quay St. Clair, with a guillotine, that nine hundred persons should there be executed, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone, and that in case executioners should be wanting, the members of the society should themselves perform this office. The mayor, at the head of the armed force, prevented this horrible execution; but he could not obtain the trial of several members who had been seized. The people of Lyons, irritated at length by such tyranny, raised the standard of war against the Convention, and delivered Chalier to a tribunal which condemned him to death in 1793."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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CATHELINEAU.

"Jacques Cathelineau was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, who took the resolution of standing up for his King and country, facing the evils which were not to be avoided, and doing his duty manfully in arms. His wife entreated him not to form this perilous resolution; but this was no time for such humanities; so, leaving his work, he called the villagers about him, and succeeded in inducing them to take up arms."—*Quarterly Review*.

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STOFFLET.

"Stofflet was at the head of the parishes on the side of Maulevrier. He was from Alsace, and had served in a Swiss regiment. He was a large and muscular man, forty years of age. The soldiers did not like him, as he was harsh and absolutely brutal; but they obeyed him better than any other officer, which rendered him extremely useful. He was active, intelligent, and brave, and the generals had great confidence in him."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*.

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FRANCOIS ATHANASIUS CHARETTE.

"Charette, who was of a noble and ancient Breton family, and in his thirtieth year, was living upon his estates when the insurgents called on him to take the command. He refused at first, and pointed out to them the perilous consequences of so rash a measure; a second time they came,

and were a second time dismissed with the same prudential advice. But a week after Cathelineau had raised the standard in Anjou, the insurgents again appeared, and declared they would put him to death unless he consented to be their leader. 'Well,' said he, 'you force me to it: I will lead you on; but remember that you obey me, or I will punish you severely.' An oath of obedience was voluntarily taken; and the chief and people swore to combat and die for the re-establishment of their religion and the monarchy. Turreau calls Charette the most ferocious of all the rebel chiefs.—*Quarterly Review*.

"Charette was a sensualist. He loved women very much for his own sake—very little for theirs; always won by them, but never subjected, he gave himself up to the impulse of passion, without bending his soul to the insinuating and sometimes perfidious blandishments of a mistress."—*Le Bouvier-Desmortiers*.

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GENERALS BONCHAMPS AND D'ELBÉE.

"M. de Bonchamps, chief of the army of Anjou, was thirty-two years old, and had served with distinction in India. His valour and talents were unquestioned. He was considered as one of the ablest of the chiefs, and his troops as the best disciplined. He had no ambition, no pretensions, was gentle, of an easy temper, much loved by the army, and possessing its confidence. In the grand army the principal chief at one time was M. d'Elbée, who commanded particularly the people round Chollet and Beaupreau. He had been a sub-lieutenant, and retired for some years; he was forty, of a small stature, extremely devout, enthusiastic, and possessed an extraordinary and calm courage. His vanity, however, was easily wounded, which made him irritable, although ceremoniously polite. He had some ambition; but his views were narrow. His tactics consisted in rushing on with these words: 'My friends, Providence will give us the victory.' His piety was very sincere; but as he found it was a means of animating the peasants, he carried it to a degree of affectation often ridiculous. He carried about his person images of saints, and talked so much of Providence that the peasants, much as they loved him, used to call him, without meaning a joke, 'General Providence.' But in spite of these foibles, M. d'Elbée inspired every one with respect and attachment."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*.

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THE MARQUIS DE LESCURE.

"The Marquis de Lescure was born in 1766. Among the young people of his own age none was better informed, more virtuous in every respect; he was at the same time so modest that he seemed ashamed

of his own merit, and his endeavour was to conceal it. He was timid and awkward, and although of a good height and figure, his manners and unfashionable dress might not be prepossessing at first. He was born with strong passions, yet he conducted himself with the most perfect correctness. He took the sacrament every fortnight, and his constant habit of resisting all external seductions had rendered him rather unsocial and reserved. His temper was always equal, his calmness unalterable, and he passed his time in study and meditation."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

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LAROCHEJAQUELEIN.

Henri de Larochejaquelein was twenty years old at the breaking out of the war in La Vendée. He had lived little in the world; and his manners and laconic expressions had something in them remarkably simple and original. There was much sweetness as well as elevation in his countenance. Although bashful, his eyes were quick and animated. He was tall and elegant, had fair hair, an oval face, and the contour rather English than French. He excelled in all exercises, particularly in horsemanship. When he first put himself at the head of the insurrection he said to his soldiers, 'My friends, I am but a boy, but by my courage I shall show myself worthy of commanding you. Follow me if I go forward—kill me if I fly—avenge me if I fall.'—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

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GENERAL HOUCARD.

"J. N. Houchard was born at Forbach. He entered the service very young, was at first a common soldier, obtained rapid promotion during the Revolution, and in 1792 was made colonel of a regiment of cavalry hussars. In 1793 he obtained the chief command of the army of the Rhine in the place of Custines, and in the same year passed to that of the North. Without possessing great military talents, Houchard was bold and active, and defeated the Allies in several battles. Under pretence that he had neglected his duty, the Jacobins brought Houchard before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to the scaffold in 1793.—*Biographie Moderne.*

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HENRI LARIVIÈRE.

"P. F. J. Henri Larivière, a lawyer at Falaise, was in 1791 deputed from Calvados to the Legislative Assembly. Being re-elected to the Convention, he proposed the exile of Louis till there should be a peace. Shortly afterwards, when the struggle arose between the Mountain and the Gironde, he took a decided part in favour of the latter. He was one of the twelve commissioners appointed to put an end to the conspiracies of the municipality of Paris, but gave up the cause by resigning in the midst of the denunciations directed against it. Having contrived to remain concealed during the Reign of Terror, Larivière joined the Council of Five Hundred, and inveighed strongly against the Jacobins. Some time afterwards he went to England, and joined the partisans of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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HÉRAULT DE SÉCHELLES.

"M. J. Héroult de Séchelès, born at Paris in 1760, began his career at the bar by holding the office of King's advocate at the Châtelet. In the house of Madame de Polignac, where he visited, he met the Queen, who, delighted with his conversation, promised to befriend him. Having eagerly embraced revolutionary notions, he was appointed commissioner of government to the tribunal of cassation, and was afterwards deputed to the original legislature, as also to the Convention, on becoming a member of which he joined the revolutionary part of that body with uncommon ardour. Héroult was absent from Paris during the King's trial, but wrote a letter to the Convention, declaring that he deserved death. In the contest that afterwards took place between the Mountain and the Gironde, Héroult figured in the Convention among the most conspicuous and zealous supporters of the former faction. Having made himself obnoxious to Robespierre, he was sentenced to death in 1794. He then gave himself up for a time to gloomy reflections, walked for above two hours with the other captives in the prison while waiting the moment of execution, and took leave of them with great tranquillity. Héroult enjoyed a very considerable fortune; his figure was elegant, his countenance pleasing, and his dress studied, which during the reign of *sans-culottism* drew on him many sarcasms from his colleagues. In the midst of the blood and tears which drenched France in 1793 he still found leisure for gallantry and poetry, which made no slight impression on the young and beautiful wife of Camille-Desmoulins."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Héroult de Séchelès was the author of that ridiculous code of anarchy, the constitution of 1793."—*Mercier*.

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THEROIGNE DE MERICOURT.

"Theroigne de Mericourt, a celebrated courtesan, born in Luxembourg, acted a distinguished part during the first years of the French Revolution. She was connected with various chiefs of the popular party, and served them usefully in most of the insurrections. Above all, in 1789, at Versailles, she assisted in corrupting the regiment of Flanders by taking into the ranks other girls of whom she had the direction, and distributing money to the soldiers. In 1790 she was sent to Liege to assist the people to rise there; but the Austrians arrested her in 1791 and took her to Vienna. Here the Emperor Leopold had an exciting interview with her, and set her at liberty in the course of a short time. In 1792 she returned to Paris, and showed herself again on the theatre of the Revolution. She appeared with a pike in her hand at the head of an army of women, frequently harangued the clubs, and particularly signalized herself on the 10th of August. During the Reign of Terror she was placed in a madhouse; and among the papers of St. Just was found a letter from her, dated 1794, in which is seen the wandering of a disordered imagination."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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CAPTURE OF FONTENAY.

"On the 24th of May, towards mid-day, the Vendéans approached Fontenay, and found ten thousand republicans, with a powerful train of artillery, waiting for them. Before the attack the soldiers received absolution. Their generals then said to them, 'Now, friends, we have no powder; we must take these cannon with clubs.' The soldiers of M. de Lescure, who commanded the left wing, hesitated to follow him. He therefore advanced alone, thirty paces before them. A battery of six pieces fired upon him with case shot. His clothes were pierced—his left spur carried away—his right boot torn—but he himself was not wounded. The peasants took courage and rushed on. At that moment, perceiving a large crucifix, they threw themselves on their knees before it. They soon rose and again rushed on. Meantime Larochejaquelein, at the head of the cavalry, charged successfully. The republican horse fled; but instead of pursuing them, they turned on the flank of the left wing, and broke through it. This decided the victory. Lescure was the first to reach the gate of the town with his left wing, and entered it; but his peasants had not courage to follow him. M. de Bonchamps and M. de Foret perceived his danger, and darted forward to his assistance. These three had the temerity to penetrate alone into the streets, but were soon followed by their soldiers. The battle of Fontenay, the most brilliant the Vendéans had yet fought, procured

them forty pieces of cannon, many muskets, a great quantity of powder, and ammunition of all kinds. They took also two boxes, one of which contained nearly 900,000 francs, and was kept for the use of their army. There was considerable embarrassment respecting the republican prisoners, whose numbers amounted to three or four thousand. My father proposed to cut off their hair, which would secure their being known again, and punished if taken a second time; the measure was adopted, and occasioned much mirth among our people."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

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SPEECHES OF ROBESPIERRE.

The real sentiments of Robespierre relative to the 31st of May are manifest from the speeches which he made at the Jacobins, where men spoke out much more freely than in the Assembly, and where they conspired openly. Extracts from his speeches at various important periods will show the train of his ideas in regard to the great catastrophe of the days between the 31st of May and the 2nd of June. His first speech, delivered on occasion of the pillages in the month of February, affords a first indication.

Sitting of February 25, 1793.—"As I have always loved humanity, and never sought to flatter any man, I will proclaim the truth. This is a plot hatched against the patriots themselves. It is intriguers who want to ruin the patriots. There is in the heart of the people a just feeling of indignation. I have maintained, amidst persecutions, and unsupported, that the people are never wrong; I have dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not yet recognized; the course of the Revolution has developed it. The people have so often heard the law invoked by those who were desirous to bring them beneath their yoke, that they are distrustful of that language. The people are suffering; they have not yet reaped the fruit of their labours; they are yet persecuted by the rich, and the rich are still what they always were, that is, hard-hearted and unfeeling. (*Applause.*) The people see the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see wealth accumulated in their hands; they feel their own poverty; they feel not the necessity of taking the means for attaining their aim; and when you talk the language of reason to them they listen only to their indignation against the rich, and suffer themselves to be hurried into false measures by those who seize their confidence for the purpose of ruining them. There are two causes—the first, a natural disposition in the people to relieve their wants, a disposition natural and legitimate in itself: the people believe that in the absence of protecting laws they have a right to provide themselves for their necessities. There is a second cause. That cause consists in the perfidious designs of the enemies of liberty, of the enemies of the people, who are well aware that the only means of delivering us up to the foreign powers is to alarm the people on account of their supply of provisions, and to render them the victims of the excesses thence resulting. I have myself been

an eye-witness of the disturbances. Beside the honest citizens, we have seen foreigners and opulent men, dressed in the respectable garb of *sans-culottes*. We have heard them say, 'We were promised abundance after the death of the King, and now that there is no King we are more wretched than ever.' We have heard them declaim, not against the intriguing and counter-revolutionary part of the Convention, which sits where sat the aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly, but against the Mountain, against the deputation of Paris, against the Jacobins, whom they represented as forestallers. I do not tell you that the people are culpable; I do not tell you that their riots are a crime; but when the people rise, ought they not to have an aim that is worthy of them? But ought paltry shop-goods to engage their attention? They derive no benefit from them, for the loaves of sugar were taken away by the valets of the aristocracy; and supposing that they had profited by them, what are the inconveniences that might thence result? Our adversaries wish to frighten all who possess any property; they wish to persuade men that our system of liberty and equality is subversive of all order, all security. The people ought to rise, not to carry off sugar, but to crush the brigands. (*Applause.*) Need I picture to you past dangers? You had nearly fallen a prey to the Prussians and Austrians: a negotiation was on foot; and those who then trafficked with your liberty are the same that have excited the present disturbances. I declare in the face of the friends of liberty and equality, in the face of the nation, that in the month of September, after the affair of the 10th of August, it was decided in Paris that the Prussians should advance without obstacle to this capital."

Sitting of May 8, 1793.—"We have to wage an external and an internal war. The civil war is kept up by the enemies of the interior. The army of La Vendée, the army of Bretagne, and the army of Coblenz are directed against Paris, that citadel of liberty. People of Paris! the tyrants are arming against you, because you are the most estimable portion of humanity; the great powers of Europe are rising against you; all the corrupt men in France are seconding their efforts. After you have formed a conception of this vast plan of your enemies, you ought easily to guess the means of defending yourselves. I do not tell you my secret; I have manifested it in the bosom of the Convention. I will reveal to you this secret, and were it possible that this duty of the representative of a free people could be deemed a crime, still I would confront all dangers to confound the tyrants and to save liberty. I said this morning in the Convention that the partisans of Paris should go forth to meet the villains of La Vendée, that they should take along with them by the way all their brethren of the departments, and exterminate all, yes, all the rebels at once. I said that all the patriots at home ought to rise, and take away the capacity for mischief both from the aristocrats of La Vendée, and the aristocrats disguised under the mask of patriotism. I said that the rebels of La Vendée had an army in Paris; I said that the generous and sublime people, who for five years have borne the weight of the Revolution, ought to take the necessary precautions that our wives and our children may not be delivered up to the counter-revolutionary knife of the enemies whom Paris contains in its bosom. None dared dispute this principle. These measures are of urgent, of imperative necessity. Patriots, fly to meet the banditti of La Vendée. They are formidable only because the precaution had been taken to disarm the people. Paris must send forth republican legions; but while we are making our domestic enemies tremble, it is

not right that our wives and our children should be exposed to the fury of the aristocracy. I proposed two measures: the first, that Paris should send two legions sufficient to exterminate all the wretches who have dared to raise the standard of rebellion. I demanded that all the aristocrats, all the Feuillans, all the moderates, should be expelled from the sections which they poisoned with their impure breath. I demanded that all suspected citizens should be put under arrest. I demanded that the quality of suspected citizens should not be determined by the quality of *ci-devant* nobles, *procureurs*, financiers, and tradesmen. I demanded that all citizens who have given proof of *incivism* may be imprisoned till the end of the war, and that we may have an imposing attitude before our enemies. I said that it was requisite to procure for the people the means of attending the sections without prejudice to its means of existence, and that to this end the Convention should decree that every artisan living by his labour should be paid for all the time that he might be obliged to keep himself under arms, for the preservation of the tranquillity in Paris. I demanded that the necessary millions should be appropriated to the manufacture of arms and pikes, for the purpose of arming all the *sans-culottes* of Paris. I demanded that forges and workshops should be erected in the public places, that all the citizens might be witnesses of the fidelity and activity of the operations. I demanded that all the public functionaries should be displaced by the people. I demanded that the municipality and the department of Paris, which possesses the confidence of the people, should cease to be shackled. I demanded that the factious who are in the Convention should cease to calumniate the people of Paris, and that the journalists who pervert the public opinion should be reduced to silence. All these measures are necessary, and to sum up, here is the acquittal of the debt which I have contracted towards the people. I demanded that the people should make an effort to exterminate the aristocrats who exist everywhere. (*Applause.*) I demanded that there should be in the bosom of Paris an army, not like that of Dumouriez, but a popular army, which should be continually under arms to overawe the Feuillans and the moderates; this army to be composed of paid *sans-culottes*. I demand that there be assigned to it sufficient funds for arming the artisans and all good patriots; I demand that they be at all the posts, and that their imposing majesty make all the aristocrats turn pale. I demand that to-morrow forges be erected in all the public places, where fire-arms shall be manufactured for arming the people. I demand that the executive council be charged with the execution of these measures upon its responsibility. If there be any who resist, if there be any who favour the enemies of liberty, let them to-morrow be driven away. I demand that the constituted authorities be charged to superintend the execution of these measures, and that they bear in mind that they are the representatives of a city which is the bulwark of liberty, and whose existence renders counter-revolution impossible. In this critical moment duty commands all patriots to save the country by the most vigorous means. If you suffer the patriots to be slaughtered in detail, all that is most virtuous on earth will be annihilated; it is for you to see if you will save the human race." All the members rose by a simultaneous impulse, and waving their hats, cried, "Yes, yes, we will." "It is because your glory, your happiness, are at stake, and it is from this motive alone that I conjure you to watch over the welfare of the country. You conceive, perhaps, that you ought to revolt, that you ought to assume the air of insurrection: no such thing; it is law in

hand that we must exterminate all our enemies. It is with consummate impudence that the unfaithful representatives have attempted to separate the people of Paris from the departments, that they have attempted to separate the people of the tribunes from the people of Paris, as if it were a fault in us that we have made all possible sacrifices to enlarge our tribunes for the whole population of Paris. I say that I am speaking to the whole population of Paris, and if it were assembled in this place, if it were to hear me plead its cause against Buzot and Barbaroux, it is not to be doubted that it would range itself on my side. Citizens, people magnify our dangers; they represent the foreign armies united with the rebels of the interior; but what can their efforts accomplish against millions of intrepid *sans-culottes*? And if you adopt this proposition that one freeman is worth a hundred slaves, you may easily calculate that your force surpasses that of all the powers put together. You have in the laws all that is requisite for exterminating our enemies legally. You have aristocrats in the sections: expel them. You have liberty to save: proclaim the rights of liberty, and exercise all your energy. You have an immense host of *sans-culottes*, very pure, very vigorous: they cannot leave their work; make the rich pay them. You have a National Convention; it is very possible that the members of that Convention are not all alike friends of liberty and equality; but the greater number are determined to support the rights of the people and to save the republic. The gangrened portion of the Convention will not prevent the people from fighting the aristocrats. Do you then conceive that the Mountain of the Convention will not have sufficient strength to curb all the partisans of Dumouriez, of Orleans, and of Coburg? Indeed, you cannot think so. If liberty succumbs, it will be less the fault of the representatives than of the sovereign! People! forget not that your destiny is in your hands; it is your duty to save Paris and mankind; if you fail to do it you are guilty. The Mountain needs the people; the people are supported by the Mountain. They strive to alarm you in every way; they want to make us believe that the departments are enemies to the Jacobins. I declare to you that Marseilles is the everlasting friend of the Mountain; that at Lyons the patriots have gained a complete victory. I sum up, and demand, 1st, that the sections raise an army sufficient to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army, that shall collect all the *sans-culottes* of the departments to exterminate the rebels; 2nd, that an army of *sans-culottes* be raised in Paris to overawe the aristocracy; 3rd, that dangerous intriguers, that all the aristocrats, be put in a state of arrest; that the *sans-culottes* be paid at the expense of the public exchequer, which shall be supplied by the rich, and that this measure extend to the whole of the republic. I demand that forges be erected in all the public places. I demand that the commune of Paris keep up with all its power the revolutionary zeal of the people of Paris. I demand that the revolutionary tribunal make it a duty to punish those who lately have blasphemed the republic. I demand that this tribunal bring without delay to exemplary punishment certain generals, taken in the fact, and who ought already to be tried. I demand that the sections of Paris unite themselves with the commune of Paris, and that they counterbalance by their influence the perfidious writings of the journalists in the pay of foreign powers. By taking all these measures, without furnishing any pretext for saying that you have violated the laws, you will give an impulse to the departments, which will join you for the purpose of saving liberty."

Sitting of Sunday, May 12, 1793.—"I never could conceive how it was possible that in critical moments there should be so many men to make propositions which compromise the friends of liberty, while nobody supports those which tend to save the republic. Till it is proved to me that it is not necessary to arm the *sans-culottes*, that it is not right to pay them for mounting guard, and for assuring the tranquillity of Paris; till it is proved to me that it is not right to convert our public places into workshops for making arms, I shall believe and I shall say that those who, setting aside these measures, propose to you only partial measures, how violent soever they may be, I shall say that these men know nothing of the means of saving the country; for it is not till after we have tried all those measures which do not compromise society that we ought to have recourse to extreme measures: besides, these measures ought not to be proposed in the bosom of a society which should be wise and politic. It is not a moment of transient agitation that will save the country. We have for enemies the most artful and the most supple men, who have at their disposal all the treasures of the republic. The measures which have been proposed have not and cannot have any result; they have served only to feed calumny, they have served only to furnish the journalists with pretexts for representing us in the most hateful colours. When we neglect the first means that reason points out, and without which the public welfare cannot be brought about, it is evident that we are not in the right track. I shall say no more of that; but I declare that I protest against all those means which tend only to compromise the society without contributing to the public welfare. That is my confession of faith; the people will always be able to crush the aristocracy; let the society only beware of committing any gross blunder. When I see the pains that are taken to make the society enemies to no purpose, to encourage the villains who are striving to destroy it, I am tempted to believe that people are blind or evil-disposed. I propose to the society to resolve upon the measures which I have suggested, and I regard as extremely culpable those who do not cause them to be carried into execution. How can such measures be disapproved? How can any one help feeling their necessity, and if feeling it, hesitate for a moment to support them and enforce their adoption? I shall propose to the society to listen to a discussion of the principles of the constitution that is preparing for France; for it must necessarily embrace all the plans of our enemies. If the society can demonstrate the Machiavelism of our enemies it will not have wasted its time. I demand, therefore, that setting aside unseasonable propositions, the society permit me to read to it my paper on the constitution."

Sitting of Sunday, May 26, 1793.—"I said to you that the people ought to repose upon their strength; but when the people are oppressed, when they have nothing left but themselves, he would be a coward who would not bid them rise. It is when all the laws are violated, it is when despotism is at its height, it is when good faith and modesty are trampled under foot, that the people ought to rise. That moment is come: our enemies openly oppress the patriots—they want, in the name of the law, to plunge the people back into misery and slavery. Never will I be the friend of those corrupt men, what treasures soever they offer me. I would rather die with republicans than triumph with villains. (*Applause.*) I know but two modes of existing for a nation—either it governs itself, or it commits this task to representatives. We republican deputies desire to establish the government of the people by

their representatives, with responsibility: it is by these principles that we square our opinions; but most frequently we cannot obtain a hearing. A rapid signal given by the president deprives us of the right of expressing our sentiments. I consider that the sovereignty of the people is violated when their representatives give to their creatures the places which belong to the people. On these principles I am deeply grieved." . . . The speaker was here interrupted by the announcement of a deputation. (*Tumult.*) "I shall continue to speak," resumed Robespierre, "not for those who interrupt one, but for the republicans. I expect every citizen to cherish the sentiment of his rights; I expect him to rely upon his strength and upon that of the whole nation; I exhort the people to put themselves in a state of insurrection in the National Convention against all the corrupt deputies. (*Applause.*) I declare that, having received from the people the right to defend their rights, I regard as my oppressor any one who interrupts me or prevents me from speaking; and I declare that I singly put myself in a state of insurrection against the president and against all the members who sit in the Convention. (*Applause.*) When a culpable contempt for the *sans-culottes* shall be affected, I declare that I will put myself in a state of insurrection against the corrupt deputies. I exhort all the Mountaineer deputies to rally, and to fight the aristocracy; and I say that there is but one alternative for them—either to resist with all their might the efforts of intrigues, or to resign. It is requisite at the same time that the French people should know their rights; for the faithful deputies can do nothing without liberty of speech. If treason calls the foreign enemy into the bosom of France—if, when our gunners hold in their hands the thunderbolts which are to exterminate the tyrants and their satellites, we see the enemy approach our walls, then I declare that I will myself punish the traitors, and I promise to consider every conspirator as my enemy, and to treat him accordingly." (*Applause.*)

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THURIOT LAROSIERE.

"Jacques Alexandre Thuriot Larosiere, a barrister in the parliament of Paris, was appointed in 1791 deputy from the Marne to the Legislature; and being afterwards appointed to the Convention, demanded that the King should be tried within three days, and sentenced to lose his head on the scaffold. In the same year he attacked the Girondins, and accused them of having intrigued to uphold the throne. He was afterwards named president, and then member of the committee of public safety. After the overthrow of Robespierre and his party, Thuriot presided in the Jacobin Club, and was some time afterwards employed by the Directory in the capacity of civil commissioner to the tribunal of Rheims. In 1805 he was made member of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.*

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COUTHON.

"J. Couthon, surnamed Cato during the Reign of Terror, was born at Orsay in 1756, and was an advocate at Clermont. He was deputed to the Legislature and the Convention. Before this period he enjoyed in his own country a reputation for gentleness and integrity; yet he embraced the revolutionary principles with astonishing eagerness, and during the sitting of the Convention showed himself the most ardent partisan of sanguinary measures. Prudhomme says, that it was in his chamber at Paris that the Duc d'Orleans, Danton, Marat, Petion, Robespierre, and others assembled to arrange the insurrection of the 10th of August 1792. In the following year Couthon voted for the King's death, and eagerly opposed delay. He soon afterwards attacked the Girondins, and became the favourite tool of Robespierre. Being sent to Lyons, he presided at the execution of the rebel chiefs, and began to put in force the decree which ordered the demolition of that city. Being afterwards implicated with the party of Robespierre, the armed force came to seize him; when he perceived they were going to lay hold of him, he struck himself slightly with a dagger, and feigned himself dead. In the year 1794 he was executed, and suffered horribly before he died. His singular conformation, and the dreadful contraction of his limbs at that time, so incommoded the executioner while fastening him on the plank of the guillotine, that he was obliged to lay him on his side to give the fatal blow. His torture lasted longer than that of fourteen other sufferers."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Couthon was a decrepit being, whose lower extremities were paralyzed—whose benevolence of feeling seemed to pour itself out in the most gentle expressions, uttered in the most melodious tones—whose sensibility led him constantly to foster a favourite spaniel in his bosom, that he might have something on which to bestow kindness and caresses—but who was at heart as fierce as Danton, and as pitiless as Robespierre."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

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DROUET.

"Jean Baptiste Drouet, postmaster at St. Menéhould, was born in 1763. It was he who recognized the King in his flight, and caused him to be arrested at Varennes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis. In the autumn of the following year he was sent to the army of the North, was taken prisoner, and carried to Moravia; where, having attempted to escape by springing from a window, he broke his leg, and was retaken. In 1795 he obtained his liberty, and entered the Council of Five Hundred. Dissatisfied with

the moderate system which then prevailed in France, he became, with Babeuf, one of the leaders of the Jacobin conspiracy, on which account he was arrested, but made his escape into Switzerland. He was finally acquitted, and returned to France. In 1799 he was sub-prefect at St. Menchould. During the Hundred Days he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies, but in 1816 was banished from France as a regicide."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

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JULIEN.

"Julien of La Drome, a rank Jacobin, was commissioner of the committee of public safety during the Reign of Terror. After the establishment of the Directory he edited a journal entitled the *Plebeian Orator*, the expenses of which were defrayed by government. He accompanied the expedition to Egypt as war commissioner, and in the year 1806 was sub-inspector of the revenues."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Julien, when only eighteen years of age, was sent from Paris on a mission to Bordeaux, to prevent an insurrection against the Mountain, and to inquire into the conduct of Ysabeau and Tallien. Here he made himself notorious by his cruelties, and was even heard to exclaim one day in the popular society, that if milk was the food of old men, blood was that of the children of liberty, who rested on a bed of corpses."—*Prudhomme*.

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LAREVEILLIÈRE-LEPEAUX.

"Lareveillière-Lepeaux, born in 1753, studied at Angers, and afterwards went to Paris, intending to become an advocate there. Instead of this, however, he returned to his native place, devoted himself to botany, and became professor of that science at Angers, where he established a botanic garden. Being deputed to the States-general, he excited attention by the hatred he showed to the higher orders. On being appointed a member of the Convention he voted for the King's death. Though attached to the Gironde, he managed to escape the proscription of that party, and lay concealed during the whole Reign of Terror. He afterwards became one of the Council of the Ancients, and then of the Directory. He was unwearied in labour, but his want of decision always excluded him from any influence in important affairs, and he made himself ridiculous by his whim of becoming the chief of the sect of the Theophilanthropists. In 1799 he was driven from the Directory, and returned again to his favourite books and plants."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"It was well known that the fear of being hanged was Lareveillière-Lepeaux's ruling sentiment."—*Lacurrière*.

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DUSSAULX.

"J. Dussaulx, born at Chartres in 1728, was the son of a lawyer. He served in the campaign of Hanover, under Marshal Richelieu, and gained the esteem of King Stanislaus. Returning to Paris, he brought out a translation of Juvenal, and in 1776 was made a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. Becoming a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's detention, and his banishment on a peace. In 1796 he was appointed president of the Council of Ancients. He died in 1799 after a long and afflicting illness. He was the author of several works, of which the best is his translation of Juvenal's satires."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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BOISSY D'ANGLAS.

"Boissy d'Anglas, barrister in the parliament, *maitre d'hôtel* to Monsieur, was in 1789 deputed to the States-general. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, and voted for the King's detention till banishment should be thought proper. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was chosen secretary to the tribune, and particularly entrusted with the care of watching that Paris was properly supplied with provisions. In 1795, at the moment when he was beginning a report on this subject, he was interrupted by a mob of both sexes, who, having broken through the guard, were crying out, 'Bread, bread, and the constitution of 1793.' This tumult having been quelled, a fresh one broke out a few days after, when Boissy d'Anglas, who was seated in the president's chair, was several times aimed at by twenty guns at once. One of the rioters placed himself right before him, carrying at the end of a pike the head of the deputy Ferraud, when Boissy showed a coolness which was not without effect upon the mob, and for which next day he received the universal applause of the tribune. In 1796 he was appointed president of the Council of Five Hundred, and in 1805 became a member of the Senate, and commandant of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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FALL OF THE GIRONDINS.

"Thus fell, without a blow struck, or sword drawn in their defence, that party in the Convention which claimed the praise of acting upon pure republican principles; which had overturned the throne, and led

the way to anarchy merely to perfect an ideal theory. They fell, as the wisest of them admitted, dupes to their own system, and to the impracticable idea of ruling a large and corrupt empire by the motives which may sway a small and virtuous community. They might, as they too late discovered, as well have attempted to found the Capitol on a bottomless and quaking marsh, as their pretended republic in a country like France. Their violent revolutionary expedients, the means by which they acted, were turned against them by men whose ends were worse than their own."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

"Thus fell the Gironde, the true representatives of liberty; men of enlightened minds, of patriotic sentiments, and mild and moderate principles; but who necessarily gave place to those men of violence and blood, who, rising out of the perilous and unnatural situation in which the republic was placed, were perhaps alone fitted, by their furious fanaticism and disregard of all ordinary feelings, to carry the Revolution triumphantly through its difficulties, by opposing remorseless hatred to the persevering efforts of tyranny without, and cruelty and the thirst of vengeance to treachery and malice within. Virtue was not strong enough for this fiery ordeal, and it was necessary to oppose the vices of anarchy to the vices of despotism."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.*

END OF VOL. II.