

**A HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**FRENCH REVOLUTION**

A HISTORY  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY  
H. MORSE STEPHENS

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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## PREFACE.

I REGRET, but can hardly apologize for, the delay in the publication of the present Volume. A Paradise haunts the dreams of the Historian, as well as of the Lover and the Fool. To glide through happy, laborious years in the eloquent silence of his library, free from the necessity for that ungrateful literary drudgery, from which he escapes only by fits and starts—in feverish haste, the balance and continuity of his ideas well-nigh lost,—to some cherished work, often laid aside, long neglected, and at last almost despaired of; to feel himself, as it were, a lily of the field, neither bound to toil nor spin Solomon-*raiment* for himself, but only for his thoughts; to enjoy the inestimable boon of scholarly leisure, roaming through archives and collections, with no call to grudge the hours which slip by as one investigation branches off into a hundred equally as enticing, ruminating some doubtful point, or rounding some awkward period in his twilight garden or beside his friendly study fire; to concentrate his every thought upon the *magnum opus*, towards which all his studies have for years been tending, which he sees daily growing under his pen, big with the promise of future fame; ever busily improving, reviewing, and revising, till shortly he becomes his best, and gives of his best to the world, and of his best only.

Such is the Historian's golden dream. Such was mine. For me, as for many another—alas, how much more worthy!—an Eldorado wholly unattainable; for between us and those mirage bowers stretch long years of desert sand. Shall we journey on and on, hoping that some day we may peradventure reach the ever-receding place of rest? Or shall we rather do what little we may in the hurry and press of the march? Life is short, the future is uncertain; and for me the balance has been tilted by the sympathetic insistence of one or two faithful friends, and by the encouraging appreciation of reviewers and correspondents in England, France, and America. So the volume shall go. Those who praise it will never know what it has cost me; those who blame would hardly believe how far it falls short of the ideal I had steadily cherished and once hoped to attain.

Though to unravel the tangled skein of the history of the French Revolution, without once snapping the thread, demands a continuous labour and an undivided attention, which were not always mine to bestow, surely it cannot be that so much pains and anxiety should wholly fail to add something to the fund of historical knowledge, to present a fairly veracious picture of the period—a mere sober study in “black and white,” aiming neither at Venetian colour nor Impressionist dash,—and, perchance, to impart to a few readers here and there some contagion of interest and enthusiasm.

To Mr. F. York Powell, of Christ Church, Oxford, I am deeply indebted for unfailing encouragement, assistance, and advice, and to Mr. Arthur Hassall, of the same Society, for his kindness in reading the proof-sheets of the present

Volume. My thanks are also due to M. F. A. Aulard, Professor at the Sorbonne, who procured for me from the Archives at Paris the list (never before printed) of the deputies sent on mission at the beginning of 1794, which appears in Appendix X., and to Mr. G. K. Fortescue, of the British Museum, whose extensive knowledge of the pamphlets of the period was always at my service.

If there still remain perforce unanswered some of the very many kind and helpful letters, which my earlier chapters called forth, I here beg the writers to accept my regretful excuses.

By a slight modification of plan, this volume closes at the end of 1793, instead of with the fall of Robespierre. During the last five years hardly a week has passed without some book, pamphlet, or article throwing new light upon obscure subjects and important facts in my period. I try to keep up with this ever-growing literature, but having already in my former Preface pointed out its main features, I refrain from its detailed analysis till I put out my last volume, to which I hope to prefix a complete biographical introduction, explaining the nature of the new authorities and the use I have made of them.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

Oxford, 1891.

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## APPENDIX I.

MINISTERS FROM 1791 UNTIL THE MINISTRIES WERE ABOLISHED 12 GERMINAL, YEAR II. (APRIL 1, 1794)

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS, OR THE FINANCES.	MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.	MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR.	MINISTERS FOR WAR.	MINISTERS FOR THE NAVY AND COLONIES.	MINISTERS OF JUSTICE.
Louis Hardecube Tarbé, May 18, '91-Mar. 23, '92.	Comte de Montmorin, July 15, '89-Nov. 27, '91.	Antoine de Valdec de Lessart, Jan. 25-Nov. 29, 1791.	Louis Duportail, Nov. 16, '90-Dec. 2, '91.	Antoine de Valdec de Lessart ( <i>ad interim</i> ), Sept. 18-Oct. 2, 1791.	Marguerite Louis François Duport du Tertre, April 27, '91-Mar. 23, '92.
	Antoine de Valdec de Lessart, Nov. 28, '91-Mar. 17, '92.	Bertrand Charles Cahier de Gerville, Nov. 28, '91-Mar. 23, '92.	Louis Marie Jacques Amalric de Narbonne-Lara, Dec. 6, '91-Mar. 2, '92.	Antoine François de Bertrand de Molleville, Oct. 4, '91-Mar. 15, '92.	
Étienne Clavière, Mar. 23-June 12, 1792.	Charles Francis Dupérier, called Dumouriez, Mar. 17-June 14, 1792.	Jean Marie Roland, Mar. 23-June 12, 1792.	Pierre Marie de Grave, Mar. 9-May 8, 1792. Joseph Servan, May 9-June 13, 1792.	Étienne Clément Lacoste, Mar. 15-July 21, 1792.	Jean Marie Roland ( <i>ad interim</i> ), Mar. 23-April 13, 1792. Henri Duranthon, April 13-July 3, 1792.
François Beauhien, June 13-July 29, 1792.	Charles de Naillac, June 14-17, 1792.	Louis Étienne Mourgues, June 13-18, 1792.	Charles François Dumouriez, June 13-17, 1792.		
	Stanilas Guillaume de Chambonas, June 17-Aug. 1, 1792.	Charles Louis Terrier de Monciel, June 18-July 21, 1792.	Pierre Auguste Lajard, June 17-July 23, 1792.		
Louis Leroux de Laville, Aug. 1-10, 1792.	Charles Joseph Bigot de Sainte-Croix, Aug. 1-10, 1792.	Louis Champion de Villeneuve, July 21-Aug. 10, 1792.	Charles Xavier Joseph D'Abancourt, July 23-Aug. 10, 1792.	François Joseph Gratel Dubouchage, July 21-Aug. 10, 1792.	Henri Dejoly, July 3-Aug. 10, 1792.
<b>THE REPUBLIC.</b>					
Étienne Clavière, Aug. 10, '92-June 2, '93.	Pierre Henri Heleine Marie Lebrun-Tondu, Aug. 12, '92-June 2, '93.	Jean Marie Roland, Aug. 10, '92-Mar. 14, '93.	Joseph Servan, Aug. 10-Oct. 18, 1792. Jean Nicolas Pache, Oct. 20, '92-Feb. 3, '93.	Gaspard Monge, Aug. 12, '92-April 10, '93.	Georges Jacques Danton, Aug. 12-Sept. 29, 1792. Dominique Joseph Garat, Oct. 19, '92-Mar. 14, '93.
		Dominique Joseph Garat, Mar. 14-Aug. 15, 1793.	Pierre de Riel de Bournonville, Feb. 4-Mar. 29, 1793.		
Louis Grégoire Deschamps Destournelles, June 15, '93-Mar. 20, '94.	Louis Henri Deforgues, June 15, '93-April 1, '94.	Jules François Paré, Aug. 15, '93-April 1, '94.	Jean Baptiste Noël Bouchotte, April 4, '93-May 1, '94.	Jean Dalbarade, April 10, '93-April 1, '94.	Louis Jérôme Gohier, Mar. 20, '93-April 1, '94.

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PRESIDENTS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 1, 1791,  
TO SEPTEMBER 21, 1792.

Antoine Charles Bartauld, deputy for the department of the Côte d'Or, presided as eldest deputy, Oct. 1, 1791.

	Elected
1. Claude Emmanuel Joseph Pierre Pastoret, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Oct. 3, 1791
2. Jean Baptiste Louis Ducastel, deputy for the department of the Seine-Inférieure . . . . .	Oct. 17 "
3. Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Oct. 30 "
4. Vincent Marie Viennot de Vaublanc, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Marne . . . . .	Nov. 15 "
5. Bernard Germain Étienne de la Ville de Lacépède, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Nov. 28 "
6. Pierre Édouard Lemontey, deputy for the department of the Rhône-et-Loire . . . . .	Dec. 10 "
7. Nicolas François [de Neufchâteau], deputy for the department of the Vosges . . . . .	Dec. 26 "
8. Jean Antoine Daverhoul, deputy for the department of the Ardennes . . . . .	Jan. 8, 1792
9. Marguerite Élie Guadet, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Jan. 22 "
10. Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat de Condorcet, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Feb. 6 "
11. Mathieu Dumas, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .	Feb. 19 "
12. Louis Bernard Guyton de Morveau, deputy for the department of the Côte-d'Or . . . . .	Mar. 4 "
13. Armand Genzoné, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Mar. 18 "
14. Jean Dorisy, deputy for the department of the Marne . . . . .	April 2 "
15. Félix Julien Jean Bigot de Fréamensu, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	April 15 "
16. Jean Gérard de Lacusé de Cessac, deputy for the department of the Lot-et-Garonne . . . . .	April 29 "
17. Honoré Muraire, deputy for the department of the Var . . . . .	May 13 "



	Elected
18. François Alexandre Tardiveau, deputy for the department of the Ile-et-Vilaine . . . . .	May 27 1792
19. Antoine Français [de Nantes], deputy for the department of the Loire-Inférieure . . . . .	June 11 „
20. Cécile Stanislas Xavier de Girardin, deputy for the department of the Oise . . . . .	June 25 „
21. Jean Baptiste Annibal Aubert-Dubayet, deputy for the department of the Isère . . . . .	July 8 „
22. André Daniel Laffon de Ladebat, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	July 23 „
23. Antoine Merlet, deputy for the department of the Maine-et-Loire . . . . .	Aug. 6 „
24. Jean François de Lacroix, deputy for the department of the Eure-et-Loir . . . . .	Aug. 19 „
25. Marie Jean Hérault de Séchelles, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Sept. 2 „
26. Pierre Joseph Cambon, deputy for the department of the Hérault . . . . .	Sept. 16 „

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### APPENDIX III.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 20, 1792, TO  
4 BRUMAIRE, YEAR IV. (OCTOBER 26, 1795).

Philippe Jacques Rühl, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department  
of the Bas-Rhin, presided as eldest deputy, Sept. 20, 1792.

	Elected
1. Jérôme Pétion, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Eure-et-Loir . . . . .	Sept. 21, 1792
2. Jean François de Lacroix, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Eure-et-Loir . . . . .	Oct. 4 „
3. Marguerite Élie Guadet, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Oct. 18 „
4. Marie Jean Hérault de Séchelles, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .	Nov. 1 „
5. Henri Grégoire, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Loir-et-Cher . . . . .	Nov. 15 „
6. Bertrand Barère, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées . . . . .	Nov. 29 „
7. Jacques Deferrondes Chapellières, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Ile-et-Vilaine . . . . .	Dec. 13 „

	Elected
8. Jean Baptiste Treillard, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .	Dec. 27 1792
9. Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Jan. 10, 1793
10. Jean Paul Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Aube . . . . .	Jan. 24 "
11. Jean Jacques Breard, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Charente-Inférieure . . . . .	Feb. 7 "
12. Edmond Louis Alexis Dubois-Crancé, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Ardennes . . . . .	Feb. 21 "
13. Armand Gensonné, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	Mar. 7 "
14. Jean Antoine Joseph Debry, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Aisne . . . . .	Mar. 21 "
15. Jean François Bertrand Delmas, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Haute-Garonne . . . . .	April 4 "
16. Marie David Albin Lasource, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Tarn . . . . .	April 18 "
17. Jean Baptiste Boyer-Fonfrede, deputy for the department of the Gironde . . . . .	May 2 "
18. Maximin Isnard, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Var . . . . .	May 16 "
19. François René Auguste Mallarmé, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Meurthe . . . . .	May 30 "
20. Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	June 13 "
21. Jacques Alexis Thuriot de la Rozière, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Marne . . . . .	June 27 "
22. Jean Bon Saint-André, deputy for the department of the Lot . . . . .	July 11 "
23. Georges Jacques Danton, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	July 25 "
24. Marie Jean Hérault de Séchelles (second time), deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .	Aug. 8 "
25. Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Aug. 22 "
26. Jacques Nicolas Billaud-Varenne, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .	Sept. 5 "
27. Pierre Joseph Cambon, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Hérault . . . . .	Sept. 19 "
28. Louis Joseph Charlier, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Marne . . . . .	Oct. 3 "

- |  | Elected  |
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| 29. Moyses Bayle, deputy for the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône . . . . .                                  | 1st day, 2nd month, year II<br>(Oct. 22, 1793) |
| 30. Pierre Antoine Laloy, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Haute-Marne . . . . .               | Brumaire 16, year II<br>(Nov. 6, 1793)         |
| 31. Charles Gilbert Romme, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Puy-de-Dôme . . . . .              | Frimaire 1, year II<br>(Nov. 21, 1793)         |
| 32. Jean Henri Voulland, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Gard . . . . .                       | Frimaire 16, year II<br>(Dec. 6, 1793)         |
| 33. Georges Auguste Couthon, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Puy-de-Dôme . . . . .            | Nivôse 1, year II<br>(Dec. 21, 1793)           |
| 34. Jacques Louis David, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .  | Nivôse 16, year II<br>(Jan. 5, 1794)           |
| 35. Marc Guillaume Alexis Vadier, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Ariège . . . . .            | Pluviôse 1, year II<br>(Jan. 20, 1794)         |
| 36. Joseph Nicolas Barbeau du Barran, deputy for the department of the Gers . . . . .                          | Pluviôse 16, year II<br>(Feb. 4, 1794)         |
| 37. Louis Antoine Léon Florelle de Saint-Just, deputy for the department of the Aisne . . . . .                | Ventôse 1, year II<br>(Feb. 19, 1794)          |
| 38. Philippe Jacques Rühl, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Bas-Rhin . . . . .                 | Ventôse 16, year II<br>(Mar. 6, 1794)          |
| 39. Jean Lambert Tallien, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .                             | Germinal 1, year II<br>(Mar. 21, 1794)         |
| 40. Jean Pierre André Amar, deputy for the department of the Isère . . . . .                                   | Germinal 16, year II<br>(April 5, 1794)        |
| 41. Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Eure . . . . .               | Floréal 1, year II<br>(April 20, 1794)         |
| 42. Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Pas-de-Calais . . . . . | Floréal 16, year II<br>(May 5, 1794)           |

- |  | Elected                                     |
|--|---|
| 43. Claude Antoine Prieur-Duvernois, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Côte-d'Or . . . . .              | Prairial 1, year II<br>(May 20, 1794)       |
| 44. Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre (second time), deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .                   | Prairial 16, year II<br>(June 4, 1794)      |
| 45. Élie Lacoste, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Dordogne . . . . .                                  | Messidor 1, year II<br>(June 19, 1794)      |
| 46. Jean Antoine Louis, deputy for the department of the Bas-Rhin . . . . .  | Messidor 17, year II<br>(July 5, 1794)      |
| 47. Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois (second time), deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .                            | Thermidor 1, year II<br>(July 19, 1794)     |
| 48. Philippe Antoine Merlin [de Douai], Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Nord . . . . .                | Thermidor 16, year II<br>(Aug. 3, 1794)     |
| 49. Antoine Christophe Merlin [de Thionville], Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Moselle . . . . .      | Fructidor 1, year II<br>(Aug. 18, 1794)     |
| 50. André Antoine Bernard [de Saintes], Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Charente-Inférieure . . . . . | Fructidor 15, year II<br>(Sept. 1, 1794)    |
| 51. André Dumont, deputy for the department of the Somme . . . . .   | Vendémiaire 1, year III<br>(Sept. 22, 1794) |
| 52. Jean Jacques Régis Cambacérès, deputy for the department of the Hérault . . . . .                                  | Vendémiaire 16, year III<br>(Oct. 7, 1794)  |
| 53. Pierre Louis Prieur, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Marne . . . . .                              | Brumaire 1, year III<br>(Oct. 22, 1794)     |
| 54. Louis Legendre, deputy for the department of Paris . . . . .   | Brumaire 16, year III<br>(Nov. 6, 1794)     |
| 55. Jean Baptiste Clausel, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Ariège . . . . .                           | Frimaire 4, year III<br>(Nov. 24, 1794)     |

- |   | Elected                                  |
|---|--|
| 56. Jean François Rewbell, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Haut-Rhin . . . . .                 | Frimaire 16, year III<br>(Dec. 6, 1794)  |
| 57. Pierre Bentabole, deputy for the department of the Bas-Rhin . . . . .                                       | Nivôse 1, year III<br>(Dec. 21, 1794)    |
| 58. Étienne François Louis Honoré Letourneur, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Manche . . . . . | Nivôse 17, year III<br>(Jan. 6, 1795)    |
| 59. Joseph Stanislas François Xavier Alexis Rovère, deputy for the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône . . . . . | Pluviôse 1, year III<br>(Jan. 20, 1795)  |
| 60. Paul François Jean Nicolas Barras, deputy for the department of the Var . . . . .                           | Pluviôse 16, year III<br>(Feb. 4, 1795)  |
| 61. François Louis Bourdon, deputy for the department of the Oise . . . . .                                     | Ventôse 1, year III<br>(Feb. 19, 1795)   |
| 62. Antoine Claire Thibaudeau, deputy for the department of the Vienne . . . . .                                | Ventôse 16, year III<br>(March 6, 1795)  |
| 63. Jean Pelet, deputy for the department of the Lozère . . . . .   | Germinal 4, year III<br>(March 24, 1795) |
| 64. François Antoine Boissy d'Anglas, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Ardèche . . . . .        | Germinal 16, year III<br>(April 5, 1795) |
| 65. Emmanuel Joseph Siéyès, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Sarthe . . . . .                   | Floréal 1, year III<br>(April 20, 1795)  |
| 66. Théodore Vernier, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Jura . . . . .                           | Floréal 16, year III<br>(May 5, 1795)    |
| 67. Jean Baptiste Charles Mathieu [de Miranpal], deputy for the department of the Oise . . . . .                | Prairial 7, year III<br>(May 26, 1795)   |
| 68. Jean Denis Lanjuinais, ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Ile-et-Vilaine . . . . .            | Prairial 16, year III<br>(June 4, 1795)  |

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|---|--|
|   | Elected                                    |
| 69. Jean Baptiste Louvet, deputy for the department of the Loiret . . . . .                                     | Messidor 1, year III<br>(June 19, 1795)    |
| 70. Louis Gustave Doucet [de Pontécoulant], deputy for the department of the Calvados . . . . .                 | Messidor 16, year III<br>(July 4, 1795)    |
| 71. Louis Marie Lareveillière-Lépaux, Ex-Constituant, deputy for the department of the Maine-et-Loire . . . . . | Thermidor 1, year III<br>(July 19, 1795)   |
| 72. Pierre Claude François Daunou, deputy for the department of the Pas-de-Calais . . . . .                     | Thermidor 16, year III<br>(Aug. 3, 1795)   |
| 73. Marie Joseph Chenier, deputy for the department of the Seine-et-Oise . . . . .                              | Fructidor 2, year III<br>(Aug. 19, 1795)   |
| 74. Théophile Berlier, deputy for the department of the Côte-d'Or . . . . .                                     | Fructidor 16, year III<br>(Sept. 2, 1795)  |
| 75. Pierre Charles Louis Baudin, Ex-Législateur, deputy for the department of the Ardennes . . . . .            | Vendémiaire 1, year IV<br>(Sept. 23, 1795) |
| 76. Jean Joseph Victor Genissieu, deputy for the department of the Isère . . . . .                              | Vendémiaire 16, year IV<br>(Oct. 8, 1795)  |

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## APPENDIX IV.

### THE GIRONDIN PARTY.

In order not to encumber the text with long lists of names, it has been decided to give the following analysis of the composition of the Girondin party in an appendix. It was not a party in the modern sense of an organized political body, acting in absolute harmony and under recognized leaders, and innumerable mistakes of fact have been made with regard to it, often involving false conclusions and serious misconceptions. In the following study, much use has been made of two valuable modern works, *La Légende des Girondins*, by Edmond Biré, and Aulard's *Les Orateurs de la Législative et de la Convention*, book iii., chap. i. (vol. i. pp. 147-167).

The only way to get a true idea of the leaders and the rank and file of the Girondin party is from an examination of the lists of proscriptions

drawn up against them. The twenty-two deputies originally accused by the Commune of Paris on April 15, 1793 (p. 238) were, in alphabetical order : Barbaroux, Birotteau, Brissot, Buzot, Chambon, Doulcet, Fauchet, Gensonné, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Hardy, Lanjuinais, Lanthenas, Lasource, Lehardi, Louvet, Pétion, Salle, Valady, Valazé, and Vergniaud. Several changes were made in this list, and the names of Ducos, Dusaulx, Isnard, Lesage, and Lidon were at different times inserted in the place of Doulcet, Hardy, Lanthenas, Valady, and Valazé. The Committee of Twelve elected under Girondin influence on May 20, 1793 (p. 240) consisted of : Bergoeing, Bertrand-La-Hosdinière, Boileau, Boyer-Fonfrede, Gardien, Gomaire, Keruelegan, Larivière, Mollevaut, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Saint-Martin-Valogne, and Viger. On June 2, 1793, the first list of proscription was carried (p. 246), and the following twenty-nine deputies were ordered to be excluded from the Convention and kept under guard in their own houses : Barbaroux, Bergoeing, Bertrand-La-Hosdinière, Birotteau, Boileau, Brissot, Buzot, Chambon, Gardien, Gensonné, Gomaire, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Keruelegan, Lanjuinais, Larivière, Lasource, Lehardi, Lesage, Lidon, Louvet, Mollevaut, Pétion, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Salle, Valazé, Vergniaud, and Viger, while Fauchet and Isnard, who had voluntarily suspended themselves from their functions as deputies, were ordered not to leave Paris. Of the twenty-nine deputies, proscribed on June 2, ten were members of the Committee of Twelve, the other two, Boyer-Fonfrede and Saint-Martin-Valogne, having been saved by Legendre, and nineteen were from the list of Girondin leaders. Seventeen of these nineteen were named on the original list of twenty-two presented by the Commune of Paris, the five excluded being Doulcet, Fauchet, Hardy, Lanthenas, and Valady, and two had been added since, Lesage and Lidon. Many of these deputies escaped into the departments at different dates (pp. 251, 272), and tried to organize a general movement against the Convention ; they were outlawed on July 28, 1793, and with them certain other deputies, not hitherto proscribed, who had joined them, such as Cussy and Meillan. These measures of proscription were boldly attacked by those deputies who had been allowed to retain their seats in the Convention, notably by Boyer-Fonfrede and Ducos, Doulcet de Pontécoulant and Lauze-Deperret, and a protest against them was signed by seventy-four or seventy-five deputies of the Right, which is known as the Protest of the Seventy-three (pp. 247, 248). This protest was kept secret, but it was found among the papers of Lauze-Deperret after the arrest of Charlotte Corday, and utilized to procure the extinction of the political power of the remaining Girondins, when the Great Committee of Public Safety desired to establish a Reign of Terror over the Convention itself.

On October 3, 1793, Amar, in the name of the Committee of General Security, brought up a report on the Girondins, which was accepted with-

out opposition by the Convention. By it no less than one hundred and twenty-nine deputies were proscribed. They were divided into three categories. Twenty-one, who had escaped and were still in hiding, were again declared outlaws: Barbaroux, Bergoing, Birotteau, Buzot, Chambon, Chasset, Cussy, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Larivière, Lesage, Lidon, Louvet, Meillan, Pétion, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Salle, and Valady. Forty-three deputies, many of whom however escaped, were ordered to be sent for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal: Andrei, Antiboul, Boileau, Bonet, Boyer-Fonfrede, Bresson, Brissot, Carra, Condorcet, Couppé (of the Côtes-du-Nord), Coustard, Defermon, Delahaye, Devérité, Doucet, Duchastel, Ducoa, Duprat, Jean Pierre Duval (of the Seine-Inférieure), Philippe Égalité, Fauchet, Gamon, Gardien, Gensonné, Hardy, Isnard, Lacaze, Lasource, Lauze-Deperret, Lehardi, Lesterpt-Beauvais, Mainvielle, Masuyer, Mollévant, Noël, Richou, Rouyer, Savary, Sillery, Valazé, Vallée, Vergniaud, and Viger. The name of Philippe Égalité, the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans, who was certainly not a Girondin, was not contained in the report of the Committee of General Security, as read by Amar, but was added on the motion of Billaud-Varenne. Sixty-five deputies, who had signed the Protest of the Seventy-three, with Bresson, Chasset, Duprat, Gamon, Lacaze, Lauze-Deperret, Masuyer, Vallée, Savary and Defermon, included in the above list, were on that account ordered to be excluded from the Convention and imprisoned in houses of detention, namely: Amyon, Aubry, Babey, Bailleul, Blad, Blanqui, Blaux, Blaviel, Bohan, Cazeneuve, Chastellain, Corbel, Coupé (of the Oise), Dabray, Daunou, Delamarre, Delleville, Derazey, Descamps, Doublet, Dubusc, Dugué-d'Assé, Dusaulx, Estadens, Pierre Joseph Faure (of the Seine-Inférieure), Fayolle, Ferroux, Fleury, Garilhe, Olivier Gérente, Girault, Grenot, Guiter, Hecquet, Jary, Laplaigne, Laurence, Laurenceot, Le Breton, Julien Le Febvre (of the Loire-Inférieure), Pierre Louis Stanislas Le-febvre (of the Seine-Inférieure), Maisse, Marbos, Massa, Mercier, Moyssé, Obelin, Peries, Peyre, Queinnec, Rabaut-Pomier, Ribereau, Rouault (of the Morbihan), Rouzet, Royer, Ruault (of the Seine-Inférieure), Saladin, Salmon, Saurine, Serre, Soubeyran de Saint-Prix, Tournier, Varlet de la Valée, Vernier, and Vincent. These three lists do not include the names of all the Girondin leaders, and of their supporters. Some were forgotten like Gomaire, who had been in prison since July 28, and Dulaure, a signatory of the Protest of the Seventy-three, whose name was omitted by mistake, and added on the motion of Amar on October 22; some had resigned their seats in the Convention, like Kersaint and Rebecqui, Dechézeaux and Larevellière-Lépaux; some had already been arrested, like Despinassy, and their names had not been repeated; some had signed the departmental protests of the deputies of the Somme, the Aisne, and the Haute-Vienne, which were kept secret (Mortimer-Ternaux,



*Histoire de la Terreur*, vol. vii. pp. 546-554); and others are well known to have been in sympathy with the Girondins. From various sources, notably from M. Aulard's list (*Les Orateurs de la Législative et de la Convention*, vol. i. pp. 158-165) and M. Jules Guiffrey's *Les Conventionnels*, the following list of fifty-five deputies, who were either leaders of, members of, or active sympathizers with the Girondin party, has been compiled: Aaselin, Bancal des Issards, Belin, Marc Antoine Bernard (of the Bouches-du-Rhône), Bertrand-La-Hodinière, Brunel, Camboulas, Casabianca, Casenave, Corenfustier, Jean Debry, Dechézeaux, Delecloy, Despinassy, Devars, Dufestel, Dulaure, Dupin, Duplantier, Faye, Fiquet, Forest, François, Gantois, Antoine Girard (of the Aude), Giroust, Gommaire, Kersaint, Jean Michel Lacroix (of the Haute-Vienne), Lanthenas, Larevellière-Lépaux, Larroche, Le Carlier, Jean Baptiste Leclerc (of the Maine-et-Loire), Lemaignan, Loiseau, Pierre Florent Louvet (of the Somme), Loysel, Magniez,<sup>1</sup> Manuel, Martin-Saint-Romain, Mennesson, Guillaume Michel (of the Morbihan), Antoine Michet (of the Rhône-et-Loire), Thomas Paine, Pénisères, Personne,<sup>2</sup> Petit, Pilastre, Rebecqui, Rivaud, Rivery, Saint-Martin-Valogne, Soullignac, and Vitet. Of course some names may be omitted, but these one hundred and eighty-three deputies include all the leaders and a very large proportion, if not quite all, of the members of what may be called the Girondin party.

In the first category of twenty-one outlaws, nine were captured and guillotined: Barbaroux, Bironneau, Cussy, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Salle, and Valady; two, Buzot and Pétion, were found dead in the fields (p. 278); Lidon committed suicide; Chambon was killed in defending himself from arrest; and eight escaped: Bergoing, Chasset, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Larivière, Lesage, Louvet, and Meillan. Of the forty-two in the second category, for Philippe Égalité is not to be reckoned a Girondin, twenty-three were guillotined: Antiboul, Boileau, Boyer-Fonfrede, Brisot, Carra, Coustard, Duchastel, Ducos, Duprat, Fauchet, Gardien, Gensonné, Lacaze, Lasource, Lauze-Deperret, Lehardi, Lestart-Beauvais, Mainvielle, Masuyer, Noël, Sillery, Vergniaud, and Viger, of whom twenty were executed in Paris on October 31 (pp. 339, 340); two, Condorcet and Valazé, committed suicide; and the other seventeen were allowed to take their seats again in the Convention, with the survivors of the outlaws, by a decree of 18 Ventôse Year III. (March 18, 1795). Of the sixty-five deputies in the third category, Doublet died in prison, and the remainder were recalled to the Convention on 18 Frimaire Year III. (December 8, 1794) where they never ceased to demand the reinstatement of their surviving leaders. Of the fifty-five who have being named in the fourth list, Bernard, Dechézeaux,

<sup>1</sup> Leceane's *Arras sous la Révolution*, vol. ii. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393.

Kersaint and Manuel were guillotined; Rebecqui committed suicide, Bancal des Issards was surrendered to the Austrians by Dumouriez; those who had escaped, like Despinassy, Dulaure, and Giroust, returned; those who had resigned their seats, like Larevellière-Lépaux, withdrew their resignations; and some, like Lanthenas and Pénisères remained undisturbed during the Terror.

In analyzing the composition of the Girondin party, it will be convenient, if not perfectly accurate, to term the twenty-one outlaws and the forty-two in the second category, from which Philippe Égalité is to be excepted, leaders; the sixty-five in the third category, protestants; and the fifty-five in the fourth list, sympathizers. Under this classification, of the sixty-three leaders, thirteen were ex-Constituants: Bonet, Buzot, Chasset, Couppe, Cussy, Defermon, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Lesterpt-Beauvais, Pétion, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Salle, and Sillery; and sixteen had been members of the Legislative Assembly: Briassot, Condorcet, Coustard, Ducos, Fauchet, Gamon, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Isnard, Larivière, Lasource, Lauze-Deperret, Masuyer, Rouyer, and Vergniaud. Of the sixty-five "protestants," seven were ex-Constituants: Babey, Grenot, Jary, Julien Le Febvre, Royer, Saurina, and Vernier; and eleven former members of the Legislative: Bohan, Corbel, Coupé, Descamps, Dusaulx, Olivier Gérente, Laplaigne, Le Breton, Saladin, Salmon, and Soubeyran de Saint-Prix. Of the fifty-five "sympathizers," five were ex-Constituants: Larevellière-Lépaux, Le Carlier, Leclerc, Lemaignan, and Pilastre, all of whom, except Le Carlier, were deputies for the Maine-et-Loire, and ten were former members of the Legislative: Belin, Jean Debry, Despinassy, Faye, Fiquet, Giroust, Kersaint, Pierre Florent Louvet, Loysel, and Rivery. It is curious to observe that out of the sixteen constitutional bishops, who sat in the Convention, five were active supporters of the Girondin party, of whom Fauchet, Bishop of Calvados, was guillotined, and Cazeneuve, Marbos, Royer, and Saurina, bishops respectively of the Hautes-Alpes, the Drôme, the Ain, and the Landes, were imprisoned as "protestants."

The following geographical analysis shows that leaders and members of the Girondin party came from all parts of France, but especially from the provinces to the north of the Loire. Though the department of the Gironde naturally supplied the most famous leaders, of whom seven were guillotined and only one, Bergoëing, escaped, they had, as will be seen, but very few supporters in the other departments of Guienne. Sympathy with the Girondins was very strongly felt by the deputies from the provinces of Brittany, Normandy, and Anjou; departmental protests against the proscription of June 2 were signed by the majority of the deputies for the Aisne, the Haute-Vienne, and the Somme; all the three deputies, Blanqui, Dabray, and Massas, for the newly formed department of the Alpes-Maritimes, which had been constituted out of the County of

Nice, were imprisoned as "protestants," as were six out of the eight deputies for the Jura : Amyon, Babey, Ferroux, Grenot, Laurenceot, and Vernier. On the other hand, out of the twenty-four deputies for Paris, only one, Dusaulx, was imprisoned as a "protestant," though Manuel, who had resigned his seat in the Convention in disgust at the condemnation of the king, may be accounted a "sympathizer," and among the deputies for the following twenty-five departments, the Girondin leaders could not reckon on a single supporter : the Allier, the Ariège, the Cantal, the Cher, the Côte-d'Or, the Creuse, the Dordogne, the Doubs, the Isère, the Loir-et-Cher, the Lozère, the Marne, the Haute-Marne, the Mayenne, the Meuse, Mont-Blanc (Savoy), the Nièvre, the Nord, the Hautes-Pyrénées, the Bas-Rhin, the Haut-Rhin, the Haute-Saône, the Seine-et-Marne, the Vendée, or the Vienne. The localization of the supporters of the Girondins will be best understood from the following table :—

	Leaders.	Protestants.	Sympathizers.	Total.
Brittany . . . . .	6	11	2	19
Normandy . . . . .	12	11	1	24
Maine . . . . .		1		1
Paris . . . . .		1	1	2
Ile de France . . . . .	2	3	8	13
Picardy . . . . .	2	1	8	11
Artois . . . . .		2	3	5
French Flanders . . . . .				0
<b>Departments of the North</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>75</b>
Champagne . . . . .	2	1	1	4
Lorraine . . . . .	4	1		5
Alsace . . . . .				0
Franche Comté . . . . .		6*		6
Burgundy . . . . .	2	1		3
<b>Departments of the East</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Nivernais, Bourbonnais and the</b>				
<b>  Marche . . . . .</b>				<b>0</b>
Orléannais . . . . .	4		2	6
Touraine . . . . .	1			1
Berri . . . . .				1
Limousin . . . . .	3		5	8
Auvergne . . . . .			2	2
Lyonnais . . . . .	1		4	5
<b>Departments of the Centre</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>23</b>

\* All from the department of the Jura.

	Leaders.	Protestants.	Sympathizers.	Total.
Anjou . . . . .	1		4	5
Poitou . . . . .	1			1
Aunis and Saintonge . . . . .			1	1
Angoumois . . . . .		1	1	2
Departments of the West	2	1	6	9
Guienne . . . . .	9*	7	4	20
Béarn . . . . .	1		1	2
Departments of the South- West . . . . .	10	7	5	22
Nice . . . . .		3		3
Dauphiné . . . . .		5		5
Provence . . . . .	6	2	3	11
Languedoc . . . . .	4	6	3	13
Roussillon . . . . .	1	1		2
Savoy and Foix . . . . .				0
Departments of the South- East . . . . .	11	17	6	34
Corsica . . . . .	1		1	6
	63	65	55	183

In a more general way, considering France as divided roughly into three zones, twenty-two leaders, thirty "protestants," and twenty-three "sympathizers" represented the northern; nineteen leaders, eleven "protestants," and twenty "sympathizers" the middle; and twenty-two leaders, twenty-four "protestants," and twelve "sympathizers" the southern departments.

After studying the composition of the Girondin party, it is next advisable to show how it was divided against itself, and for this purpose it will be enough to analyze the votes given by the leaders in the famous scrutines on the trial of Louis XVI. (pp. 216-218), and by the "protestants" and "sympathizers" in the third of those scrutines. On the first question as to whether Louis was guilty of treason towards the nation, the Convention was practically unanimous, and of the Girondin leaders, Fauchet, Lanjuinais, and Rouzet voted in the affirmative with reservations, Valady was neutral, Chasset, Noël, and Larivière refused to vote, and Duchastel, Lacource, Mainvielle, and Viger were absent. The second scrutiny was far more important. The idea of allowing the nation in its primary assemblies to decide the fate of the King, was the notion of the wisest thinkers of the Girondin party, and yet it will be seen that there

\* Of these nine, eight were deputies for the department of the Gironde.



was a considerable difference in the views of its leaders. In analyzing this and the two other scrutinies, it must be noted that Mainvielle and Viger had not yet taken their seats, and that the votes of sixty-one leaders only have to be considered. Of these sixty-one, forty-three, or more than two-thirds, voted in favour of the reference to the people; thirteen voted against it, namely, Boileau, Boyer-Fonfrede, Carra, Chasset, Condorcet, Couppé, Doucet de Pontécoulant, Ducos, Gardien, Lacaze, Lauze-Deperret, Lesterpt-Beauvais, and Masuyer; two refused to vote, Bergoeing and Noël; Vallée was neutral; and two, Duchastel and Lasource, were absent. On the second scrutiny as to the punishment to be inflicted on Louis XVI, thirty-seven of the sixty-one leaders voted in favour of banishment, detention until a peace, or some punishment less than death; thirteen voted for death, namely, Barbaroux, Birotteau, Boileau, Bonet, Boyer-Fonfrede, Carra, Chambon, Ducos, Duprat, Gensonné, Isnard, Lasource, and Rouyer; ten voted for death conditionally, generally accepting Mailhe's amendment, namely, Brissot, Buzot, Gamon, Lesage, Lesterpt-Beauvais, Lidon, Louvet, Pétion, Valazé, and Vergniaud, while Noël was not present. In the last scrutiny, whether the sentence should be executed at once, or whether there should be a respite, thirty-nine of the sixty-one leaders voted in favour of the respite; fifteen voted against it, namely, Barbaroux, Boileau, Boyer-Fonfrede, Carra, Chasset, Ducos, Duprat, Gensonné, Gorsas, Isnard, Lasource, Lidon, Masuyer, Rouyer, and Vergniaud; five declined to vote, Chambon, Condorcet, Grangeneuve, Lacaze, and Noël; Antiboul declared himself neutral; and Duchastel was absent. A careful examination of these lists of names will show a large amount of cross-voting, but the most extraordinary feature is that Chasset, Gorsas, and Masuyer, who had voted against the penalty of death, and that Lidon and Vergniaud, who had only voted for it conditionally, should have voted against the respite. It is not necessary to analyze the votes of the "protestants" and "sympathizers" in all the scrutinies; it will be enough to show the dissensions amongst them to examine the third scrutiny only. Of the sixty-five "protestants," four, Blanqui, Blaviel, Dabray, and Massa, had not yet taken their seats, and so, as in the case of the leaders, only the votes of sixty-one deputies have to be examined. Of these sixty-one, forty-five, a larger proportion than among the leaders, voted for some penalty less than death; ten voted for death, namely, Amyon, Bohan, Coupé, Descamps, Ferroux, Grenot, Laplaigne, Maise, Ribereau, and Saladin; and six voted for death conditionally, generally in the terms of Mailhe's amendment, Aubry, Blad, Laurence, Peyre, Rabaut-Pomier, and Soubeyran de Saint-Prix. Of the fifty-five deputies who have been termed "sympathizers," Marc Antoine Bernard had not yet taken his seat. Of the other fifty-four, thirty-six voted for some penalty less than death; fourteen voted for death unconditionally, namely, Bertrand-La-Hodinière, Camboulas, Jean Debry, Despinassy,

Dulaure, Duplantier, François, Girard, Larevellière-Lepaux, Le Carlier, Loiseau, Pénierès, Petit, and Rebecqui; and four voted for death with Mailhe's amendment, Delecloy, Lanthenas, Loysel, and Mennesson.

It remains only to give a conclusive proof of the influence which the Girondin leaders possessed over the Convention up to the very moment of their overthrow. The Convention elected a president and three secretaries every fortnight, and sometimes additional secretaries; the president held office for a fortnight, the three secretaries for a month, in order that there should be always six secretaries at the bureau. Now, of the nineteen presidents elected up to May 30, 1793, nine were among the leaders of the Girondin party, Boyer-Fonfrede, Defermon, Gensonné, Guadet, Isnard, Lasource, Pétion, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, and Vergniaud, and out of the sixty-six secretaries elected during the same period, twenty-eight were selected from the same group of sixty-three deputies, namely, Barbaroux, Boyer-Fonfrede, Brissot, Buzot, Carra, Chambon, Chasset, Condorcet, Defermon, Doucet de Pontécoulant, Ducos, Duprat, Fauchet, Gensonné, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Isnard, Lanjuinais, Lasource, Lehardi, Lesage, Louvet, Masuyer, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, Salle, Valazé, and Vergniaud. At the very opening of the Convention, the Girondins were supreme, for on September 20, 1792, Pétion was elected the first president, and Brissot, Camus, Condorcet, Lasource, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, and Vergniaud the first secretaries; while the last elections before their overthrow are even more striking, for on April 18, 1793, Lasource was elected president, and Doucet, Lehardi, and Chambon secretaries; on May 2, Boyer-Fonfrede president, Genissieu, Masuyer, and Pénierès secretaries; on May 16, Isnard president, Poullain-Grandprey, Fauchet, and Duprat secretaries; and on May 30, Mallarmé president, and Ducos, Durand-Maillane, and Méaulle secretaries. No better proof than this can be given of the influence which the Girondin leaders exercised during the first months of the session of the Convention.

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## APPENDIX V.

### THE CONSTITUTION OF 1793 COMPARED WITH CONDORCET'S SCHEME

THE Constitution de  
 accepted by the primary assemblies of France on August 10, 1793, never  
 came into use, for it was suspended on October 10, 1793, on the report of  
 Saint-Just, one of its authors, in the name of the Committee of Public  
 Safety, and revolutionary government, that is the Reign of Terror, was  
 substituted for it. After the fall of Robespierre and his friends on

9 Thermidor, Year II. (July 27, 1794), the new rulers of France, the Thermidorians, considered the Constitution of 1793 to be impracticable, and drew up and decreed instead the Constitution of the Year III. (1795). The Constitution of 1793 has therefore only an academic interest, as the projected government of France according to the ideas of the leading statesmen of the Mountain, and is here compared with the scheme of constitution prepared by the Girondin leaders before their expulsion, and published by them.

As soon as the Convention met and proclaimed the abolition of royalty and the proclamation of the Republic, it appointed a Committee of Constitution. The Constitution of 1791, with its recognition of royalty and its division of the people into active and passive citizens, was obviously doomed to abrogation in spite of the short time it had been in operation. This Committee of Constitution consisted of Barère, Brissot, who was almost at once succeeded by Barbaroux, Condorcet, Danton, Gensonné, Tom Paine, Pétion, Siéyès, and Vergniaud, and the majority in it consisted of leaders of the Girondin party. It set to work at once, and on February 15 and 16, 1793, Condorcet, as its reporter, presented its plan of a constitution. According to Madame Roland, Gensonné was answerable for part of this plan,<sup>1</sup> and it may well be believed that Siéyès, as one who had had experience in the drawing up of constitutions in the Constituent Assembly, had a share at least in the elaboration of the elective principle; but nevertheless it was Condorcet who actually presented it as reporter, and common tradition, as well as probability, marks him out as its principal author.

Condorcet's plan of a constitution consists of 404 articles, divided into fourteen chapters, and preceded, like the Constitution of 1791, by a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Its main features were its care in depriving the executive of any authority, its mania for elections, and its transference of all power to the primary assemblies. In Condorcet's report, which was published with his scheme, he expounds the principles on which the Committee of Constitution had acted. A few sentences from it deserve quotation. "All political heredity," he says, "is at once an evident violation of natural equality and an absurdity, since it pre-supposes that the qualities fitted for fulfilling any public function can be hereditary. . . . The reunion of the citizens in the primary assemblies ought to be considered as a means for conciliating peace and liberty, and not as a danger to public tranquillity. These assemblies, composed of men occupied in peaceful and useful labours, cannot be troubled, unless too long meetings induce them to be attended only by unemployed and lazy, and therefore dangerous, men, or unless they are left to themselves and exposed to the risk of being led away by individuals. We have therefore neglected no

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<sup>1</sup> Madame Roland's *Mémoires*, ed. C. A. Dauban, p. 317.

means for preserving all the natural utility of these reunions, and for removing from them the influence of parties and of intriguers. . . . The sovereignty of the people, equality amongst men, and the unity of the Republic, these are the principles which have guided us in the choice of the combinations, which we have adopted ; and we have believed that the constitution, which would be the best in itself, and the most conformable to the spirit of the nation, would be the one in which these principles are the most carefully observed." According to Condorcet's scheme,<sup>1</sup> the supreme administration of the country was placed in the hands of an Executive Council, consisting of seven ministers and a secretary, elected by the primary assemblies, of whom half were to retire every January. The primary assemblies were also to elect *suppléants* to take the place of any minister retiring, dying, or being removed during his year of office. This Executive Council was to carry out all the decrees of the Legislative Body, in which it was to have no seat, and to which it was to offer no advice unless formally requested to do so, and any member of it could be suspended by the Legislative Body and sent for trial before a special jury elected for the purpose. The Council was to be presided over by each of its members in turn for fifteen days. The power of which the Executive Council was thus carefully deprived, was not entrusted to the Legislative Body, which was to consist of a single chamber elected for one year only. This Legislative Body was, in the words of Condorcet, charged "with the only function suitable to it in executive measures, that of surveillance," and was forbidden to interfere in administrative questions. It could not even legislate or make decrees at its discretion ; any single citizen could propose a new law, the repeal of an existing law, or a vote of censure on any act of the administration. If he was supported by the signatures of fifty citizens, his proposition was bound to be laid before a primary assembly ; if he obtained a majority, all the primary assemblies of his commune were to be convoked ; if he again obtained a majority, his proposition was to be laid before all the primary assemblies of his department ; if his department agreed, the proposition was laid before the Legislative Body, which was obliged at once to decide if it was expedient to take it into consideration. Even if the Legislative Body rejected the scheme, the powers of the single citizen were not exhausted. If he could get the primary assemblies of another department to support him, all the primary assemblies in the Republic were to be summoned, and if they voted in his favour, the Legislative Body was at once to be dissolved, and a new one elected. What, then, were these primary assemblies, in which all power was to reside according to Condorcet's scheme ? "The primary assemblies shall be distributed over the territory of each depart-

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<sup>1</sup> For an elaborate analysis, see Biré's *La Légende des Girondins*, chap. vii., *La Constitution Girondine*.



ment, and their *arrondissement* shall be so regulated that none of them shall contain less than 450, or more than 900 members." And as there were about 44,000 communes in France, there must, according to this regulation, have been more than 50,000 primary assemblies. Of whom were these primary assemblies to be composed? "Of every man, aged twenty-one, who has inscribed his name on the list of a primary assembly, and who has since resided for one year in the Republic." It is unnecessary to point out the absurdity of these proposed arrangements, or to analyze the curiously elaborate manner in which the primary assemblies were to carry out their elections, whether of ministers, deputies, or officials. It would fill several pages to recount the methods by which Condorcet hoped to prevent the existence of anything like party spirit or even the election of a very popular man, by means of lists of candidates, and it is enough to add that under his constitution the French people would have had to spend nearly all their time electing deputies, or ministers, or commissioners of the treasury, or municipal officers, or civil jurors, or criminal jurors, none of whom were to hold office for more than six months or a year.

Condorcet's scheme never became an accepted constitution, and on May 30, 1793, on the eve of the fall of the Girondins, five deputies from the Mountain were added to the Committee of Public Safety, for the purpose of drawing up another constitution as soon as possible. These five deputies were Couthon, Herault de Séchelles, Mathieu, Ramel, and Saint-Just. Herault de Séchelles was chosen reporter, and on June 24 the scheme of this Committee was accepted by the Convention (p. 248). It was solemnly agreed to by the primary assemblies, and is known as the Constitution of 1793, but, as has been said, it never came into working operation. Herault de Séchelles' constitution is far simpler than Condorcet's; it is free, for instance, from the elaborate arrangements for voting, but it contains many similar absurdly unworkable and even anarchic provisions. It has the merit, however, of being considerably shorter. Like other French constitutions, it was preceded by the inevitable Declaration of the Rights of Man; this time it was in thirty-five articles, and began, "The aim of society is the happiness of all. Government is instituted to guarantee to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights. These rights are equality, liberty, security, and property," etc., etc. It consisted of 124 articles instead of 404, and was divided into twenty-five titles. By it the Executive Council, which was to consist of twenty-four ministers instead of eight, was not elected directly by the primary assemblies, but was chosen by the Legislative Body out of a list of candidates, of whom one was chosen by each department, and was renewed by half every year. The Legislative Body was, as in Condorcet's scheme, to consist of one chamber, elected for one year only. Its functions were to pass decrees and to propose laws. Decrees concerned matters of finance and administration; laws comprised

more than mere matters of legislation, and included such measures of importance as the declaration of a war. When a proposed law was agreed to by the Legislative Body, it was to be printed and sent to every commune in France, and unless one-tenth of the primary assemblies in more than half the departments refused to accept it, it became law. The local government was left much as it was fixed by the Constitution of 1791; every commune, district, and department was to elect its municipality, administrators of the district, and administrators of the department, half of whom were to retire every year, but the arrangements of 1791 were simplified by the abolition of directories of the districts and departments, and of the procureurs-syndics and procureurs-généraux-syndics.

In matters concerning the administration of justice, the regulations of the Constitution of 1793 were clear and simple. In civil cases, all questions were to be laid in the first instance before elected justices of peace or before private arbitrators chosen by the parties, from whom appeals lay to elected public arbitrators, all of whom were to hear the cases and give their decisions without expense to the suitors. From them appeals lay to the central tribunal of appeal, which decided only on questions of law, not of fact. In criminal cases, the accused were always to have counsel, and to be tried by a jury, which was to take cognizance of the criminal act and its intention, while sentence was to be passed by a tribunal of elected judges. The treasury was to be administered, not as in Condorcet's scheme by commissioners elected by the primary assemblies, but by agents appointed by the Executive Council, under the surveillance of special agents nominated by the Legislative Body. This constitution may not be perfect, but it is at least simple and intelligible, and an examination of it gives clear proof of the superiority of Herault de Séchelles and his colleagues of the Mountain over Condorcet and his Girondin associates. Its weakness lies in the amount of election involved, and in the weakening of the executive; but in these respects it does not go so far as the Girondin scheme, or even as the Constitution of 1791. Above all, there is no appearance of the extraordinary power for disturbance granted to the dissentient single citizen under Condorcet's scheme. But in this regard it must be noted that Herault de Séchelles felt what he called "the need of providing a guarantee for the people against the oppression of the Legislative Body." He at first proposed the institution of a "national jury" for this purpose, which was not approved, and then a plan by which a deputy should be judged by his constituents, and not be re-eligible unless acquitted by them. This was also rejected, for the Convention probably thought that as the Legislative Body was only to be elected for one year, it could not get out of touch with the people in that short period. On the whole, though the constitutions of Condorcet and Herault de Séchelles have but an academic interest, and the former was obviously impracticable, it seems a pity that the latter was not given an

opportunity of being put into operation, for it would have been interesting to know how some of its provisions, notably that about laws, would have worked in practice.

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## APPENDIX VI.

### THE COMMITTEES OF THE CONVENTION.

THE importance of the committees of the Convention, in which the measures passed by the Convention were prepared, and which practically took charge of all matters coming within their departments, was very great. They were somewhat overshadowed after the assumption of all executive power by the two "committees of government," the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security; but, nevertheless, they remained the originators of all legislation, and certain of them, notably the Financial Committee, took an important share in the administration of the country. On September 22, 1792, directly after the Convention met, two commissions were appointed, the one consisting of Jean Debry, Léonard Bourdon, Lanjuinais, and Guyton-Morveau to decide what committees should be formed, and to regulate their work; and the other, consisting of Defermon, Gossuin, Herault de Séchelles, Mathieu, and Osselin to nominate the members to serve on these committees. As the result of their labours, twenty-one committees were formed, the names of the members of which, as they stood at the commencement of 1793, according to a Report by Gossuin at that date, are given below. It will be seen that every committee was not up to its full number, and it must be remembered that constant alterations were caused by death and absence on mission. Nevertheless, the committees remained composed of substantially the same members until after the great proscription of October 3, 1793. In the next volume, the composition of the committees of the Convention, as they stood at the commencement of 1794 and 1795, will be given. The names are, for convenience of reference, given in alphabetical order.

I. The Committee of Constitution—Nine members. Barbaroux, Barère, Condorcet, Danton, Gensonné, Thomas Paine, Pétion, Siéyès, and Vergniaud. [N.B.—Brissot was an original member of this committee, but he soon retired and was succeeded by Barbaroux.]

II. The Diplomatic Committee—Nine members. Brissot, Carnot, Anacharsis Cloots, Grégoire, Guadet, Guyton-Morveau, Kersaint, Rewbell, and Charles Villette.

III. The Military Committee—Twenty-four members. Albitte, Bellegarde, Bousaion, Carnot, Carra, Châteauneuf-Randon, Coustard, Delmas,

Dubois-Crancé, Dubois-Dubais, Duquesnoy, Fabre-d'Églantine, Gasparin, Olivier Gérénte, Goupilleau de Fontenay, Lacombe-Saint-Michel, Jean François de Lacroix, Laurent Lecointre, Letourneur (of the Manche), Lidon, Merlin (of Douai), Milhaud, Sallengros, and Sillery.

IV. Committee of General Security—Thirty members. Audouin, Basire (*Vice-President*), Bernard de Saintes, Bonnier, Bordas, Brival, Cavaignac, Chabot, Coupé (of the Oise), Delaunay d'Angers (*Secretary*), Drouet, Duprat, Duquesnoy, Fauchet, Goupilleau de Montaigu, Grangeneuve, Herault de Séchelles (*President*), Ingrand, Kervelegan, Laurens (of Marseilles), Lavicomterie, Lecointe-Puyraveau, Leyris, Manuel, Maribon-Montaut, Musset (*Secretary*), Rovère, Ruamps, Tallien, and Vardon.

V. The Legislative Committee (*Comité de Législation civile et criminelle*)—Forty-eight members. Alquier, Azema (*Secretary*), Pierre Baille, Barère, Moyse Bayle, Bohan, Brival, Cambacérés, Charlier, Chasset, Cochon, Corbel, Coupé (of the Oise), Couthon, Pierre Marie Delaunay le jeune, Durand-Maillane, Garran de Coulon (*President*), Gossuin, Goupilleau de Fontenay, Goupilleau de Montaigu, Guadet, Guimberteau, Ingrand, Jean Michel Lacroix (of the Haute-Vienne), Lanjuinais, Laplaigne, Larivière, Lavicomterie, Lemalliaud, Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau, Robert Lindet, Louvet, Mailhe (*Secretary*), Marquis, Mathieu, Morisson, Osselin, Philippeaux, Piorry, Pons de Verdun, Maximilien Robespierre, Saladin, Sautereau, Tallien, Thuriot, Vadier, Vergniaud, and Vernier.

VI. Committee of Public Instruction—Twenty-four members. Arbogast, Bailly de Juilly, Bodin, Léonard Bourdon, Buzot, Chasset, Marie Joseph Chenier, Colaud-La-Salcette, David, Dupuis, Durand-Maillane, Dusaulx (*President*), Ferry, Fouché, Gorsas, Lanthenas, Massieu (*Secretary*), Mathieu (*Secretary*), Mercier, Prieur (of the Côte-d'Or), Quinette, Romme, Roux-Fazillac, and Villar.

VII. The Financial Committee—Originally forty-two members, but increased, and divided into four sections:—

- (1) *Section for Assignats*—Chazaud, Cussy, Devérité (*Secretary*), Dubreuil, Foucher (*President*), François (of the Somme), Frecine, Godefroy, Guffroy, Humbert, Loysel, Masuyer, Pelletier, Vernerey, and Vidalin.
- (2) *Section for Taxes*—Defermon (*Secretary*), Jacob Louis Dupont, Isoré, Le Breton, Ramel, Rouzet, Salle, Servièrre, Vermon, and Vernier (*President*).
- (3) *Section for ordinary and extraordinary Finance*—Pierre Baille, Cambon, Dyzez, Fouché, Gillet, Haussmann, Johannot, Mallarmé, Monnot, and Real.
- (4) *Section for the alienation of national property, and that of the former civil list, the orders of chivalry, and the émigrés*—Besson, Camus (*Secretary*), Chazal, Charles Delacroix, Delahaye,

Duchastel, Finot, Forestier, Gauthier, Jac, Le Carlier, Martel, Mauduyt, Osselin, Regnaud-Bretel, Ribereau, Treilhard (*President*), and Vigneron.

VIII. Committee for Decrees (*Comité des Décrets*)—Nine members. Albuys, Becker, Bissy (*Secretary*), Blaux, Dupuis, Laloy, Poisson (*President*), Rühl, and Vernerey.

IX. Committee for Petitions and Correspondence—Twenty-four members. Audrein, Dechézeaux, Ducos (*Secretary*), Dulaure, Duplantier, Fabre-d'Églantine, Fayau, Feraud, Gossuin (*President*), La Boissière, Lemoine (of the Manche), Leyris, Jean Baptiste Monestier (of the Puy-de-Dôme), Pierre Laurent Monestier (of the Lozère), Paganel, Siblot, Soubeyran de Saint-Prix, Thibault (*Secretary*), and Ysabeau. (*Five short.*)

X. Committee for the Management of the Hall, of the Secretariat, and of Printing (*Comité des Inspecteurs de la Salle, du Secrétariat et de l'Imprimerie*)—Eighteen members.

XI. Committee for the Business of the Convention (*Comité des Procès-verbaux, des Renvois et des Expéditions*)—Six members.

It was found convenient to merge these two committees into one, which consisted of :—Beauvais (*Secretary*), Bélin, Calon (*President*), Duval (of the Seine-Inférieure), Fiquet, Gamon, Grosse-Durocher, Huguet, Jean Baptiste Lacoste, Le Bas, Pierre Nicholas Perrin (of the Aube), Projean, Robin, Saurine, Sautayra, and Sergent. (*Eight short.*)

XII. Committee for Public Relief (*Comité des Secours Publics*)—Twenty-four members. Amar, Babey, Bailly de Juilly, Beauvais (*President*), Bernard de Saint-Affrique, Bo (*Secretary*), Boussion, Cazeneuve, Claverye, Debourges, André Dumont, Dupuis, Enjubault, Fayau, François, Giroit-Pouzol, Gourdan, Grenot, Lalande, Maignet (*Secretary*), Plaichard-Cholliere, Saint-Martin, Sautayra, Taillefer, and Vadier.

XIII. Committee of Division—Twenty-four members. Asselin, Bassal, Carpentier, Chambon, Chaudron-Roussau, Chedaneau, Couturier, Jean Debry, Descamps, Deydier, Gaston, Gay-Vernon, Jagot, La Boissière, Élie Lacoste, Lemarechal, Lesage, Levasseur (of the Meurthe), and Vidalot. (*Five short.*)

This committee was charged with all questions arising out of the new division of France under the Constitution of 1791 into departments, districts, cantons, and communes.

XIV. The Agricultural Committee—Twenty-four members. Carpentier, Cochet, Coupé (of the Oise), Fabre (of the Hérault), Garmignac, Lequinio, Loiseau, Jean Moreau (of the Meuse), Marie François Moreau (of the Saône-et-Loire), Rabant de Saint-Étienne, Rabant-Pomier, Reverchon, Rivary, and Tellier. (*Ten short.*)

XV. The Commercial Committee—Twenty-four members. Blutel (*Secretary*), Borel, Castilhon, Champigny-Clément, Dehouliere, Giraud (of the Charente-Inférieure), Hardy, Lacaze (*Vice-President*), Laurence,

Julien Le Febvre (of the Loire-Inférieure) (*President*), François Paul Legendre (of the Nièvre), Le Tournour (of the Sarthe), Merlin, Perrin (of the Aube), Picqué, Rebecqui, Sauvé, and Soullignac. (*Six short.*)

XVI. Committee of Domains—Twenty-four members. Allasœur (*Vice-President*), Beaugeard, Brun, Cusset, Dameron, Delahaye, Ferroux, Horard, Leclerc, Levasseur (of the Meurthe) (*President*), Lofficial, Lozeau, Martineau, Maulde, Mollevant, and Poullain-Grandprey (*Secretary*). (*Eight short.*)

XVII. Committee for Payment of Accounts (*Comité de Liquidation*)—Twenty-four members. Auguis (*Vice-President*), Bissy, Boissy-d'Anglas, Bordas, Colombel (*President*), Faye (*Secretary*), Gelin, Jard-Panvillier (*Secretary*), Lecarpentier, Lemoine, Lesterpt-Beauvais, Marquis, Petitjean, Pottier, Célestin Poullain (of the Marne), Poulitier, Richard, Ruelle, and Sevestre. (*Five short.*)

XVIII. Committee for the Examination of Accounts—Fifteen members. Baucheton, Jean Borie (*President*), Delamarre, Dupin, Geoffroy, Havin, Jorrand, Jourdan, Lacrampe, Larroche, Maignen (*Secretary*), Personne, Pinet, Texier, and Vinet.

XIX. The Naval Committee—Eighteen members. Antiboul, Blad, Breard (*Secretary*), Daubermémil, Louis Philippe Joseph Égalité (*Vice-President*), Balthazar Faure (of the Haute-Loire), Gaudin, Granet, Marec, Maurel, Guillaume Michel (of the Morbihan), Niou (*Secretary*), Ribet, Bochegude, Rouyer (*President*), Jean Bon Saint-André, Taveau, and Topsent.

XX. The Colonial Committee—Twelve members. Blanc, Boyer-Fonfrede, Brunel, Creuzé-Latouche (*President*), Guillermin, Mazade (*Secretary*), Pénier, Peyre, and Taveau. (*Three short.*)

XXI. The Committee in charge of the Archives—Three members. Baudin (of the Ardennes), Jean Borie, and the archivist, Camus.

All these committees had their separate offices and establishments of clerks, and the results of their labours were laid before the Convention by their reporters in the form of reports, generally followed by a suggested decree. The committees further elected a Central Commission, consisting of one member from each committee, which met every morning and prepared the "order of the day" for the Convention. This Central Commission, the important functions of which are obvious, consisted, in January, 1793, of the following deputies:—

Jean Denis Lanjuinais, *president*, representing the Legislative Committee, No. V.

Jean Borie, *secretary*, representing the Committee for the Examination of Accounts, No. XVIII.

Charles Louis Antiboul, representing the Naval Committee, No. XIX.

Jean Bassal, representing the Committee of Division, No. XIII.

Jean Baptiste Jérôme Bo, representing the Committee for Public Relief, No. XII.

Jacques Brival, representing the Committee of General Security, No. IV.

Étienne Nicolas Calon, representing the Committee for the Management of the Hall, etc., Nos. X. and XI.

Pierre Toussaint Durand-Maillane, representing the Committee of Public Instruction, No. VI.

Antoine François Gauthier, representing the Financial Committee, Section 4 (*section d'aliénation*), No. VII.

Jacques François Germignac, representing the Agricultural Committee, No. XIV.

Henri Grégoire, representing the Diplomatic Committee, No. II.

Jacques Lacaze, representing the Commercial Committee, No. XV.

Benott Lesterpt-Beauvais, representing the Committee for the Payment of Accounts, No. XVII.

Philippe Antoine Merlin (of Douai), representing the Military Committee, No. III.

Étienne Mollevaut, representing the Committee of Domains, No. XVI.

Charles Nicolas Oaselin, representing the Financial Committee, No. VII.

Pierre Paganel, representing the Committee for Petitions and Correspondence, No. IX.

Jean Augustin Pénierès, representing the Colonial Committee, No. XX.

Jacques Poisson, representing the Committee for Decrees, No. VIII.

It must be noted that on the Central Commission, the Committee of Constitution and the Committee for the Archives were not represented, and that there were two representatives of the Financial Committee.

## APPENDIX VII.

### THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

THE first Committee of General Defence was formed by the election of three members by seven of the most important committees on January 3, 1793, to consider questions not coming directly into the departments of any single committee. It consisted of: Armand Gui Simon Kersaint, Jacques Pierre Brissot, and Louis Bertrand Guyton-Morveau, elected by the Diplomatic Committee; Edmond Louis Alexis Dubois-Crancé, Pierre Jean Lacombe-Saint-Michel, and Louis Gustave Doucet de Pontécoulant, elected by the Military Committee; Emmanuel Joseph Siéyès, Armand Gensonné, and Bertrand Barère, elected by the Committee of Constitution; Joseph Cambon, Jacques Defermon des Chapellères, and Jean Johannot,

elected by the Financial Committee; Jean Jacques Breard, Henri Pascal Rohegude, and Louis Jacques Taveau, elected by the Naval Committee; Jean Baptiste Boyer-Fonfrede, Ignace Brunel, and Jean Augustin Pénierès, elected by the Colonial Committee; Jacques Lacaze, Jean Marie François Merlino, and Marc Antoine Alexis Giraud, elected by the Commercial Committee.

On the 26th of March this committee was superseded by a new Committee of General Defence, elected directly by the Convention (pp. 229, 230), consisting of the following twenty-four members: Charles Jean Marie Barbaroux, Bertrand Barère, Jean Jacques Breard, François Nicolas Léonard Buzot, Jean Jacques Régis Cambacères, Armand Gaston Camus, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat de Condorcet, George Jacques Danton, Jean Antoine Debry, Jean François Bertrand Delmas, Benoît Simplicie Lucie Camille Desmoulins, Edmond Louis Alexis Dubois-Crancé, Armand Gensonné, Marguerite Élie Guadet, Louis Bertrand Guyton-Morveau, Maximin Isnard, Marc David Albin Lasource, Jérôme Pétion, Pierre Louis Prieur (of the Marne), Nicolas Marie Quinette, Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre, Philippe Jacques Rühl, Emmanuel Joseph Siéyès, and Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud.

This committee was found too unwieldy, and in its stead was elected, on April 7 (p. 232), the first Committee of Public Safety, consisting of Bertrand Barère, Jean François Bertrand Delmas, Jean Jacques Breard, Joseph Cambon, George Jacques Danton, *Jean Antoine Debry*, Louis Bertrand Guyton-Morveau, Jean Baptiste Treillard, and Jean François de Lacroix, of whom Debry had to decline from illness, and was replaced by Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet.

This first Committee of Public Safety underwent many changes. On May 30 five deputies were added to it for the purpose of drawing up a Constitution (p. 248), namely, Marie Jean Herault de Séchelles, Jean Baptiste Charles Mathieu, Dominique Vincent Ramel-Nogaret, Georges Auguste Couthon, and Antoine Louis Léon Florelle de Saint-Just. Further changes took place on June 5, when Breard retired from illness, by the election of Théophile Berlier, and on June 22, when, in place of Mathieu and Treillard sent on mission to Bordeaux (p. 271), two new members were elected—Thomas Augustin Gasparin and Jean Bon Saint-André.

On July 10 a new committee of nine was elected (p. 283), which formed the nucleus of the Great Committee of Public Safety. It consisted of Jean Bon Saint-André, Bertrand Barère, *Thomas Augustin Gasparin*, Georges Auguste Couthon, Marie Jean Herault de Séchelles, *Jacques Alexis Thuriot*, Pierre Louis Prieur (of the Marne), Antoine Louis Léon Florelle de Saint-Just, and Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet.

The first change in the composition of this committee was caused by the retirement of Gasparin from illness on July 27, when he was replaced,



on the nomination of the committee, by Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre.

On August 14 two deputies were added to the committee to take charge of the military operations (p. 284)—Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot and Claude Antoine Prieur-Duvernois (of the Côte d'Or).

On September 6 two more deputies were added to establish the Reign of Terror (p. 285)—Jacques Nicolas Billaud-Varenne and Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois.

On September 20 Thuriot retired, and the twelve deputies who remained became what is known as the *Great Committee of Public Safety*. They retired every month, but on the nomination of Barère they were re-elected for nearly a year without opposition. The only change which took place, was caused by the execution of Herault de Séchelles on the 16 Germinal, Year II. (April 5, 1794), whose place was not filled up. After the execution of Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just on 10 Thermidor, Year II. (July 28, 1794), the committee was reconstituted, and the six vacancies caused by the deaths of these deputies and Herault de Séchelles, and by the absence of Prieur (of the Marne) and Jean Bon Saint-André on mission, were filled by the election of Joseph Eschasseriaux, Jean Lambert Tallien, Jean Baptiste Treilhard, Jean Jacques Breard, Pierre Antoine Laloy, and Jacques Alexis Thuriot.

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## APPENDIX VIII.

### THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL SECURITY.

IN July, 1789, the Constituent Assembly formed a "Comité des Recherches," which was also known as the "Comité de Surveillance," to investigate and report upon suspected conspiracies, denunciations of individuals, complaints of illegal arrest, and, in short, upon all matters of administration which were brought under its cognizance after it had constituted itself a sort of court of appeal from the executive power. The Legislative Assembly followed this example and formed a similar "Comité de Surveillance," which was in May, 1792, first termed the "Comité de Sûreté Générale," or Committee of General Security.

When the Convention met, it also formed a Committee of General Security, composed of thirty members, whose names are given in Appendix VI., p. 536. This Committee was fairly representative of all parties, but the deputies of the Mountain upon it were the most regular attendants, and its functions were almost entirely managed by them. It steadily increased in importance; all matters concerning the police of the country, all arrests of suspected persons, the investigation into alleged

plots against the Republic, and, in short, all questions concerning individuals as opposed to measures of government were referred to it.

The leaders of the Girondins soon became jealous of its vast powers, and of the manner in which the deputies of the Mountain monopolized the management, and on January 7, 1793, they carried a decree that the number should be doubled, and that eighteen should form a quorum. It is hardly expedient to give the names of all the sixty members elected to the second Committee of General Security on January 9, 1793, in consequence of this decree, but it must be noted that they were nearly all Girondins or deputies of the Plain. Only two declared deputies of the Mountain, Dartigoyte and Ingrand, had seats upon it, while among leading Girondins it included Birotteau, Chambon, Delahaye, Fauchet, Gomaire, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Kervelegan, Lauze-Deperret, and Rebecqui, and among deputies of the Plain Durand-Maillane, Genissieu, and Zangiacomi.

The leaders of the Mountain saw that it was absurd to have such a large committee to deal with delicate questions, and also objected strongly to its composition, and on January 21, 1793, the day of the execution of Louis XVI., on the motion of Fabre-d'Églantine, strongly supported by Danton (p. 223), it was decreed that it should consist for the future of twelve members, and be at once renewed. By adopting a list and voting for it *en bloc*, the Mountain managed to gain a great preponderance on this third Committee of General Security, which originally consisted of Claude Basire, André Antoine Bernard (of Saintes), François Chabot, Pierre Joseph Duhem, François Pierre Ingrand, François Lamarque, Marc David Albin Lasource, Louis Legendre (of Paris), Louis Maribon-Montaut, Joseph François Stanislas Xavier Alexie Rovère, Pierre Charles Ruamps, and Jean Lambert Tallien. On March 25, 1793, under the influence of the news of Neerwinden, it was resolved to fill up the places left vacant by the absence on mission of Basire, Bernard, Duhem, Ingrand, Legendre, and Rovère, and the following deputies were chosen: Charles Jean Marie Alquier, Armand Gaston Camus, Jacques Garnier (of Saintes), Michel Mathieu Lecointe-Puyraveau, Jean Nicolas Méaulle, and Charles Nicolas Osselin. On April 9 further additions were made; Jacques Brival and Jean Baptiste Carrier were elected to fill the places of Maribon-Montaut and Tallien sent on mission, and four *suppléants* were chosen to supply temporary vacancies: Jean Baptiste Cavaignac, Antoine Joseph Lanot, Augustin Jacques Leyris, and Nicolas Maure. These deputies remained in office until June 16, when it was resolved that the committee should consist of nine members and be entirely renewed.

The fourth Committee of General Security elected on that day consisted of Jean Pierre André Amar, Jean Bassal, André Dumont, Armand Benoît Joseph Guffroy, Joseph François Laignelot, Louis Charles Levi-comterie, Louis Legendre (of Paris), Jean Nicolas Méaulle, and Jacques

Pinet. On August 3, on the motion of Breard, it was resolved to increase the committee from nine to twelve members, and to fill up the vacancies caused by the absence of André Dumont, Méaulle, and Pinet on mission, and on the nomination of the committee itself the following deputies were chosen: Moyse Bayle, André Antoine Bernard (of Saintes), Pierre Arnaud Dartigoyte, Charles François Dupuis, Jean Jay de Sainte-Foy, and Jean Baptiste Michaud.

On September 11, when the Great Committee of Public Safety had got possession of the reins of government, it was resolved that the Committee of General Security should be re-constituted, and on the motions of Maure and Drouet, it was decreed that it should consist of nine members and five *suppléants*. The nine members elected on the fifth Committee of General Security were Charles Jean Marie Alquier, Claude Basire, François Chabot, Jacques Garnier (of Saintes), Armand Benoît Joseph Guffroy, Jean Julien (of Toulouse), Louis Charles Lavicomterie, Silvain Phalier Lejeune (of the Indre), and Étienne Jean Panis; and the five *suppléants* were Moyse Bayle, Jean Baptiste Drouet, Reymond Gaston, Philippe François Joseph Le Bas, and Ghislain Joseph François Le Bon. It was also resolved that vacancies should be filled on the nomination of the committee itself, as in the Committee of Public Safety.

This arrangement, and the constitution of the newly elected committee, did not give satisfaction to the members of the Great Committee of Public Safety. It was essential for their supremacy, and for the establishment of the Reign of Terror under their auspices, that the Committee of General Security should act in entire harmony with them, and even in some degree in subordination to them. The power given to the new committee to nominate members to fill vacancies was therefore obnoxious to them, and the presence upon it of certain deputies, such as Basire, Chabot, and Julien, who were men of independent minds, was likely to lead to dissensions. It was therefore resolved, on the motion of Danton on September 14, that a new committee of twelve members should be elected from a list presented by the Committee of Public Safety.

The sixth Committee of General Security, which was elected on that day, and which held office through the Reign of Terror, consisted of (see pp. 326-329) Jean Pierre André Amar, Moyse Bayle, *Antoine Sauveur Boucher*, known as *Boucher-Saint-Sauveur*, Jacques Louis David, Armand Benoît Joseph Guffroy, Louis Charles Lavicomterie, *Philippe François Joseph Le Bas*, *Ghislain François Joseph Le Bon*, *Étienne Jean Panis*, Philippe Jacques Rühl, Marc Guillaume Alexis Vadier, and Jean Henri Voulland. It soon underwent three changes by the selection of Joseph Nicolas Barbeau du Barran, Grégoire Marie Jagot, and Jean Antoine Louis (of the Bas-Rhin), to fill the places of Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, Le Bas, and Le Bon, and in 1794 Élie Lacoste became a member instead of Panis. With these exceptions, it was re-elected every month, like the

Great Committee of Public Safety, and remained in office until the overthrow of Robespierre on 9 Thermidor, Year II. (July 27, 1794). Its functions were definitely fixed by a report of Billaud-Varenne, on 28 Brumaire, Year II. (November 18, 1793), which declared that all duties of government belonged to the Committee of Public Safety, and all police duties to the Committee of General Security.

## APPENDIX IX.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL OF PARIS.

THE best way to understand the gradual but steady growth of the Reign of Terror in Paris is to study the numbers condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal from month to month. The following analysis has been arrived at by an examination of the *Journal du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, given as an appendix to each volume of Wallon's *Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris*, 6 vols. Paris: 1880.

The establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal was decreed on March 10, 1793 (p. 228), and it was formed in accordance with that decree at the end of the same month. The following are the numbers of the prisoners condemned to death and executed, with the names of the most distinguished victims, and some other notes:—

Month.	Number of death-sentences.	Notes.
April, 1793.	9	Blanchelande, ex-governor of San Domingo (vol. ii. pp. 228, 473), the first victim, executed April 15.
May, 1793.	9	General Miaczinski, accomplice of Dumouriez (vol. ii. p. 230), 22nd.
June, 1793.	13	Nine men for assaulting Léonard Bourdon, representative on mission, at Orleans, 13th; Charlotte Corday for the murder of Marat (vol. ii. p. 253), 17th.
July, 1793.	13	
August, 1793.	5	General Leacuyer, accomplice of Dumouriez (vol. ii. p. 230), 14th; General Custine (vol. ii. p. 335), 28th.
September, 1793.	17	
Total, April 15 to September 30	66	

In September the Reign of Terror was organized; the Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four sections on September 22, under the arrangement proposed by Merlin of Douai on September 5 (vol. ii. p. 331), so as to be able to judge more prisoners; on Brumaire 8 (October 29), on the motion of Robespierre, the presidents were enabled to stop any trial after three days and ask the jury if they had made up their minds, and in consequence the activity of the tribunal was much increased.

Months.	Number of death-sentences.	Notes.
October, 1793.	50	Gorsas, deputy to the Convention (vol. ii. p. 340), 7th; Marie Antoinette, (vol. ii. pp. 336, 337), 16th; twenty-one Girondin leaders (vol. ii. pp. 338, 339), 31st.
November, 1793.	58	Olympe de Gouges (vol. ii. p. 179), 2nd; Adam Lux (vol. ii. p. 253), 4th; Philippe Egalité, ci-devant Duke of Orleans, and Coustard de Massy, deputy to the Convention, 6th; Madame Roland, 8th; Bailly, ex-Mayor of Paris, 11th; Manuel, ex-Procureur of the Commune of Paris (vol. ii. p. 218), General Brunet (vol. ii. p. 257), and Gabriel de Cussy, deputy to the Convention (vol. ii. p. 277), 15th; General Houchard (vol. ii. p. 255), 16th; Girey-Dupré, Brissot's successor as editor of the <i>Patriote Français</i> (vol. ii. p. 276), 21st; General Lamarlière, the defender of Lille in 1792, 26th; Duport-Dutertre, ex-Minister of Justice, and Barnave, ex-Constituant, 28th.
December, 1793.	69	Kersaint, deputy to the Convention, 4th; Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, 5th; Madame du Barry, and Noël, deputy to the Convention, 8th; the Duc du Châtelet, 13th; Lesur, ex-Constituant, 17th; Lebrun-Tondu, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Dietrich, ex-Mayor of Strasbourg, 28th; General Biron, ci-devant Duc de Lauzun, 31st.
January, 1794.	71	Custine <i> fils</i> , ex-Minister to Prussia (vol. ii. p. 73), 3rd; Marshal Lückner, 4th; Imbert, deputy-suppléant to the Convention, 7th; Lamourette, Bishop of the Rhône-et-Loire, ex-Législateur (vol. i. p. 251; ii. p. 103), 11th; Captains Duplessis-Grenedan and Coetnempren

Months.	Number of death-sentences.	Notes.
February, 1794.	73	<p>of the navy, sent from Brest by Jean Bon Saint-André, 16th; Marc Antoine Bernard, deputy-suppléant to the Convention, 22nd; General Camille Rossi, 27th; General de Marcé, 28th; eight inhabitants of Coulommiers for a riot, 31st.</p> <p>Parent, ex-Constituant, 2nd; twelve inhabitants of Sarre-Libre (Sarre-Louis) for communicating with the enemy, 25th.</p>
March, 1794.	127	<p>Ten inhabitants of Rosay, for a riot, 2nd; Generals O'Moran, Chancel, and Davaine, 6th; fifteen inhabitants of Clamecy for a riot, 15th; Cieurac, ex-Mayor of Montauban (vol. i. p. 490), 16th; Masuyer, deputy to the Convention, 19th; Hébert, Vincent, Ronsin, Momoro, Anacharsis Cloots, Desieux, Proly, Mazuel, Dubuisson, Jacob Pereyra, Jean Conrad Kock, and seven others (<i>the Hébertists</i>), 24th, Gouttes, Bishop of the Saône-et-Loire; and ex-Constituant (vol. i. p. 307), 26th.</p>
April, 1794.	257	<p>Euloge Schneider (vol. ii. p. 440), 1st; Danton, Lacroix, Herault de Séchelles, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Églantine, Chabot, Basire, Delaunay [d'Angers], deputies to the Convention, Espagnac, Junius and Emmanuel Frey, Diedrichsen, Gushman and Westermann, fifteen in all (<i>the Dantonists</i>), 5th; first "conspiracy of the prisons"—nineteen executed; Simond, deputy to the Convention, Chaumette, Procureur to the Commune of Paris, Gobel, apostate Bishop of Paris, Generals Beysser and Arthur Dillon, the widows of Camille Desmoulins and Hébert, with twelve others, 13th; the Marquis de La Borde, the richest man in France, and formerly banker to the Court, with sixteen noblemen, ladies, and domestic servants, 18th; eighteen judges of the old Parlement of Paris (including Louis Lepeletier de Rozambo, Etienne Pasquier, Bochart de Saron, Lefèvre</p>

Months.	Number of death-sentences.	Notes.
May, 1794.	358	<p>d'Ormesson, and Molé de Champlanteux), six judges of the Parlement of Toulouse and Colonel Nort, twenty-five in all, 20th; Malesherbes, ex-Minister and counsel for Louis XVI., his daughter Madame de Rozanbo, the Marquis and Marquise de Chateaubriant, the Duchesse de Grammont, the Duchesse du Châtelet, three ex-Constituants, D'Esprémesnil (vol. i. pp. 204, 206), Le Chapelier and Thouret (vol. i. pp. 276, 277), with four others, 22nd: thirty-three persons from Verdun, sixteen soldiers, five ecclesiastics, and twelve women, 24th; a mixed group of thirty-three, including the Duc de Villeroy, Admiral the Comte d'Estaing, the Marquis de la Tour du Pin, ex-Minister for War (vol. i. p. 150), the President de Nicolaï, and Thiroux de Crosne, ex-Lieutenant of Police, 28th.</p> <p>Tassin l'Étang and twelve other officers of the battalion of national guards of the section of the Filles-Saint-Thomas, for helping to defend the Tuileries on August 10 (vol. ii. pp. 126, 128), 3rd; Marquis de Choiseul-Labaume, 4th; eleven administrators of the department of the Moselle, 6th; twenty-eight farmers-general of the taxes under the old régime, including Lavoisier, the great chemist, 8th; Princess Elisabeth, the Marquise de Senozan, sister of Malesherbes, the Marquise de Crussol-d'Amboise, five members of the family of Loménie de Brienne (namely, Comte Louis de Loménie, ex-Minister for War, Comte Alexandre de Loménie, Comte Charles de Loménie, Martial de Loménie, coadjutor-archbishop of Sens, and Charlotte de Loménie), the Marquise de Montmorin, widow of the Minister, and his son Antoine de Montmorin, 10th; Meynier, ex-Constituant, 15th; Comte Gaston de Lévis-Mirepoix, ex-Constituant, General Jean Donadieu, and Jourdan "Coupe-tête," 27th.</p>

Months.	Number of death-sentences.	Notes.
June 1-9, 1794.	122	Twenty-seven inhabitants of Sedan for having supported Lafayette in August, 1792 (vol. ii. p. 157), 3rd; twelve administrators of the department of the Ardennes for the same reason, 7th.
October 1, 1793, to June 9, 1794.	1165	

On 22 Prairial (June 10, 1794), a decree was passed depriving prisoners on trial of counsel, and in other ways accelerating the action of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and from that date until the overthrow of Robespierre on 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794), the number of victims rapidly increased. The figures for this period will be examined in an appendix to the next volume.

The gradual increase of the activity of the Tribunal from month to month appears from the table just given. It remains to show the conclusions to be drawn. From the death of the first victim Blanchelande on April 15, 1793, to the end of September, during a period of twenty-four weeks, 66 individuals were condemned to death by the Tribunal and executed, an average of nearly 3 a week. From the beginning of October to June 9 (Prairial 21), a period of thirty-six weeks, 1165 individuals were condemned to death and executed, an average of over 32 a week. And this increase was gradual, not sudden, as the figures for each month show. Still more striking is it to mention the figures for the period of seven weeks between 22 Prairial (June 10) and 9 Thermidor (July 27), during which time 1376 individuals were sent to the guillotine, or an average of over 196 a week. Comment on these figures is needless; they show by themselves how steadily the Reign of Terror increased in severity, and to what a height it eventually developed.

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## APPENDIX X.

### THE REPRESENTATIVES ON MISSION.

THE most valuable work on the Representatives on Mission yet published has been *Les Représentants en Mission et la Justice Révolutionnaire dans les Départements en l'An II.* (1793-94), by H. Wallon (5 vols. Paris: 1889-90). It is distinctly hostile in tone to the representatives; but it contains many



valuable facts not to be found elsewhere. Unfortunately, M. Wallon has made no consistent attempt to establish the *personnel* of the missions; the names of the most important emissaries are scattered about in his volumes, but he has not arranged them anywhere in regular order. The following study is an attempt to give a correct list of the most important *general* missions to the departments. The representatives on mission with the armies will be analyzed in the next appendix on the "Armies of the Republic." It is impossible to give all the *special* missions; the names alone would swell this appendix to an unconscionable length, for more than three hundred deputies were at different times despatched on mission between the meeting of the Convention and the overthrow of Robespierre, and it may be noted that Barère mentioned in a report on 8 Brumaire, Year II (October 29, 1793), that no less than 140 deputies were at that time absent on mission.

The chief *general* missions were those of March 8, 1793, for the levy of 300,000 men, whose mission was in the words of the decree appointing them "to inform their fellow-citizens of the new dangers which threaten the country, and to collect a sufficient force to dissipate its enemies;" of August 23, 1793, to superintend the *levée en masse*; of October 2, 1793, to obtain horses for the armies; and of 9 Nivôse, Year II. (December 29, 1793), to establish the revolutionary government in the departments. It must be quite understood that these four lists do not contain the names of all the deputies sent on mission; but all the most important *special* missions, such for instance as those sent to Lyons, are discussed in Chapter XI., and it is not necessary to recapitulate them here. In the first despatch of deputies on mission on March 8, it was considered advisable to send deputies belonging to the departments to which they were appointed; this was found to be inconvenient, and on July 5, 1793, on the motion of Charles Delacroix, it was resolved that for the future no deputy should be sent on mission to his own department.

The decree of March 8, 1793 (vol. ii. p. 367), directed that eighty-two deputies should be sent in pairs, each pair having charge of two departments, to direct the levy of 300,000 men, and the names of the deputies nominated are given in Article 8 of the decree without specifying their districts. From a study of M. Wallon's book, already mentioned, and various provincial histories, it has been possible to compile the table of their districts given below, but it must be noted that in the list given in the decree of March 8 are contained the names of Fabre-d'Églantine and Martineau, who did not go on this mission, and not those of Elie Lacoste and Merlino, who did, and therefore the names of these latter deputies have been inserted in their proper place. As the deputies went in pairs, their names cannot be given in regular alphabetical order, but an attempt has been made to make the list useful for reference by adopting an alphabetical arrangement as far as possible.

## LIST A (March 8, 1793).

Deputies.	Departments.
Amar, Jean Pierre André	{ Ain.
Merlino, Jean Marie François <sup>1</sup> } . . .	{ Isère.
Anthoine, François Paul Nicolas	{ Meurthe.
Levasseur, Antoine Louis (of the Meurthe) } . . .	{ Moselle.
Auguis, Pierre Jean Baptiste } . . .	{ Deux-Sèvres.
Carra, Jean Louis } . . .	{ Vendée.
Barras, Paul François Jean Nicolas } . . .	{ Basses-Alpes.
Fréron, Stanislas Louis Marie } . . .	{ Hautes-Alpes.
Bayle, Moyse	{ Bouches-du-Rhône. <sup>2</sup>
Boisset, Joseph Antoine } . . .	{ Drôme.
Bernard, André Antoine (of Santes) } . . .	{ Charente.
Guimberteau, Jean } . . .	{ Charente-Inférieure.
Billaud-Varenne, Jacques Nicolas } . . .	{ Côtes-du-Nord.
Sevestre, Joseph } . . .	{ Ille-et-Vilaine.
Bo, Jean Baptiste Jérôme } . . .	{ Aveyron.
Chabot, François } . . .	{ Tarn.
Bonnier (d'Alco), Ange Elisabeth Louis Antoine } . . .	{ Gard.
Voulland, Jean Henri } . . .	{ Hérault.
Bordas, Pardoux } . . .	{ Corrèze.
Borie, Jean } . . .	{ Haute-Vienne.
Bourdon, François Louis (of the Oise) } . . .	{ Manche.
Lecarpentier, Jean Baptiste } . . .	{ Orne.
Bourdon, Louis Jean Joseph Léonard } . . .	{ Côte-d'Or.
Prost, Claude Charles } . . .	{ Jura.
Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite } . . .	{ Nord.
Leage-Senault, Gaspard Jean Joseph } . . .	{ Pas-de-Calais.
Châles, Pierre Jacques Michel } . . .	{ Eure-et-Loir.
Levasseur, René (of the Sarthe) } . . .	{ Seine-et-Oise.
Choudieu, Pierre René } . . .	{ Maine-et-Loire.
Richard, Joseph Étienne } . . .	{ Sarthe.
Collot-d'Herbois, Jean Marie } . . .	{ Loiret.
Laplanche, Jacques Léonard Goyre } . . .	{ Nièvre.
Dartigoyte, Pierre Arnaud } . . .	{ Gers.
Ichon, Pierre } . . .	{ Landes.
Despinassy, Antoine Joseph Marie } . . .	{ Alpes-Maritimes.
Roubaud, Jean Louis } . . .	{ Var.
Deville, Jean Louis } . . .	{ Aisne.
Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon } . . .	{ Ardennes.
Florelle de	

<sup>1</sup> Not named in the decree of March 8.

<sup>2</sup> This circumscription included the department of the Vaucluse, which was not created until June 25, 1793.

Deputies.	Departments.
Du Roy, Jean Michel	{ Calvados.
Jouéne (Lonchamp), Thomas François	{ Eure.
Ambroise	{ Loire-Inférieure.
Eauie de la Vallée, François Joachim	{ Mayenne.
Fouché, Joseph	{ Cantal
Faure, Balthazar	{ Haute-Loire.
Lacoste, Jean Baptiste	{ Allier.
Fauvre-Labrunerie, Charles Benoit	{ Cher.
Forestier, Pierre Jacques	{ Ariège.
Fayau, Joseph Pierre Marie	{ Pyrénées-Orientales.
Gaston, Raymond	{ Aube.
Garnier, Antoine Marie Charles (of the Aube)	{ Yonne.
Turreau, Louis	{ Gironde.
Garrau, Pierre Anselme	{ Lot-et-Garonne.
Paganel, Pierre	{ Ardèche.
Gleizal, Claude	{ Lozère.
Servière, Laurent	{ Indre-et-Loire.
Goupilleau (de Fontenay), Jean	{ Loir-et-Cher.
François Marie	{ Finistère.
Tallien, Jean Lambert	{ Morbihan.
Guerneur, Jacques Tanguy Marie	{ Dordogne.
Lemalliaud, Joseph François	{ Lot. <sup>2</sup>
Lacoste, Élie <sup>1</sup>	{ Seine-et-Marne.
Jean Bon Saint-André	{ Oise.
Lakanal, Joseph	{ Indre.
Mauduyt, François Pierre Ange	{ Vienne.
Lejeune, Silvain Phalier	{ Aude.
Piorry, Pierre François	{ Haute-Garonne.
Lombard-Lachaux, Pierre	{ Bas-Rhin.
Mailhe, Jean Baptiste	{ Haut-Rhin.
Louis, Jean Antoine (of the Bas-Rhin)	{ Doubs.
Pflieger, Jean Adam	{ Haute-Saône.
Michaud, Jean Baptiste	{ Creuse.
Siblot, Claude François Bruno	{ Puy-de-Dôme.
Monestier, Jean Baptiste Benoit	{ Basses-Pyrénées.
(of the Puy-de-Dôme)	{ Hautes-Pyrénées.
Petitjean, Claude Lazare	
Neveu, Étienne	
Yaabeau, Claude Alexandre	

<sup>1</sup> Not named in the decree of March 8.

<sup>2</sup> Including the present department of the Tarn-et-Garonne, which was not created until November 4, 1808.

Deputies.	Departments.
Perrin, Jean Baptiste (of the Vosges) } . . .	Haute-Marne.
Roux, Louis Félix } . . .	Vosges.
Pocholle, Pierre Pomponne Amédée } . . .	{Seine-Inférieure.
Saladin, Jean Baptiste Michel } . . .	{Somme.
Pons, Philippe Laurent (of Verdun) } . . .	{Marne.
Thuriot, Jacques Alexis } . . .	{Meuse.
Pressavin, Jean Baptiste } . . .	{Rhône-et-Loire. <sup>1</sup>
Reverchon, Jacques } . . .	{Saône-et-Loire.

On April 30, 1793, several of these deputies were recalled, but the majority of them remained on mission throughout the summer, and they were joined by other deputies despatched on special missions, to La Vendée or to combat the federalists, to raise supplies for the armies or to receive the acceptance of the Constitution of 1793 from the primary assemblies.

The second *general* mission sent to superintend the *levée en masse* on August 23, 1793, consisted of twelve deputies, whose names are given in Article 15 of the decree.

## LIST B.

Boisset, Joseph Antoine.	Legendre, François Paul (of the Nièvre).
Chabot, François.	Mallarmé, François René Auguste.
Delacroix, Charles.	Paganel, Pierre.
Fayau, Joseph Pierre Marie.	Roux-Fazillac, Pierre.
Ingrand, François Pierre.	Taillefer, Jean Guillaume.
Lanot, Antoine Joseph.	Tallien, Jean Lambert.

The third *general* mission was despatched on October 2, 1793 to requisition horses for the armies. It consisted of eighteen deputies, each of whom had assigned to him four or five departments. They did not confine themselves to the duty for which they were nominated, but exercised freely their unlimited powers in points of general administration.

## LIST C.

Deputy.	Head-quarters.
Beauchamp, Joseph . . . . .	Gap.
Bentabole, Pierre . . . . .	Carcassonne.
Bollet, Philippe Albert . . . . .	Soissons.
Boursault, Jean François . . . . .	Rennes.
Cavaignac, Jean Baptiste . . . . .	Auch.
Delbrel, Pierre . . . . .	Montpellier.
Dupuis, Charles François . . . . .	Rouen.

<sup>1</sup> Divided into the two departments of the Rhône and the Loire in 1794.

Deputy.	Head-quarters.
Du Roy, Jean Michel . . . . .	Châlons-sur-Marne.
Goupilleau (de Fontenay), Jean François Marie . . . . .	Clermont-Ferrand.
Goupilleau (de Montaigu), Philippe Charles Aimé . . . . .	Arles.
Guillemardet, Ferdinand Pierre Marie Dorothee . . . . .	Versailles.
Guimberteau, Jean . . . . .	Tours.
Harmand, Jean Baptiste . . . . .	Angoulême.
Ichon, Pierre . . . . .	Auxerre.
Lakanal, Joseph . . . . .	Bergerac.
Pfieger, Jean Adam . . . . .	Vienne.
Projean, Joseph Étienne . . . . .	Saverne.
Vidalin, Étienne . . . . .	Abbeville.

The fourth and most important *general* mission was that appointed on 9 Nivôse (December 29, 1793), to establish revolutionary government in the departments—that is, the Reign of Terror. The powers of these deputies were unlimited; they were directed to renew municipalities and district authorities, and to rule absolutely. Most of these men had had experience in former missions and shown their capacity, and many of them remained in possession of power until after the revolution of 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794). According to the first article of the decree of 9 Nivôse it was resolved to send 58 deputies to establish revolutionary government; as a matter of fact only 51 were nominated. M. Aulard, Professor at the Sorbonne, has supplied me with the authentic list of their names, which has never been published hitherto, and which exists in the *Registre des Deliberations du Comité de Salut Public* in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris.

## LIST D.

Deputy.	Departments.
Bar, Jean Étienne . . . . .	Bas-Rhin, Meurthe.
Bentabole, Pierre . . . . .	Eure-et-Loir, Orne.
Bernard, André Antoine (of Saintes) . . . . .	Côte-d'Or, Saône-et-Loire.
Bo, Jean Baptiste Jérôme . . . . .	Aube, Marne.
Boisset, Joseph Antoine . . . . .	Aude, Hérault.
Boris, Jean . . . . .	Gard, Lozère.
Bouret, Henry Gaspard Charles } Fremanger, Jacques }	{Calvados. Manche.
Brival, Jacques . . . . .	Vienne, Haute-Vienne.
Carrier, Jean Baptiste } Prieur, Pierre Louis (of the Marne) }	{Loire-Inférieure. Morbihan.
Cavaignac, Jean Baptiste . . . . .	Drôme, Isère.

Deputy.	Departments.
Chandron-Roussau, Guillaume . . . . .	Ariège, Pyrénées-Orientales.
Crassous, Jean Augustin . . . . .	Paris, Seine-et-Oise.
Dartigoyte, Pierre Arnaud . . . . .	Haute-Garonne, Gers.
Delacroix, Charles	{ Eure.
Legendre, Louis (of Paris)	
Dherbez-Latour, Pierre Jacques . . . . .	Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes.
Dubouchet, Pierre	{ Ille-et-Vilaine.
Eantie de la Vallée, François	
Joachim	{ Mayenne
Dumont, André . . . . .	Oise, Somme.
Du Roy, Jean Michel . . . . .	Haute-Marne, Haute-Saône.
Fouché, Joseph	{ Rhône-et-Loire ( <i>Lyon</i> ).
La Porte, Marie François Sébastien	
Méaulle, Jean Nicolas	
Foussedoire, André . . . . .	Haut-Rhin, Vosges.
Francastel, Marie Pierre Adrien . . . . .	Indre-et-Loire, Maine-et-Loire.
Garnier, Jacques (of Saintes) . . . . .	Loir-et-Cher, Sarthe.
Gouly, Benoît Louis . . . . .	Ain, Mont-Blanc ( <i>Savoy</i> ).
Guyardin, Louis . . . . .	Ardèche, Haute-Loire.
Ingrand, François Pierre . . . . .	Deux-Sèvres, Vendée.
Lacombe-Saint-Michel, Pierre Jean . . . . .	Corsica.
Lakanal, Joseph . . . . .	Dordogne.
Laplanche, Jacques Léonard Goyre . . . . .	Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère.
Le Bon, Ghislain François Joseph . . . . .	Nord, Pas-de-Calais.
Lefiot, Jean Alban . . . . .	Loiret, Nièvre.
Legendre, François Paul (of the Nièvre) . . . . .	Cher, Indre.
Lejeune, Silvain Phalier (of the Indre) . . . . .	Doubs, Jura.
Lequinio, Joseph Marie . . . . .	Charente, Charente-Inférieure.
Maignet, Étienne Christophe . . . . .	Bouches-du-Rhône, Vancluse.
Mallarmé, François René Auguste . . . . .	Meuse, Moselle.
Maure, Nicolas . . . . .	Seine-et-Marne, Yonne.
Monestier, Jean Baptiste Benoît (of the Puy-de-Dôme) . . . . .	Basses Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées.
Monestier, Pierre Laurent (of the Lozère)	Landes, Lot-et-Garonne.
Paganel, Pierre . . . . .	Aveyron, Tarn.
Petitjean, Claude Lazare . . . . .	Allier, Creuse.
Ricord, Jean François . . . . .	Nice, Var.
Roux, Louis Félix . . . . .	Aisne, Ardennes.
Roux-Fazillac, Pierre . . . . .	Corrèze, Puy-de-Dôme.
Tallien, Jean Lambert	{ Gironde ( <i>Bordeaux</i> ).
Ysabeau, Claude Alexandre	

## APPENDIX XI.

## THE ARMIES OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE succession of generals and of representatives on mission with the armies was so rapid during the first months after the establishment of the Republic that it has been decided to give the following analysis in an appendix :—

The first three armies formed in December, 1791, on the approach of war were termed the armies of the North, the Centre, and the Rhine, and were placed under the command of Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Lückner, and to them was added, in April, 1792, an army of the South, placed under the command of Montesquiou. In May, 1792, Lückner was transferred to the army of the North, to succeed Rochambeau resigned, and Biron took command of the army of the Rhine. After the capture of the Tuileries and the desertion of Lafayette, a different arrangement was made : Dumouriez took command of the army of the North, Arthur Dillon of the right wing of that army, now termed the army of the Ardennes, and Kellermann of the left wing of the army of the Rhine, now termed the army of the Moselle, while Biron and Montesquiou retained their former commands of the armies of the Rhine and of the South.

In an official statement of the armies of the Republic, as arranged on October 1, 1792, they are described as eight in number, and were called the armies of the North, the Ardennes, the Moselle, the Rhine, the Vosges, the South, the Pyrenees, and the Interior, or Reserve. On December 5, 1792, the army of the South was divided into the armies of the Alps and of Italy ; on January 24, 1793, on expectation of the declaration of war with England, an army of the Coasts was ordered to be formed ; and on March 15 the army of the Vosges was merged in that of the Rhine. On April 30, 1793, a new arrangement was made : the army of the Pyrenees was divided into the two armies of the Eastern Pyrenees and the Western Pyrenees ; and the army of the Coasts was divided into the three armies of the Coasts of La Rochelle, the Coasts of Brest, and the Coasts of Cherbourg ; while the army of the Interior, or Reserve, disappeared. The eleven armies thus formed were the armies of the North, the Ardennes, the Moselle, the Rhine, the Alps, Italy, the Eastern Pyrenees, the Western Pyrenees, the Coasts of La Rochelle, the Coasts of Brest, and the Coasts of Cherbourg. In July, 1793, two armies were added—the army of Corsica and the army of Reserve, which make up the total of the “thirteen armies of the Republic.” These latter only existed on paper, and need not be taken into further consideration, but the other eleven will be studied in succession, and in the first list will be given the succession of generals commanding them ; in the second, the principal deputies on mission with them.

## A.

## SUCCESSION OF GENERALS.]

- I. Army of the North—  
 December 14, 1791. Rochambeau.  
 May 15, 1792. Lückner.  
 August 18, 1792. Dumouriez.  
 September 2, 1792. Moreton-Chabillant—*ad interim*.  
 September 28, 1792. La Bourdonnaye.  
 December 10, 1792. Dumouriez (with power of direction over the army of the Ardennes).  
 April 5, 1793. Dampierre.  
 May 8, 1793. Lamarche—*ad interim*.  
 May 27, 1793. Custine (with power of directing the army of the Ardennes).  
 August 1, 1793. Kilmaine—*ad interim*.  
 August 13, 1793. Houchard.  
 September 22, 1793. Jourdan (with power of directing the army of the Ardennes).  
 January 6, 1794. Ferrand—*ad interim*.  
 January 27, 1794. Pichegru (with power of directing the army of the Ardennes).
- II. Army of the Ardennes (originally right wing of the army of the North)—  
 August 23, 1792. Arthur Dillon.  
 September 2, 1792. Dumouriez.  
 December 30, 1792. Valence (under Dumouriez).  
 April 5, 1793. Leveneur (under Dampierre).  
 May, 1793. Kilmaine.  
 August, 1793. Ferrand.
- III. Army of the Moselle (originally left wing of the army of the Rhine)—  
 August 28, 1792. Kellermann.  
 November, 1792. Bournonville.  
 February 6, 1793. Ligniville.  
 March 29, 1793. D'Aboville.  
 April 28, 1793. Houchard.  
 August, 1793. Schauenbourg.  
 September 30, 1793. Delaunay—*ad interim*.  
 October 31, 1793. Hoche.
- IV. Army of the Rhine—  
 December 14, 1791. Lückner.  
 May, 1792. Biron.  
 January, 1793. Després-Crassier (under the direction of Custine).  
 March 15, 1793. Custine (merging the army of the Vooges).



- May 30, 1793. Alexandre de Beauharnais.  
 August 17, 1793. Landremont.  
 October 2, 1793. Carle.  
 October 27, 1793. Pichegru.  
 January 14, 1794. Michaud.  
 \* Army of the Vosges. September, 1792. Custine (merged in army of the Rhine, March 15, 1793).
- V. Army of the Alps (originally army of the South)—  
 April, 1792. Montesquiou-Fézensac.  
 November 14, 1792. Kellermann.  
 April 30, 1793. Dornas—*ad interim*.  
 May 21, 1793. Kellermann.  
 September 10, 1793. Doppet.  
 October 29, 1793. Dours.  
 November 18, 1793. Carteaux.  
 December 23, 1793. Pellapra.  
 January 21, 1794. Alexandre Dumas.
- VI. Army of Italy—  
 December 5, 1792. Anselme (formerly commanding the right corps of the army of the South).  
 December 27, 1792. Brunet—*ad interim*.  
 January, 1793. Biron (assumed command February 9).  
 May 4, 1793. Brunet.  
 August 8, 1793. Dumberion.  
 \* Army of Toulon—  
 September 4, 1793. Carteaux.  
 November 16, 1793. Dugommier.
- VII. Army of the Eastern Pyrenees (army of the Pyrenees formed under Servan, October, 1792, divided April 30, 1793)—  
 May, 1793. De Flers.  
 August, 1793. Puget de Barbantane.  
 September 18, 1793. Dagobert—*ad interim*.  
 September 29, 1793. D'Aoust—*ad interim*.  
 October, 1793. Turreau.  
 November, 1793. D'Aoust—*ad interim*.  
 November 30, 1793. Doppet.  
 December, 1793. D'Aoust—*ad interim*.  
 January, 1794. Dugommier.
- VIII. Army of the Western Pyrenees—  
 May, 1793. Servan.  
 June, 1793. La Bourdonnaye.  
 July 4, 1793. D'Elbecq.  
 August 31, 1793. Després-Crassier.  
 October 8, 1793. Müller—*ad interim*.

October, 1793. Alexandre Dumas (not allowed to take command).

October 30, 1793. Müller.

IX. Army of the Coasts of La Rochelle—

May 1, 1793. Leigonyer—*ad interim*.

May 28, 1793. Biron.

July 17, 1793. La Barolière, commanding the right wing } *ad*  
Chalbos ,, left ,, } *interim*.

July 31, 1793. Rossignol.

August 25, 1793. Santerre.

August 31, 1793. Rossignol.

Termed the army of the West, October 5, 1793, after the incorporation of the former garrison of Mayence.

October 8, 1793. Léchelle.

November 18, 1793. Marceau—*ad interim*.

December 23, 1793. Turreau.

X. Army of the Coasts of Brest—

May 1, 1793. Canclaux.

October 6, 1793. Rossignol.

XI. Army of the Coasts of Cherbourg—

May 1, 1793. Wimpfen.

July, 1793. Sepher.

October, 1793. Vialle.

B.

DEPUTIES ON MISSION WITH THE ARMIES.

It is quite impossible to give the names of all the deputies sent on mission to the armies; they succeeded each other so rapidly and irregularly. But fortunately there are two complete lists given in the decrees of April 30, 1793, creating the eleven armies of the Republic, and of July 19, which supply their names at two important periods, when the other deputies on mission were recalled. To these lists are added the names and dates of mission of certain of their most famous successors, and they are arranged under the headings of the armies, of which the succession of generals has just been given.

I. Army of the North—

April 30, 1793. Bellegarde, Carnot, *Cavaignac*, Cochon-Lapparent, Courtois, Delbrel, Duhem, Duquesnoy, Gasparin, *Lequinio*, Lesage-Senault, and Sallengroa.

Of these deputies Cavaignac was at once removed to Brest, and Gossuin replaced Lequinio, who was ill, on May 10, while on May 4 Bries and Dubois-Dubaix, who were at Valenciennes, were maintained in their functions.

- July 19, 1793. Carnot, Charlier, Delbrel, and Servière (in addition to Briez and Cochon-Lapparent, besieged in Valenciennes).  
Of deputies sent at a later date, note especially Élie Lacoste, Peyssard, Châles, Levasseur (of the Meurthe), Letourneur, Hentz, and Duquesnoy in August; Berlier and Trullard sent to Dunkirk, August 27; Isoré, Drouet, and Bar nominated, September 9.
- II. Army of the Ardennes—  
April 30, 1793. Deville, Hentz, La Porte, and Milhaud.  
July 19, 1793. Calés, Massieu, and Perrin (of the Vosges).
- III. Army of the Moselle—  
April 30, 1793. Levasseur (of the Meurthe), Maignet, Maribon-Montaut, and Soubrany.  
July 19, 1793. Gentil, Richaud, and Soubrany.  
Note among deputies sent at a later date, Prieur (of the Marne) and Jean Bon Saint-André, August 2; Ehrmann, Harmand, Hentz, and Cusset in September; Saint-Just and Le Bas in October.
- IV. Army of the Rhine—  
April 30, 1793. Du Roy, Ferry, Haussmann, Laurent, Louis (of the Bas-Rhin), Merlin (of Thionville), Pflieger, Rewbell, Ritter, and Ruamps.  
July 19, 1793. Borie, Maribon-Montaut, Michaud and Ruamps (in addition to Merlin (of Thionville) and Rewbell besieged in Mayence).  
Note among deputies sent at a later date, Guyardin, Mallarmé, and Niou, July 27 to November 19; Prieur (of the Marne) and Jean Bon Saint-André, August 2; Saint-Just and Le Bas, October; and Baudot and J. B. Lacoste, November 3. (Dentzel besieged in Landau).
- V. Army of the Alps—  
April 30, 1793. Albitte, Dubois-Crancé, Gauthier, and Nioche.  
July 19, 1793. *The same.*  
Dubois-Crancé, Gauthier, and Nioche were recalled in October, 1793; and Albitte, Gaston, and La Porte were the deputies on mission with the army of the Alps up to the overthrow of Robespierre on 9 Thermidor (July 26, 1794).
- VI. Army of Italy—  
April 30, 1793. Despinassy and Roubaud.  
July 19, 1793. Pierre Baille, Barras, Beauvais, and Despinassy.  
Note among deputies sent at a later date, Ricord and Augustin Robespierre, August; Escudier, Gasparin, and Saliceti.
- VII. Army of the Eastern Pyrenees—  
April 30, 1793. Bonnet (of the Aude), Fabre (of the Hérault), Leyris, and Projean.

- July 19, 1793. Bonnet (of the Aude), Cassanyes, Fabre (of the Hérault), and Leyris.  
 Note among deputies sent at a later date, Espert, August; Gaston, September to December; and Milhaud and Sonbrany, December.
- VIII. Army of the Western Pyrenees—  
 April 30, 1793. Chaudron-Roussau, Feraud, Garrau, and Ysabeau.  
 July 19, 1793. *The same.*  
 Note among deputies sent at a later date, Cavaignac, September; Dartigoyte, Monestier (of the Puy-de-Dôme), and Pinet.
- IX. Army of the Coasts of La Rochelle—  
 April 30, 1793. Bourbotte, Carra, Dandenac, and Julien (of Toulouse).  
 July 19, 1793. Bourdon (of the Oise), Choudieu, Goupilleau (de Fontenay), Richard.  
 Note in addition, Merlin (of Thionville) and Rewbell, who acted with the former garrison of Mayence, August to December, 1793.
- X. Army of the Coasts of Brest—  
 April 30, 1793. Cavaignac, Coustard, Gillet, Merlin (of Douai), and Sevestre.  
 July 19, 1793. Bourbotte, Cavaignac, Gillet, and Louis Turreau.  
 In addition, note especially Philippeaux.
- XI. Army of the Coasts of Cherbourg—  
 April 30, 1793. Lecointre, Prieur (of the Marne), Romme.  
 July 19, 1793. Bonnet (of the Calvados), Du Roy, and Robert Lindet.  
 (Prieur of the Côte-d'Or and Romme detained at Caen.)
- XII. Army of Corsica—  
 April 30, 1793. Lacombe-Saint-Michel and Saliceti. (Antiboul and Bo detained at Marsaillea.)

# APPENDIX XII.

## CONCORDANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN AND GREGORIAN CALENDARS.

VOL. II.

XII.]

	YEAR II. 1793-1794.	YEAR III. 1794-1795.	YEAR IV. 1795-1796.	YEAR V. 1796-1797.	YEAR VI. 1797-1798.	YEAR VII. 1798-1799.	YEAR VIII. 1799-1800.
1 Vendémiaire . . . . .	22 September, 1793	22 September, 1794	23 September, 1795	22 September, 1796	22 September, 1797	22 September, 1798	23 September, 1799
11 " . . . . .	2 October	3 October	3 October	2 October	2 October	2 October	3 October
21 " . . . . .	12 October	12 October	13 October	12 October	12 October	12 October	13 October
1 Brumaire . . . . .	22 October	22 October	22 October	22 October	22 October	22 October	23 October
11 " . . . . .	1 November	1 November	2 November	1 November	1 November	1 November	2 November
21 " . . . . .	11 November	11 November	12 November	11 November	11 November	11 November	12 November
1 Frimaire . . . . .	21 November	21 November	22 November	21 November	21 November	21 November	22 November
11 " . . . . .	1 December	1 December	2 December	1 December	1 December	1 December	2 December
21 " . . . . .	11 December	11 December	12 December	11 December	11 December	11 December	12 December
1 Nivôse . . . . .	21 December	21 December	22 December	21 December	21 December	21 December	22 December
11 " . . . . .	31 December	31 December	1 January, 1796	31 December	31 December	31 December	1 January, 1800
21 " . . . . .	10 January, 1794	10 January, 1795	11 January	10 January, 1797	10 January, 1798	10 January, 1799	11 January
1 Pluviôse . . . . .	20 January	20 January	21 January	20 January	20 January	20 January	21 January
11 " . . . . .	30 January	30 January	31 January	30 January	30 January	30 January	31 January
21 " . . . . .	9 February	9 February	10 February	9 February	9 February	9 February	10 February
1 Ventôse . . . . .	19 February	19 February	20 February	19 February	19 February	19 February	20 February
11 " . . . . .	1 March	1 March	1 March	1 March	1 March	1 March	1 March
21 " . . . . .	11 March	11 March	11 March	11 March	11 March	11 March	11 March
1 Germinal . . . . .	21 March	21 March	21 March	21 March	21 March	21 March	21 March
11 " . . . . .	31 March	31 March	31 March	31 March	31 March	31 March	31 March
21 " . . . . .	10 April	10 April	10 April	10 April	10 April	10 April	10 April
1 Floréal . . . . .	20 April	20 April	20 April	20 April	20 April	20 April	20 April
11 " . . . . .	30 April	30 April	30 April	30 April	30 April	30 April	30 April
21 " . . . . .	10 May	10 May	10 May	10 May	10 May	10 May	10 May
1 Prairial . . . . .	20 May	20 May	20 May	20 May	20 May	20 May	20 May
11 " . . . . .	30 May	30 May	30 May	30 May	30 May	30 May	30 May
21 " . . . . .	9 June	9 June	9 June	9 June	9 June	9 June	9 June
1 Messidor . . . . .	19 June	19 June	19 June	19 June	19 June	19 June	19 June
11 " . . . . .	29 June	29 June	29 June	29 June	29 June	29 June	29 June
21 " . . . . .	9 July	9 July	9 July	9 July	9 July	9 July	9 July
1 Thermidor . . . . .	19 July	19 July	19 July	19 July	19 July	19 July	19 July
11 " . . . . .	29 July	29 July	29 July	29 July	29 July	29 July	29 July
21 " . . . . .	8 August	8 August	8 August	8 August	8 August	8 August	8 August
1 Fructidor . . . . .	18 August	18 August	18 August	18 August	18 August	18 August	18 August
11 " . . . . .	28 August	28 August	28 August	28 August	28 August	28 August	28 August
21 " . . . . .	7 September	7 September	7 September	7 September	7 September	7 September	7 September
1st Complementary Day, or "Sans-Culottide"	17 September	17 September	17 September	17 September	17 September	17 September	17 September
5th " . . . . .	21 September	21 September	21 September	21 September	21 September	21 September	21 September
6th " . . . . .		22 September				22 September	

NOTE: Each month in the Republican Calendar consisted of thirty days, divided into three "Decades."

The Republican Calendar.

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