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ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE, & MURDER OF DE L

THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
1789—1800

BY
LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

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



*NEW EDITION, WITH UPWARDS OF FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS ON
STEEL ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM GREATBATCH*

IN FIVE VOLUMES
VOL. I.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

I PURPOSE writing the history of a memorable Revolution, which has profoundly agitated the minds of men, and which still continues to divide them. I disguise not from myself the difficulties of the undertaking; for passions which were supposed to have been stifled under the sway of military despotism have recently revived. All at once men bowed down by age and toil have felt resentments which, according to appearance, were appeased, awaken within them, and they have communicated them to us, their sons and heirs. But if we have to uphold the same cause, we have not to defend their conduct, for we can separate liberty from those who have rendered it service or disservice; whilst we possess the advantage of having observed those veterans, who, still full of their recollections, still agitated by their impressions, reveal to us the spirit and the character of parties, and teach us to comprehend them.* Perhaps the moment when the actors are about to expire is the most proper for writing this history; we can collect their evidence without participating in all their passions.

Be this as it may, I have endeavoured to stifle within my own bosom every feeling of animosity: I alternately figured to myself that, born in a cottage, animated with a just ambition, I was resolved to acquire what the pride of the higher classes had unjustly refused me; or that, bred in palaces, the heir to ancient privileges, it was painful to me to renounce a possession which I regarded as a legitimate property. Thenceforward I could not harbour enmity against either party; I pitied the combatants, and I indemnified myself by admiring generous deeds wherever I found them.

* "The people never revolt from fickleness, or the mere desire of change. It is the impatience of suffering which alone has this effect."—*Sully's Memoirs*.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

SOME years have elapsed since M. Thiers' "History of the French Revolution" was first introduced to readers in an English translation. The value of such a work can only be tested by time and popularity. The subject, although of the deepest interest, had been so often touched upon by previous writers, that novelty, either in fact or inference, was scarcely to be expected. In France the book was received with enthusiasm, and adopted without hesitation as the standard authority. This might have been looked for, from the impulsive character of the people, the known abilities of the author, and his political eminence. It was felt at once that he was able to grapple with the question, and examine its minute details with searching fidelity. His mind was practical more than speculative. He was a man of business rather than a dreaming philosopher; an adroit, keen, clear-headed, worldly statesman, with no strong passions or prejudices to mislead his judgment, and entirely uninfluenced by fanciful theories to obscure his meaning. His history is a narrative of facts, seldom interrupted by episodes or parenthetical reflections. He has no tendency to enter into long investigations of causes, which he leaves the reader to discover for himself. In his delineations of character he seizes obvious points and prominent features. In this he is directly contrasted with Mignet, who refines with metaphysical nicety, and halts to dissect a feeling when he should hasten on to relate an event. Mignet is subtle, and frequently obscure. Thiers is frank, and always intelligible. Hence the secret of his superior attraction; and on this ground, independent of others, his work has established itself as a classic, and increases in estimation on repeated perusal. It may justly be pronounced the best that has been

written on a very momentous period: the safest, as well as the most entertaining; and when we refer to the long list of eminent authors who have employed their pens in the description of this gigantic moral earthquake, it is no slight commendation to be placed at the head of the phalanx. We have said why we prefer Thiers to Mignet—although in literary composition their merits are equally balanced. In England the reputation of M. Thiers' History has increased gradually. Received at first with caution, perhaps with distrust, it has made its way by intrinsic weight, and obtains with each succeeding year a wider popularity. A new edition has therefore become necessary, which we now present in a more convenient form, and, as we trust, with some additional recommendations. It has been objected that Thiers is a partial historian, and writes with a natural bias in favour of his own country. If so, a reasonable allowance must be made for a fault inseparable from humanity. But this tendency, when it occurs, is compensated for in this edition by a series of illustrative notes from the most important authorities on the subject, so that the reader is thereby enabled to balance conflicting opinions, and regulate his own judgment on a comparison of evidence.

Lord Byron has said, "It has long been the fashion to ascribe everything to the French Revolution, and the French Revolution to everything but the real cause. That cause is obvious. The government exacted more than the people could bear, and the people neither could nor would bear any longer." There is truth in this short summary; but the question is too complicated to be dismissed merely in a sentence. The storm had long been brewing, and many agencies were concerned in bringing it to a head. The catastrophe was foreseen and predicted, not only by profound thinkers, but by casual observers. Many were the warning voices, but all were unheeded until the explosion took place. The successive causes, immediate and secondary, have been amply discussed; but it is to be regretted that an author so well versed in the annals of France as M. Thiers has not entered more into detail in his introductory dissertation. After a few brief paragraphs, he breaks at once into his subject, as if he took it for granted that all his readers were as well acquainted as himself with the origin

of that memorable event. The climax was gradual of approach, and long in preparation. What Dr. Johnson says in his tragedy of "Irene" of the fall of Constantinople, applies strongly to the destruction of the French monarchy :—

" A thousand horrid prodigies foretold it ;
A feeble government, eluded laws,
A factious populace, luxurious nobles,
And all the maladies of sinking states."

As in more recent times the decay of authority is accompanied by the outrages of anarchists and the tyranny of trades' unions. Foremost in the list, the deficiency of the public revenue, the preposterous salaries of the officers of the Crown, and the unbridled speculations of the Encyclopædists—brilliant but dangerous sophists, who promulgated visionary doctrines, utterly subversive of religion, law, policy, or morality—were the most formidable pioneers of the Revolution. As soon as they were listened to, the end became certain. They exposed the wrongs and pointed out the privileges of all classes; but while they did this, they at the same time advocated principles incompatible with the interests of civilized society. The executive energy of Cromwell, and the financial ability of Colbert, might even at a late hour have opposed an effectual barrier; but Bonaparte rose to power too late and Mirabeau passed away before his career was completed. The lesson was intended to be taught; and well will it be for future generations if they lay it to their hearts, and imbibe wisdom from the study.

Foremost amongst those whose writings tended to inflame and pervert the public mind were Voltaire and Rousseau. The first of these had every possible requisite for such a task. Shrewd, calculating, and cunning as a fox; a wit without heart, an innovator without conscience, an expert handler of paradoxes, the light thin soil of whose mind could not nourish the tree of knowledge; acquainted with society in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest; a contemner, less from sound conviction than from the instincts of overweening self-conceit, of all systems of religion, government,

man to precipitate the great crisis of the Revolution. All who read could understand him. There was no affected mysticism in his manner; he was uniformly concise, lucid, and plausible, and set off his style by all the graces of the most sparkling wit and cutting sarcasm. His favourite mode of commencing an attack is by insinuation. He sneers away a moral system in a sentence, and disturbs faith in religion and humanity by a terse and sparkling allegory. That he effected some good in his generation is unquestionable. He denounced the avarice and negligence of the higher orders of the priesthood; lashed the insane rage for war, then so general on the continent; exposed the vices and imbecility of the noblesse; and did not spare even the throne itself. Had he stopped here, he would have deserved praise; but his restless intellect spurned all decent restraints, perversely confounding the distinctions between truth and falsehood, absurdity and common-sense. Cynical by nature, the crimes and utter callousness which he observed amongst the higher classes made him a sceptic to all generous emotions; as the corruption of the privileged clergy made him reject all belief in Christianity. Hazlitt, who of all men in the world was the least likely to underrate him, has well observed that "the poisoned wound he inflicted was so fine as scarcely to be felt, until it rankled and festered in its mortal consequences; and he loved to reduce things below their level, making them all alike seem worthless and hollow!"

Of a far different order of intellect, but in his way equally influential, was Voltaire's great rival, Rousseau. The object of this insidious sentimentalist was—in politics, to bring about republicanism; in ethics, to subvert the entire framework of society, and introduce universal licence; in religion, to do away with faith grounded on the convictions of reason, and to substitute in its stead the cant of instinct and sensibility. His specious, shallow, tinsel eloquence, which was mistaken for the sterling ore of thought, turned the brain of all France. Because his ideas were eccentric, they were accounted profound; and his studied indecency was received as the prompting of a healthy and impassioned temperament. We who live in more enlightened times, when the public

mind is able to detect the true from the false, and if crazed for a season by some pet crotchet, never fails soon to right itself, can scarcely imagine the effect which Voltaire and Rousseau, assisted by the Encyclopædists, produced in their day. That a convulsion would have taken place, even without their aid, is unquestionable; but equally certain is it that they greatly contributed to hurry on the crisis. The effects of their writings may easily be traced in the wild speculations of the unworldly Girondins, the republican cant of the Dantonists, and the unblushing atheism of the worshippers of the Goddess of Reason.

The radical defect of all Rousseau's writings was the substitution of sentiment for principle. Never was man so glaringly deficient in what may be called the moral sense. His mind "wore motley," and was made up of inconsistencies. While he professed to inculcate a system of the purest ethics, he lived in avowed adultery with a woman old enough to be his mother; and wrote upon the duties owing by parents to their children, while he sent his own to the Foundling Hospital! That he was actuated throughout his literary career by no better feeling than a mere morbid craving for notoriety, is evident from one of his published conversations with Burke, wherein he observes, that finding that the ordinary vehicle of literature was worn out, he took upon himself the task of renewing the springs, repainting the panels, and gilding the whole machine afresh. In other words, he was solely anxious to create a sensation, no matter how eccentric were the means which he employed for that purpose.

Voltaire and Rousseau lived and wrote exclusively for effect. Yet it has been urged by those who, seduced by their talents, would fain make excuses for their sophistries, that both acted from the best intentions. This is pure cant—the plea urged by every knave for his offences against society. The bar of the Old Bailey is filled every session with the best intentions; they figure unequivocally in the police-offices, people the vast pasturages of Australia, and form—says the quaint old Spanish proverb—the pavement of hell itself!

While these and other malign influences were at work,

the grand struggle for independence took place in America. This event startled France like a thunder-clap. Adieu now to all hope of escape from revolution! The heather is on fire, and nothing can check the progress of the conflagration. Within the precincts of the palace, in the salons of fashion, and universally among the *tiers-état*, nothing is talked of but the gallantry of the transatlantic patriots. Washington is the hero—Franklin the philosopher of the day. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, and glad, no doubt, of such an opportunity of humbling the pride and increasing the difficulties of England—although his private correspondence would seem to show otherwise—Louis XVI. took the desperate resolution of supplying the revolted colonies with funds and troops. It was the misfortune of this Prince, who possessed many excellent private and public qualities, to do everything with the best intentions, and to succeed in nothing. “As for the King,” says Mr. Carlyle, in his eloquent analytical history of the Revolution, “he, as usual, will go waveringameleon-like, changing colour and purpose with the colour of his environment—good for no kingly use.” This is well observed of Louis. He was as “infirm of purpose” as Macbeth, swayed now by the counsels of the Queen, now by those of the Assembly, and giving a tenacious adhesion to neither. In assisting the American insurgents he took the most suicidal step that it was possible for monarch, situated as he was, to take; for when his troops returned home—and they constituted the flower of the young noblesse and the army—they brought back with them opinions and feelings until then proscribed in France; talked loudly of the duty of resistance to despotic authority; and thus communicated an irreparable shock to the tottering throne of Louis. The final blow, however, was given by the collapse of the national finances, the annual deficit of which, amounting to above seven millions sterling, compelled the reluctant monarch to summon the States-general, and thus admit the necessity of a radical change in the government—in other words, to sanction those innovations which could not terminate otherwise than in revolution.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION. xiii

And now the work appeared to be complete. The monarchy was abolished, the aristocracy annihilated; religious and moral responsibility was denounced as an empty chimera, and the new system universally proclaimed. But the elements of which it was compounded were discordant, and already, like the armed men produced by the dragon's teeth of Cadmus, they had begun to war on each other. There was hope yet if the disciples of liberty and equality, who refused to fraternize, had been left to themselves. Nothing could give them strength and permanence but unity; and unity could only come by a pressure from without. In evil hour that pressure was resorted to. The invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick, and subsequently by the allied armies of Austria and England, under Prince Cobourg, with the avowed objects of conquest and partition, settled the question definitively, and combined all parties in one blended feeling of national patriotism. From that moment the restoration of the monarchy became impossible, and the republic was firmly consolidated. A struggle of twenty years was the consequence of this fatal mistake!

LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

BORN AT MARSEILLES, APRIL 15, 1797,

EDUCATED AT THE LYCÉE AT MARSEILLES,

AVOCAT.

STARTED THE *NATIONAL* NEWSPAPER, JANUARY 1830,

CONSEILLER D'ETAT,

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,

MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND PUBLIC WORKS,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL,

PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

1871-1873,

DIED AT SAINT GERMAIN,

SEPTEMBER 3, 1877.

ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I.

ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE	<i>to face Title</i>
PORTRAIT OF THE DUC D'ORLEANS (EGALITÉ)	10
PORTRAIT OF MIRABEAU	26
PORTRAIT OF LAFAYETTE	62
ORGIES OF THE GARDES-DU-CORPS	90
PORTRAIT OF MARIE ANTOINETTE	96
RETURN OF THE ROYAL FAMILY FROM VARENNES	162
PORTRAIT OF MARAT	210
THE MOB AT THE TUILERIES	248
ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES	318

THE RELATIVES OF THE KING

LOUIS XV. = MARIA LECZINSKA,
(great grandson of daughter of the King
Louis XIV.), of Poland,
b. 1710, d. 1774, b. 1703, mar. 1725,
reigned 1715-1774. d. 1768.

PRINCESS MARIA of Spain = LOUIS (THE DAUPHIN) = MARIE JOSEPHINE,
b. 1729, d. 1765. daughter of the
King of Saxony
and Poland,
b. 1731, d. 1767.

LOUIS XVI. = b. 1754, <i>executed</i> 1793, reigned 1774-1793.	MARIE ANTOINETTE, daughter of the Emperor of Germany, b. 1755, mar. 1770, <i>executed</i> 1793.	LOUIS XVIII. = MARIE b. 1755, d. 1824, JOSEPHINE reigned 1814, LOUISE, 1815-1824. daughter of King of Sardinia, b. 1753, mar. 1771, d. 1810.	CHARLES X. = MARIA b. 1757, THERESA, d. 1836, daughter of reigned King of 1824-1830. Sardinia, b. 1756, mar. 1772, d. 1805.	MARIE = CHARLES ADELAIDE EMANUEL IV. CLOTILDE, of Sardinia. b. 1759, mar. 1802, d. 1802.	ELIZABETH, Infant. b. 1764, d. 1794.
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MARIA THERESA = LOUIS ANTOINE, CHARLOTTE DUC D'ANGOULÊME "FILIA DOLOROSA" (DAUPHIN), (MADAME ROYALE), b. 1778, d. 1844, d. 1778, mar. 1799, (<i>died without</i> d. 1851. <i>issue</i>).	"LOUIS XVII.," Two Infants. DUC DE NORMANDIE, b. 1785, d. 1795.
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CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789.

- May 5. OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT VERSAILLES—The *tiers-état*, 661 deputies; nobles, 285; clergy, 308; total, 1254.
6. Division between the different orders respecting the mode of verifying their powers.
 10. The electors of Paris declare themselves in permanent session.
 23. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *tiers-état*, the different orders meet separately. The clergy and nobility communicate to the *tiers-état* the renunciation of their privileges, and submit to pay their proportion of the public burdens.
- June 17. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, already joined by some of the clergy, declare their assembly to be the only legal one, and constitute themselves as *The National Assembly*. The Assembly declares all the taxes illegally imposed, but it authorizes the levy of them provisionally, *only till the day of its first separation*, from whatever cause that separation may proceed.
20. The oath of the tennis-court.
 23. Royal session of the States-general.
 27. The union of the several Orders in the National Assembly.
 30. The Parisians set at liberty the French guards imprisoned in the Abbaye.
- July 2-9. A great number of troops collected around Paris.
11. Change of the ministry. Dismissal of Necker.
 12. Riots in Paris. The Prince de Lambesc at the head of the German dragoons charges the populace in the Tuileries. Camille Desmoulins, in the garden of the Palais Royal, recommends an appeal to arms. The green cockade is assumed. Conflict between the French guards and a detachment of the Royal German regiment.
 13. First organization of the militia of Paris. The barriers attacked and burnt.
 14. STORMING OF THE BASTILLE. Massacre of the governor de Launay and Flesselles, *prévôt des marchands*. The red and blue cockade (the city colours) substituted for the green cockade.
 15. The King and his brothers repair to the National Assembly. The troops collected round Paris dismissed. Approval of the institutions of the national guard. The electors nominate Bailly mayor of Paris, and Lafayette general-in-chief of the national guard.

- July 16. Recall of Necker—Comte d'Artois and the Prince de Condé emigrate.
17. The King proceeds to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris. Bailly thus addresses him: "Sire, I bring you the keys of the city of Paris; they are the same which were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people; the people have reconquered their King." The assembled multitude applauded this address; the King assumed the red and blue cockade. His presence quiets the tumult.
22. Fresh disturbances on account of the dearness of corn. Massacre of Foulon and of Berthier de Sauvigny.
26. The tricoloured cockade adopted. On presenting it to the electors Lafayette predicts that it will make the tour of the world.
- Aug. 1. The cannon of Chantilly and of the Ile-Adam taken possession of and brought to Paris.
4. The National Assembly decrees that the constitution shall be preceded by the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. Spontaneous abolition of the feudal system and of all privileges in France.
18. Democratic insurrection at Liege.
23. Decree proclaiming liberty of opinions, religious as well as political.
31. Suppression and dissolution of the French guards.
- Sept. 9. The National Assembly declares itself to be permanently assembled.
10. It adopts as a principle that the Legislative Body shall consist of only one chamber.
- Oct. 1. Declaration of the rights of man in society.
2. Entertainment given by the life-guards at Versailles.
- 5, 6. The populace at Versailles. The King and all his family are brought to Paris.
14. The Duc d'Orleans quits Paris for a time and goes to England.
19. The first sitting of the National Assembly at the archbishop's palace.
21. Decree conferring upon the tribunal of the Châtelet the cognizance of the crime of *high treason against the nation*. Martial law introduced.
- Nov. 2. Ecclesiastical property declared national property. The Abbé Maury, being threatened with death *à la lanterne*, escapes by saying to those who have come to attack him, "Well, and shall you see any the clearer for that, do you think?"
6. Institution of the society of "The Friends of the Constitution," which subsequently became "The Society of the Jacobins." The National Assembly transfers its place of meeting to the riding-house of the Tuilleries.
- Dec. 19. Creation of territorial assignats.
24. Decree declaring Frenchmen who are not Catholics admissible to all offices both civil and military.

1790.

- Jan. 15. Division of France into eighty-three departments.
- 21. Equality of punishments enacted, whatever the rank of the culprits.
- 26. The Assembly forbids its members to accept any office under government.
- Feb. 13. Abolition of monastic vows. Suppression of the religious orders.
- 19. Execution of the Marquis de Favras, declared guilty of high treason.
- 20. Lafayette proclaims, in the National Assembly, that *when oppression renders a revolution necessary, insurrection is the most sacred of duties.*
- Mar. 16. Abolition of "*lettres de cachet.*"
- 17. Appropriation of ecclesiastical property to the repayment of the assignats.
- 28. Suppression of the salt-tax.
- April 1. Publication of the "Red Book." The secret expenses of the Court had annually been at the lowest, in 1787, 82,000,000 livres, at the highest, in 1783, 145,000,000 livres.
- 29. Free trade in corn.
- 30. Institution of the jury.
- May 10. Massacre of the patriots at Montauban.
- 12. Institution, by Lafayette and Bailly, of the Society of 1789 (afterwards the club of the Feuillans) to counterbalance the influence of the Jacobin club.
- 22. The Assembly decrees that the right of declaring war and making peace belongs to the nation.
- June 3. Insurrection of the blacks in Martinique.
- 9, 10. The civil list fixed at 25,000,000 livres.
- 19. Abolition of nobility.
- July 10. Decree restoring to the heirs of dissenters expelled by the Edict of Nantes their confiscated property not yet sold.
- 14. First National Federation.
- Aug. 6. Abolition of the *droits d'aubaine* (seizing the property of aliens).
- 16. Justices of the peace instituted.
- 31. Revolt of the Swiss soldiers of Château-Vieux.
- Sept. 4. Dismissal and retreat of Necker.
- 6. Suppression of the parliaments.
- 10. Funding of the public debt.
- 29. Creation of 800,000,000 of forced assignats.
- Oct. 9. Insurrection of the mulattoes in St. Domingo.
- Nov. 4. Insurrection in the Isle of France.
- 27. Civil constitution of the clergy. Institution of the Tribunal of Cassation.
- Dec. 30. Institution of patents for inventions.

1791.

- Jan. 28. The French army is increased to the war establishment.
- Feb. 12. Abolition of the monopoly for the cultivation of tobacco.
19. Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.) gratifies the populace who surround his palace by assuring them that he will never emigrate.
 28. The leaders of the populace proceed to Vincennes and attempt to massacre the prisoners. The day of the Daggers. The nobles with concealed arms assemble at the Tuileries. The King, in order to prevent a conflict between them and the national guards, commands them to lay down their arms. They obey, and are afterwards insulted and ill-used.
- April 2-4. DEATH AND FUNERAL OF MIRABEAU.
23. Louis apprizes the Foreign Courts that he has taken the oath to observe the *future* constitution.
- May 4. Annexation of Avignon and of the Comtat-Venaissin to France.
15. Admission of the free people of colour to an equality of political rights with the whites.
- June 2. Louis XVI., being intimidated, gives his consent to many decrees from which he had previously withheld it.
5. The decree passed, wresting from the King the privilege of pardoning criminals.
 10. Louis XVI. secretly protests against the sanctions which he has given to decrees, and also against those which he may hereafter give.
 19. Robespierre is elected public accuser for the tribunal of the Seine.
 - 21-25. FLIGHT TO AND RETURN FROM VARENNES. The emigration of Monsieur.
 26. The life-guards disbanded.
- July 6. Appeal of the Emperor Leopold to the sovereigns of Europe to unite for the deliverance of Louis XVI.
7. Louis XVI. disavows the armaments equipping by the emigrants.
 11. Petition for the King's dethronement. The remains of Voltaire transferred to the Pantheon.
 17. The unfurling of the red flag.
 21. Institution for the deaf and dumb established.
 25. Treaty of Berlin against France between Prussia and Austria.
 30. Suppression of decorations and orders of knighthood.
- Aug. 17. Decree enjoining emigrants to return to France.
27. Treaty of Pilnitz intended to consolidate the coalition.
- Sept. 3-13. Completion and presentation of the constitution to the King.
14. Louis XVI. accepts the constitution and swears to maintain it.
 29. Decree relative to the national guard.
 30. Last sitting of the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly during the three years of its existence enacted 1309 laws and decrees relative to legislation or to the general administration of the State.
- Oct. 1. FIRST SITTING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.
5. Commencement of the famine. The farmers refuse to take assignats in payment for corn. Decree taking from the King the titles of Sire and Your Majesty.

- Oct. 14. The King issues a proclamation to the emigrants exhorting them to rally round the constitution.
- 16. He writes to his brothers to induce them to return to France. All the men of talent in Europe are invited by the Assembly to communicate their opinions on the civil code. The minister at war announces that 1900 officers have left their regiments and emigrated.
- 28. Decree requiring Monsieur to return to France within two months, upon the penalty of being deprived of his right to the regency.
- 30. Massacres at Avignon. The slaughtered prisoners are thrown into an ice-pit.
- Nov. 12. The King refuses to sanction the decree against the emigrants.
- 17. Petion is elected mayor of Paris.
- 22. Port-au-Prince (St. Domingo) burnt.
- 26. Chabot enters the King's presence with his hat on.
- 29. The Assembly requires the King to call upon the princes of the empire not to allow the assembling of emigrants in their territories.
- Dec. 2. Manuel elected *procureur-syndic* of the commune.
- 14. The King announces to the Assembly that he will declare war if the Foreign Courts disregard his declarations in favour of the Revolution.
- 19. The King puts his veto to the decrees relative to priests who refuse to take the civic oath.
- 20. Notification, in the name of the King, to the Elector of Trèves to disperse the emigrants collected in his States.
- 31. The Assembly suppresses the ceremony usual on New Year's Day.

1792.

- Jan. 1. The King's brothers, as emigrants, are decreed under accusation.
- 23, 24. First pillage of the grocers of Paris.
- Feb. 7. Treaty between Austria and Prussia to *quell the disturbances in France*.
- 9. The property of emigrants sequestered.
- Mar. 1. Death of Leopold II. His son Francis succeeds him.
- 2. Institution of the King's constitutional guard.
- 3. Murder of the mayor of Etampes in the execution of his duty.
- 19. Amnesty granted to the assassins of Avignon.
- 28. Decree admitting men of colour and free negroes to the exercise of political rights.
- 29. Assassination of Gustavus III., King of Sweden.
- 30. Appropriation of the property of emigrants to defray the expenses of the war.
- April 6. Suppression of religious communities. Prohibition of ecclesiastical costumes.
- 20. Declaration of war against Austria.
- 28. First hostilities and reverses in Belgium. General Theobald Dillon murdered by his soldiers.

- May 3. Decrees of accusation passed against Royou, author of *L'Ami du Roi*, and Marat, author of *L'Ami du Peuple*.
29. The King's paid guard disbanded. The National Assembly constitutes itself in permanent session.
- June 8. Decree ordaining the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris. Opposed by the King.
- 12, 13. Dismissal of the ministers Servan, Roland, and Clavières.
20. The populace at the Tuilleries.
26. First continental coalition against France.
28. Lafayette appears at the bar to demand, *in the name of his army*, the punishment of the authors of the outrage of the 20th.
- July 7. Francis II. elected Emperor of Germany.
9. All the ministers of Louis XVI. resign.
11. Decree declaring the country in danger.
14. Third Federation.
30. Arrival of the Marseillais in Paris.
- Aug. 10. The Tuilleries attacked and stormed.
11. SUSPENSION OF THE ROYAL AUTHORITY. An executive council formed.
13. Imprisonment of the King and the royal family in the Temple.
- 13-21. The foreign ambassadors leave Paris.
14. Decree directing the sale of the property of the emigrants.
18. Flight of Lafayette after attempting in vain to induce his army to rise in favour of Louis XVI., and the constitution.
- 28, 29. Law ordaining domiciliary visits.
- Sept. 2. Confiscation of the property of the emigrants.
- 2-6. Massacres in the prisons of Paris.
9. Massacre of the prisoners from Orleans at Versailles.
16. The Garde-Meuble robbed of the jewels and precious stones belonging to the crown.
20. Battle of Valmy.
21. Closing of the Legislative Assembly, after passing, between the 1st of October 1791 and this date, 2140 decrees relative to administration or legislation. Opening of the National Convention. Abolition of royalty. Proclamation of the republic.
22. Commencement of the republican era. Decree ordaining the renewal of all the administrative, municipal, and judicial bodies, *as suspected of being gangrened with royalism*.
23. Entry of the French into Chambery. Conquest of Savoy.
28. Nice taken.
29. Louis XVI. separated from his family and removed to the great tower of the Temple.
- Oct. 8. The siege of Lille raised, after an heroic defence by its inhabitants.
9. Law ordaining the *immediate death* of every emigrant taken *in arms*.
10. The titles of *citoyen* and *citoyenne* adopted instead of *monsieur* and *madame*.
15. Suppression of the order of St. Louis.
22. Entire evacuation of the French territory by the allies.

- Oct. 23. Law banishing the emigrants in mass and for ever, and decreeing the penalty of death against all, without distinction of age or sex, who shall return to France. Confiscation of their property.
- Nov. 6. Victory of Jemappes.
 - 7. Decree for putting Louis XVI. upon his trial.
 - 19. The Convention, by a decree, promises aid and succour to all those nations which may desire to overthrow their governments.
 - 20. Discovery of the Iron Chest.
- Dec. 4. Decree pronouncing the penalty of death against all who shall propose or attempt to restore royalty in France.
 - 11. First examination of Louis XVI.
 - 16. Decree banishing the Bourbons, with the exception of the prisoners in the Temple and Philip Egalité (the Duc d'Orleans), respecting whom the Convention reserves to itself the right of deciding hereafter. Philip Egalité continues to sit in the Convention.
 - 25. Louis XVI. writes his will.
 - 26. Defence of Louis XVI. delivered by Desèze.
 - 27. Commencement of the debates in the National Convention.
 - 31. England refuses to recognize the minister of the French republic.

1793.

- Jan. 13. Basseville murdered at Rome.
 - 14. End of the debates in the Convention relative to Louis XVI.
 - 15-20. Votes and scrutinies for the sentence on Louis XVI., the appeal to the people, the reprieve, &c.
 - 20. Notification to Louis XVI. of the sentence of death pronounced upon him. Last interview of the King with his family. Murder of Lepelletier St. Fargeau.
 - 21. EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.
 - 24. The Convention in a body attends the funeral of Lepelletier, to whose remains are awarded the honours of the Pantheon.
 - 28. Louis Xavier (Monsieur) assumes the title of Regent of France, and proclaims Louis XVII. King.
 - 31. Incorporation of the county of Nice with France.
- Feb. 1. The Convention declares war against England and Holland.
 - 24. Decree ordaining the levy of 300,000 men.
 - 25, 26. Plunder of the grocers' shops in Paris.
- Mar. 5. The colonies declared in a state of siege.
 - 7. The Convention declares war against Spain.
 - 9. Commissioners of the Convention sent with unlimited powers into the departments. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. First coalition against France formed by England, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, the Roman States, Sardinia, and Piedmont.
 - 10, 11. Institution of the revolutionary tribunal.
 - 12. Committees of *surveillance* established in Paris.
 - 11-15. Insurrection in La Vendée. Cholet taken by the insurgents.

- Mar. 18. Battle of Neerwinden.
 21. Decree ordaining the punishment of death against all who shall propose an agrarian law.
 25. Institution of the committee of general safety.
- April 1. Defection of Dumouriez.
 6. The committee of public welfare instituted by a law.
 9. Apprehension of the Duc d'Orleans (Egalité), and imprisonment at Marseilles of all the members of the family of the Bourbons not confined in the Temple. Representatives of the people sent to the republican armies.
 13. Marat decreed under accusation by the Convention.
 17. The Spaniards overrun Roussillon.
 24. Marat acquitted, and carried in triumph to the hall of the Convention.
- May 4. A *maximum* fixed for the price of corn and flour.
 10. First meeting of the Convention at the Tuilleries.
 18. The Girondins obtain the institution of the commission of the twelve to watch the motions of agitators.
 20. Forced loan of 1000 millions imposed upon the rich.
 26. Insurrection in Corsica.
 29. Insurrection in Lyons against the Jacobins.
- June 1, 2. } Revolution of May 31. Downfall of the Girondins.
 5. Federalist insurrection at Marseilles and Caen.
 8. Blockade of the ports of France by England.
 9. Protest of 73 deputies against the acts of the Convention on the 31st of May and the 2nd of June.
 10. Saumur taken by the Vendéans. A decree that absolute necessities shall not be taxed.
 21-24. Insurrection in St. Domingo. The Cape burned.
 23. Martial law repealed.
 29. The constitution submitted to the primary assemblies.
 28, 29. Nantes attacked by the Vendéans.
- July 3. Decree commanding the siege of Lyons.
 4. Foundlings named the children of the country.
 13. MARAT ASSASSINATED BY CHARLOTTE CORDAY.
 24. Capitulation of Mayence.
 26. Establishment of telegraphs.
 27. Robespierre nominated a member of the committee of public welfare.
 28. Capitulation of Valenciennes.
- Aug. 1. Marie Antoinette removed to the Conciergerie.
 7. Decree declaring Pitt an enemy of mankind.
 8. Suppression of all academies and literary societies.
 10. The constitution of 1793 accepted by the deputies of 44,000 communes of the republic.
 15. Institution of the great book of the public debt.
 22. Adoption of the first eight heads of the civil code.
 23. Law ordaining the levy *en masse*.
- Sept. 5. Decree enacting that a revolutionary army shall travel over the departments with artillery and a guillotine.
 7, 8. Victory gained over the English at Hondschoote.

- Sept. 11. Establishment of the *maximum* for corn and flour.
- 15. Investment and siege of Toulon.
- 17. Law of the suspected.
- Oct. 10. Lyons taken by the army of the Convention. The government declared revolutionary till a peace.
- 15, 16. Victory of Wattignies. The blockade of Maubeuge raised.
- 16. MARIE ANTOINETTE CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED.
- 17-19. Defeat of the Vendéans at Chollet. Passage of the Loire.
- 31. The Girondins executed.
- Nov. 6. The Duc d'Orleans (Philip Egalité) executed.
- 10. The Catholic worship superseded by that of Reason. Revolutionary massacres at Lyons.
- 11. Bailly executed.
- 16. Lotteries suppressed.
- Dec. 4. Organization of the revolutionary government.
- 12, 13. The Vendéans defeated at Mans.
- 20. Toulon retaken.
- 22. The Vendéans defeated at Savenay.
- 26, 27. The lines of Weissenburg retaken. The blockade of Landau raised.

1794.

- Jan. 1. Decree enacting that every condemned general shall be executed at the head of his army.
- 4. Noirmoutiers taken. D'Elbée executed.
- 16. Marseilles declared rebellious and to have lost its name.
- 21. Decree enacting that the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. shall be celebrated as a national festival. Drownings (*noyades*) at Nantes.
- Feb. 4. Decree abolishing slavery in the colonies. The negroes declared French citizens. Decree enacting that sentences upon ecclesiastics shall be executed without appeal.
- 15. The Convention determines that the national flag shall be composed of three vertical stripes of equal breadth—red, white, and blue.
- 22. A *maximum* fixed for articles of ordinary consumption.
- 24. Decree qualifying denouncers to be heard as witnesses.
- Mar. 5. Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., executed.
- 22. Decree proclaiming justice and integrity the order of the day.
- April 1. The executive council suppressed and succeeded by twelve commissions composed of members of the Convention, and subordinate to the committee of public welfare.
- 4. Decree enacting that accused persons brought before the revolutionary tribunal *who resist the national justice* shall not be allowed to plead, and sentenced forthwith.
- 5. Decree that every member of the Convention shall give an account of his conduct, moral and political, and of his circumstances.
- 14. Decree that the remains of J. J. Rousseau shall be removed to the Pantheon.

- April 16. Decree that all those who live without doing anything, and complain of the Revolution, shall be transported to Guiana.
- May. 7. The Convention acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being.
10. MADAME ELIZABETH, SISTER OF LOUIS XVI., EXECUTED.
18. Victory of Turcoing.
22. Execution of young women at Verdun.
26. Decree that no quarter be given to the English and Hanoverians. Collioure, St. Elme, and Port-Vendres retaken.
- June 1. Establishment of the School of Mars in the plain of Sablons. Sea-fight of the 13th of Prairial. Heroism of the crew of the *Vengeur*.
8. Festival of the Supreme Being.
10. Decree that any moral document may be used as evidence against a person accused before the revolutionary tribunal; and that there shall be in future no official defenders.
23. Battle of Croix-des-Bouquets.
25. Charleroi taken.
26. Decree that corn and forage of this year's growth be put in requisition. Victory of Fleurus.
- July 4. Decree that the foreign garrisons in French fortresses, which refuse to surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons, shall be put to the sword.
6. Landrecies retaken.
- 26 (8th of Thermidor). Robespierre at the Jacobin club.
- 27, 28 (9th and 10th of Thermidor). DOWNFALL OF ROBESPIERRE.
29. Execution of eighty-three members of the general council of the commune outlawed on the 27th.
- Aug. 1. Fouquier-Tinville apprehended.
12. A new revolutionary tribunal installed.
16. Quesnoy retaken.
23. All persons of seventy in confinement set at liberty.
24. Decree limiting the powers of the committee of public welfare.
- 27-30. Valenciennes and Condé retaken.
31. Explosion of the powder magazine at Grenelle, by which fifteen hundred persons lose their lives. Decree for checking the progress of Vandalism. The monuments of the arts and sciences placed under the care of the authorities.
- Sept. 1. Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois, turned out of the committee of public welfare. That committee had been prorogued and re-elected fourteen times successively.
10. Attempt to assassinate Tallien.
24. Destruction of the English settlements at Sierra Leone.
- Oct. 2. Victory of Aldenhoven.
7. Lyons resumes its name.
10. Institution of the Conservatory of Arts and Trades.
12. The Convention forbids all political correspondence between popular societies in their collective name.
20. The Normal School instituted.
23. The School of Mars suppressed.

- Nov. 1. Great dearth. The inhabitants of Paris receive but two ounces of bread per day. The busts of Marat and Lepelletier destroyed. The body of Marat dragged from the Pantheon and thrown into a sewer.
9. The Jacobins attacked by the Gilded Youth.
12. Decree suspending the meetings and closing the hall of the Jacobin club.
- 17-20. Battle of Montagne Noire, in which the two commanders-in-chief, Dugommier and La Union, are slain.
- Dec. 2. Amnesty offered to the Vendéans and Chouans who shall lay down their arms within a month.
8. The deputies proscribed on the 31st of May 1793, readmitted into the Convention.
9. Decree that *in future the secrecy of letters shall not be violated in the interior.*
- 16, 17. Carrier condemned and executed.
24. The laws of the *maximum* repealed.
30. The decree enacting that no quarter shall be given to the English and Hanoverians repealed.

1795.

- Jan. 19. Declaration of Russia that "there is no longer either a kingdom or republic of Poland." The French enter Amsterdam. Conquest of Holland.
20. A Dutch fleet taken by French cavalry.
- Feb. 2. Repeal of the penal laws issued against Lyons.
6. Holland abolishes the stadtholdership, and constitutes itself a republic.
9. Treaty of peace between France and Tuscany.
15. First pacification of La Vendée, called the pacification of La Jaunaie.
- Mar. 2. The late members of the committee of public welfare placed under accusation.
8. The outlawed deputies readmitted into the Convention.
15. Decree that each inhabitant of Paris shall be allowed but one pound of bread per day; labouring people only to have a pound and a half.
21. Institution of the Central School of Public Works (afterwards the Polytechnic School). Law against seditious assemblies.
- April 1 (12th Germinal). Transportation of the late members of the committee of public welfare.
5. Treaty of peace between the French republic and the King of Prussia.
7. Establishment of the uniformity of weights, measures, and coins, upon the decimal system.
4. Massacres in the prisons of Lyons.

- May 7. Execution of Fouquier-Tinville and fifteen jurors of the revolutionary tribunal.
16. Alliance between the French and the Batavian republics.
- 17-19. Jacobin insurrection at Toulon.
20. Disturbances of the 1st of Prairial.
22. Insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine.
24. Disarming of the Faubourg St. Antoine and the sections of Paris.
30. The public exercise of the Catholic religion authorized.
31. The extraordinary revolutionary criminal tribunal suppressed.
- June 1-5. Insurrection at Toulon quelled.
2. Funeral honours paid to Féraud, the deputy, murdered on the 1st of Prairial.
8. DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN, SON OF LOUIS XVI.
17. Death of Romme, Goujon, Soubrani, &c.
24. Charette again takes up arms in La Vendée.
27. Institution of a police legion for the safeguard of Paris.
- July 21. The emigrants lay down their arms at Quiberon.
22. Treaty of peace between France and Spain signed at Basle.
- Aug. 3. Institution of the Conservatory of Music.
22. The new constitution, called the constitution of the year III., adopted.
23. Decree definitely dissolving the popular societies.
30. Decree enacting that two-thirds of the members of the new Legislative Assemblies shall be, for the first time only, exclusively chosen from the National Convention.
- Sept. 23. Proclamation of the acceptance of the constitution of the year III. by the people.
- Oct. 1. Belgium and all the conquered countries on the left bank of the Rhine incorporated with the republic.
2. Landing of Comte d'Artois in Ile-Dieu.
5. Insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire.
25. Formation of the Institute decreed.
26. End of the National Convention, after passing 8370 decrees.
28. First meeting of the Council of the Ancients and the Council of the Five Hundred.
- Nov. 1. FORMATION OF THE DIRECTORY. Laréveillère-Lepaux le Tourneur, Rewbel, Barras, and Carnot, chosen directors.
4. The Directory establishes itself at the Luxembourg.
17. Evacuation of the Ile-Dieu.
- 23-27. Battle and victory of Loano.
- Dec. 26. The daughter of Louis XVI. exchanged for—(1) The representatives and General Beurnonville, delivered up to the Austrians by Dumouriez; (2) Maret and Semonville, diplomatic envoys, seized by the Austrians in 1793; (3) Drouet, the ex-conventionalist, made prisoner in 1792.

1796.

- Jan. 1. Institution of the ministry of the police.
- Feb. 2. The twelve municipalities of Paris installed.
- 24. Stofflet, again in arms in La Vendée, taken and shot.
- Mar. 29. Charette shot at Nantes.
- April 2-9. Insurrection in Berry, which is quelled immediately.
- 11, 12. Battle of Montenotte.
- 13, 14. Battle of Millesimo.
- 22. Battle of Mondovi.
- May 10. Battle at the bridge of Lodi.
- 15. Treaty of peace between the French republic and the King of Sardinia. The French enter Milan.
- June 4. Battle of Altenkirchen gained by Jourdan.
- 21. Armistice granted to the Pope by Bonaparte.
- 23. Moreau crosses the Rhine at Kehl.
- 29. The castle of Milan taken.
- July 9. Battle of Ettlingen gained by Moreau.
- Aug. 5. Victory of Castiglione.
- 15. Definitive pacification of La Vendée.
- 18. Offensive and defensive alliance between France and Spain.
- Sept. 5. The French enter Trent.
- 8. Battle of Bassano.
- 15. Battle of St. George. Wurmser blockaded in Mantua.
- Oct. 2. Battle of Biberach gained by Moreau.
- 8. Spain declares war against England.
- 10. Treaty of peace between the republic and the King of the Two Sicilies.
- 22. Corsica retaken from the English.
- Nov. 15-17. Victory of Arcole.
- Dec. 20. Rupture of the conferences opened at Paris with Lord Malmesbury.
- 24-27. Expedition to Ireland ; productive of no result.

1797.

- Jan. 9. Capitulation of Kehl, after the trenches had been opened forty-eight hours.
- 14, 15. Battle of Rivoli.
- 16. Battle of La Favorita. Capitulation of Provera.
- Feb. 2. Mantua taken.
- 5. Surrender of the *île de pont* of Huninguen.
- 19. Treaty of peace of Tolentino between the French republic and the Pope.

- Mar. 16. Passage of the Tagliamento.
- April 15. Preliminaries of peace between France and Austria signed at Leoben.
 - 18. Battle of Neuwied gained by Hoche.
 - 20, 21. Passage of the Rhine at Diersheim, by Moreau.
- May 16. The French enter Venice. Overthrow of the old Venetian government.
 - 31. Revolution at Genoa. Creation of the Ligurian republic.
- June 28. Occupation of Corfu.
- July 9. Establishment of the Cisalpine republic.
- Aug. 24. Repeal of all the laws relative to the exile or confinement of priests refusing to take the oath.
- Sept. 4. Violent proceeding of the 18th of Fructidor.
 - 17. Rupture of the conferences at Lille opened for peace with England.
 - 19. Death of General Hoche.
 - 30. Law for dividing the public debt into three thirds, of which one only is consolidated.
- Oct. 17. Treaty of peace signed at Campo Formio between France and Austria.
- Dec. 9. Opening of the congress of Rastadt.
 - 10. Solemn reception of General Bonaparte by the Directory.
 - 18. Riot at Rome. Murder of General Duphot—The French legation leaves the Papal territories.

1798.

- Jan. 1. Law concerning the constitutional organization of the colonies.
 - 5. Forced loan of eighty millions to defray the expense of the preparations for an invasion of England.
 - 27. Invasion of Switzerland.
- Feb. 10. Abolition of the Papal government. The Roman republic proclaimed.
- Mar. 1. The Rhine acknowledged by the congress of Rastadt as the boundary of the French republic.
 - 5. Berne taken.
- April 17. Organization of the national gendarmerie.
 - 19. Landing of the English near Ostend; all killed or taken.
 - 26. Incorporation of Geneva with France.
- May 1. Holland reconstitutes itself by the name of the Batavian republic.
 - 9. The English evacuate St. Domingo.
 - 19. Sailing of the expedition for Egypt.
- June 10-13. Taking of Malta.
- July 1-3. Landing in Egypt.
 - 21. Battle of the Pyramids.
 - 27. Suspension of commercial relations between France and America.
- Aug. 1, 2. Sea-fight of Aboukir.
 - 21. Creation of the Institute of Egypt.

- Aug. 22. Landing in Ireland of 1150 French under the command of Humbert, to join the Irish rebels.
- Sept. 5. Establishment of the conscription.
 - 8. Humbert, attacked by the English army, is forced to surrender.
 - 12. The Porte declares war against France.
- Oct. 8. Battle of Sedyman.
 - 22-24. Insurrection at Cairo.
- Nov. 24. Imposition of a tax on doors and windows.
- Dec. 5. Battle of Civita Castellana. Defeat of 40,000 Neapolitans under General Mack, by 6000 French under Macdonald.
 - 6. Declaration of war against the Kings of Naples and Sardinia.
 - 9. Ratification of the treaty of peace between the French and Helvetic republics.
 - 8-10. Occupation of Turin by General Joubert. The King of Sardinia cedes Piedmont to France.
 - 15. Reoccupation of Rome by Championnet.
 - 18. Treaty of alliance between England and Russia against France.

1799.

- Jan. 23. Naples taken by Championnet.
- Mar. 1-4. Hostile movements of the French and Austrian armies on the Rhine.
 - 7. Coire taken. Conquest of the country of the Grisons by the French.
 - 10. Expedition to Syria. Jaffa taken.
 - 25. Defeat of the French at Stockach.
 - 27. Seizure of Pope Pius VI., who is carried to France.
 - 16. Victory of Mount Tabor.
- April 27. Defeat of the French at Cassano.
 - 28. Murder of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.
- May 21. The army of the East raises the siege of Acre.
 - 24. The citadel of Milan taken by Suwarrow.
- June 8. Zurich taken by the Archduke Charles.
 - 17, 18. Events of the 30th of Prairial. Three of the directors are turned out by the Legislative Body.
 - 17-19. Defeat of the French at the Trebbia.
- July 12. Law authorizing the relatives of emigrants and nobles to be seized as hostages.
 - 25. Victory of the French at Aboukir.
 - 30. Mantua taken by the Austrians.
- Aug. 15. Defeat of the French at Novi.
 - 22. General Bonaparte quits Egypt.
 - 29. Death of Pope Pius VI., detained a captive at Valence.
- Sept. 19. Defeat of the Anglo-Russian army at Bergen in Holland.
 - 25-29. Battle of Zurich. Defeat of the united Austrians and Russians.

xxxiii *CHRONOLOGY OF FRENCH REVOLUTION.*

Oct. 16. Arrival of Bonaparte in Paris.

18. Capitulation of Anglo-Russians at Alkmaer.

Nov. 9, 10. Revolution of the 18th Brumaire—Bonaparte proclaimed provisional Consul.

Dec. 16. Law organizing the Polytechnic School.

26. Constitution of the year VIII.—BONAPARTE NOMINATED FIRST CONSUL, Cambacérès and Lebrun associated with him as Second and Third Consuls.

APPENDICES.

A.

[Page 4.]

JACQUES NECKER.

"Jacques Necker was the son of a tutor in the college of Geneva. He began life as a clerk to M. Thellusson, a banker at Paris, whose partner he afterwards became, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years his fortune surpassed that of the first bankers. He then thought of obtaining some place under government; but he at first aimed only at the office of first commissioner of finance, to attain which he endeavoured to acquire a literary reputation, and published a panegyric on Colbert. Necker was beginning to enjoy some degree of reputation when Turgot was disgraced, and anxious to profit by the dissipation in which the new minister, Clugny, lived, he presented statements to M. de Maurepas in which he exaggerated the resources of the State. The rapid fortune of Necker induced a favourable opinion of his capacity, and after Clugny died, he was united with his successor, M. Taboureaux des Reaux, an appointment which he obtained partly by the assistance of the Marquis de Pezay. After eight months' administration, Necker, on the 2nd of July 1777, compelled his colleague to resign, and presented his accounts in 1781. Shortly after he endeavoured to take advantage of the public favour, and aspired to a place in the council. He insisted on it, and threatened to resign; but he was the dupe of his own presumption, and was suffered to retire. In 1787 he returned to France, and wrote against Calonne, who had accused him as the cause of the deficiency in the finances. This dispute ended in the exile of Necker; but in 1788, when the general displeasure against Brienne terrified the Court, he was again appointed controller-general, but feeling himself supported by the people, he refused to accept the post unless on the condition of not labouring in conjunction with the prime minister. Eager for popular applause, Necker hoped to govern everything by leading the King to hope for an increase of power, and the people for a speedy democracy, by the debasement of the higher orders and the parliaments. The report which he made to the council on the 27th of December 1788 respecting the formation of the States-general, proved the first spark which lighted the combustible matter that had long been prepared. On the 11th of July, when the Court thought fit to declare against the factions, Necker, who had become absolutely their sentinel in the very council of the King, was dismissed; but on the 16th the Assembly wrote him a letter, expressing their regret at his withdrawal, and informing him that they had obtained his recall. His return from Basle to Paris was one continued triumph. During the remainder of

the year he was constantly presenting new statements on the resources of the revenue; but he soon perceived that his influence was daily diminishing. At last the famous Red Book appeared, and completely put an end to his popularity; so that in the month of December he determined to fly, after having seen the populace tear from the gate of his house the inscription, 'To the adored minister.' He died at Geneva on the 9th of April 1804, after a short but painful illness."—*From a Memoir of Necker in the Biographie Moderne.*

B.

[Page 10.]

PHILIP EGALITÉ, DUC D'ORLEANS.

"Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc d'Orleans, one of the French princes of the blood, was born at St. Cloud, on the 13th of April 1747, and rendered the title of Duc de Chartres, which he bore till his father's death, celebrated by his depravity. He was in stature below the middle size, but very well made, and his features were regular and pleasing, till libertinism and debauchery covered them with red, inflamed pustules. He was very early bald, was skilled in all bodily exercises, kind and compassionate in his domestic relations, and endowed with good natural abilities, though ignorant and credulous. As he was to succeed the Duc de Penthièvre in the office of high-admiral, he thought fit in 1778 to make a naval campaign, and commanded the rear-guard of M. d'Orvilliers' fleet in the battle off Ushant, in which he was on board an 84-gun ship. It was then assiduously rumoured that the Duc de Chartres had concealed himself in the hold of the ship—which seems improbable, as the vessel in which he was, was never within reach of the cannon. The Court, however, took up this injurious anecdote, and when he appeared, overwhelmed him with epigrams; the King, too, instead of making him high-admiral, appointed him colonel-general of the hussars—a singular and contemptuous reward for sea-service, which is said to have partly laid the foundation of his hatred for Louis. Some time afterwards he ascended in a balloon; and as a few years before he had gone down into a mine, where he was said to have shown but little self-possession, it was stated that he had thought proper to show all the elements his cowardice. On the death of the Comte de Clermont he got himself appointed master of all the masonic lodges in France. In 1787 his father died, and he then took the title of Duc d'Orleans, and sought to render himself popular. By the advice of his creatures he opposed the King in the royal meeting on the 19th of November 1787, and was exiled to Villers-Cotterets; but in return for the sums he lavished on the journalists, he soon became the idol of the populace. Another method which he successfully put in practice to obtain the favour of the people, was to buy up corn, and then relieve those who were languishing under the artificial scarcity. In 1788-9 public tables were spread, and fires lighted, by his order, for the paupers of the metropolis, and sums of money were likewise distributed among them. In the very earliest meetings he protested against the proceedings of his chamber, and joined that of the *tiers-état* with the dissentient members of his order. From this period he divided his time between the meetings of

the National Assembly and those of his own advisers, who assembled first at the Palais Royal, and afterwards at Passy. On the 3rd of July he was nominated president of the National Assembly; but he refused the post, and busied himself in corrupting the regiment of French guards, and in preparing the events of July the 14th. Lafayette having menaced him with the tribunals if he did not leave France, he went over to England; but at the end of eight months returned, and was received with transport by the Jacobins. In 1791, M. Thevenard, before he resigned the administration of the marine, caused the Duke to be appointed admiral of France, for which the latter went to thank the King in person, and to assure him how grossly he had been misrepresented. When, however, he appeared at the levee, all the courtiers insulted him in the most outrageous manner, to which he would never be persuaded that their Majesties were not privy, and this excited his irreconcilable enmity against them. On the 15th of September 1792 the commune of Paris authorized him to assume the name of Egalité for himself and his descendants, and deputed him to the National Convention. When the King's trial took place the Duc d'Orleans voted for the death of his cousin with a degree of coolness which irritated the majority of the Jacobins themselves, and excited murmurs throughout the Assembly. On the fatal day he came to the Place de Louis XV., and was present during the execution, in an open carriage; as soon as the body was removed, he returned to the Palais Royal, and went in a carriage drawn by six horses to revel at Raincy with his accomplices. It was then said that the Prince of Wales, having been informed of his conduct on this occasion, tore in pieces his portrait, which he had left him. Towards the end of April, Robespierre caused his name to be erased from the list of Jacobins, though Egalité had sworn to the Convention on the 4th of the same month, that if his son (King Louis Philippe), who had just fled with Dumouriez, was guilty, the image of Brutus, which was before his eyes, would remind him of his duty. Soon afterwards a warrant was issued for his arrest; he was removed to the prisons of Marseilles, and after six months' captivity sent to take his trial at Paris. As a matter of course, the revolutionary tribunal found him guilty, and he was guillotined on the 6th of November 1793, when he was forty-six years of age. He shrugged his shoulders on hearing the people hiss and curse him as he was led to death, and cried out, 'They used to applaud me.'—*From an article in the Biographie Moderne.*

C.

[Page 24.]

THE 4TH OF MAY 1789.

I should not quote the following passage from the *Mémoires* of Ferrières if base detractors had not ventured to carp at everything in the scenes of the French Revolution. The passage which I am about to extract will enable the reader to judge of the effect produced upon the least plebeian hearts by the national solemnities of this grand epoch:—

"I yield to the pleasure of recording here the impression made upon me by this august and touching ceremony; I shall transcribe the account of it which I then wrote down whilst still full of what I had

felt. If this passage is not historical, it will perhaps have a stronger interest for some readers.

"The nobility in black coats, the other garments of cloth of gold, silk cloak, lace cravat, plumed hat turned up *à la Henri IV.*; the clergy in surplice, wide mantle, square cap; the bishops in their purple robes, with their rochets; the *tiers* dressed in black, with silk mantle and cambric cravat. The King placed himself on a platform richly decorated; Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, the princes, the ministers, the great officers of the Crown, were seated below the King; the Queen placed herself opposite to the King; Madame la Comtesse d'Artois, the Princesses, the ladies of the Court, superbly dressed and covered with diamonds, composed a magnificent retinue for her. The streets were hung with tapestry belonging to the Crown; the regiments of the French and Swiss guards formed a line from Notre-Dame to St. Louis; an immense concourse of people looked on, as we passed, in respectful silence; the balconies were adorned with costly stuffs, the windows filled with spectators of all ages of both sexes, lovely women elegantly attired: every face bespoke kindly emotion, every eye sparkled with joy; clapping of hands, expressions of the warmest interest, the looks that met us, and that still followed after we were out of sight . . . rapturous, enchanting scene, to which I should vainly strive to do justice! Bands of music, placed at intervals, rent the air with melodious sounds; military marches, the rolling of drums, the clang of trumpets, the noble chants of the priests, alternately heard, without discordance, without confusion, enlivened this triumphal procession to the temple of the Almighty.

"Plunged into the most delicious ecstasy, sublime but melancholy thoughts soon presented themselves to my mind. I beheld that France, my country, supported by Religion, saying to us, Desist from your puerile quarrels; this is the decisive moment which shall either give me new life or annihilate me for ever! Love of country, thou spakest to my heart! . . . What! shall a handful of ambitious madmen, base intriguers, seek by tortuous ways to disunite my country?—shall they found their destructive systems on insidious advantages?—shall they say to thee, Thou hast two interests; and all thy glory and all thy power, of which thy neighbours are so jealous, shall vanish like a light smoke driven by the southern blast? No, I swear to thee that my parched tongue shall cleave to my palate if ever I forget thy grandeurs and thy solemnities.

"What splendour this religious display shed over that wholly human pomp! Without thee, venerable Religion, it would have been but an empty parade of pride; but thou purifiest and sanctifiest, thou heightenest grandeur itself; the kings, the mighty of the age, they too, by at least a show of reverence, pay homage to the King of kings. . . . Yes, to God alone belong honour, empire, glory! Those sacred ceremonies, those hymns, those priests clothed in the dress of sacrifice, those perfumes, that canopy, that sun resplendent with gold and jewels. . . . I called to mind the words of the prophet: 'Daughters of Jerusalem, your King cometh; put on your nuptial robes, and hasten to meet him.' Tears of joy trickled from my eyes. My God, my country, my fellow-citizens, had become identified with myself.

"On their arrival at St. Louis the three orders seated themselves on benches placed in the nave. The King and Queen took their places beneath a canopy of purple velvet sprinkled with golden *fleurs-de-lis*; the princes, the princesses, the great officers of the Crown, and the ladies of the palace, occupied the space reserved for their Majesties. The host

was carried to the altar to the sound of the most impressive music. It was an *O salutaris Hostia*! This natural but true and melodious vocal performance, unencumbered by the din of instruments which drown the expression; this mass of voices, rising in well-regulated accord to heaven, convinced me that the simple is always beautiful, always grand, always sublime. . . . Men are idiots, in their vain wisdom, to treat as puerile the worship that is paid the Almighty. With what indifference do they view that moral chain which binds man to God, which renders Him visible to the eye, sensible to the touch! . . . M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nanci, delivered the discourse. Religion constitutes the strength of empires; religion constitutes the prosperity of nations. This truth, which no wise man ever doubted for a single moment, was not the important question to be treated in the august assembly; the place, the circumstance, opened a wider field: the Bishop of Nanci durst not or could not traverse it.

"On the following day the deputies met in the hall of the Ménus. The assembly was neither less imposing, nor the sight less magnificent, than the preceding day."—*Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrières*, tom. i.

D.

[Page 27.]

THE COMTE DE MIRABEAU.

"Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was born in 1749. Youthful impetuosity and ungoverned passions made the early part of his life a scene of disorder and misery. After having been some time in the army, he married Mademoiselle de Marignane, a rich heiress in the city of Aix; but the union was not fortunate, and his extravagant expenses deranging his affairs, he contracted debts to the amount of 300,000 livres, in consequence of which his father obtained from the Châtelet an act of lunacy against him. Enraged at this, he went to settle at Manosque; whence he was, on account of a private quarrel, some time afterwards removed, and shut up in the castle of If. He was then conveyed to that of Joux, in Franche-Comté, and obtained permission to go occasionally to Pontarlier, where he met Sophia de Ruffey, Marquise de Monmir, the wife of a president in the parliament of Besançon. Her wit and beauty inspired Mirabeau with a most violent passion, and he soon escaped to Holland with her, but was for this outrage condemned to lose his head, and would probably have ended his days far from his country, had not an agent of police seized him in 1777, and carried him to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained till December 1780, when he recovered his liberty. The French Revolution soon presented a vast field for his activity; and being rejected at the time of the elections by the nobility of Provence, he hired a warehouse, put up this inscription, 'Mirabeau, woollen draper,' and was elected deputy from the *tiers-état* of Aix: from that time the Court of Versailles, to whom he was beginning to be formidable, called him the Plebeian Count. On the day when the States opened, he looked at the monarch, who was covered with the Crown jewels, and said to those near him, 'Behold the victim already adorned!' He soon took possession of the tribune, and there discussed the most important matters in the organi-

zation of society. He had never at that time conceived the possibility of establishing a democracy in so immense a State as France. His motive for seeking popularity was solely that he might regulate a Court which he caused to tremble; but the Court committed the fault of not seeking to seduce his ambition. He then connected himself with the Duc d'Orleans, from whom he obtained certain sums that he wanted; but soon perceiving that it was impossible to make anything of such a clod, he broke off the intimacy in October 1789. If he was not one of the principal causes of the events which took place on the 5th and 6th of that month, the words he made use of before and during that time give reason to suppose he was no stranger to them. The next day he made the King new overtures, and repeated them shortly after, but they were invariably rejected; and he then considered how he should by new blows compel the sovereign and his council to have recourse to him. Not, however, till the end of the session did this take place; and then, by the intervention of Madame de Mercey and M. de Montmorin, his debts were paid, and a pension was granted him. From that time he devoted himself to strengthening the monarchy, and addressed to the King a statement on the causes of the Revolution, and the methods of putting a stop to it. It may be doubted whether he could have succeeded in this undertaking; but it is now certain that at the moment of his sudden death he was busied in a project for dissolving an Assembly which he could no longer direct. On the 16th of January 1791 he was appointed a member of the department of Paris, and on the 31st, president of the National Assembly. This being the period of his closest connection with the Court, he wished as president to acquire new celebrity, and show himself capable of directing the Assembly; a design which he executed with a degree of address admired even by his enemies. On the 28th of March he was taken ill, and died on the 2nd of April, at half-past eight in the morning, aged forty-two. So short an illness excited a suspicion at first that he had been poisoned, and all parties mutually accused each other of the crime; but when his body was opened, there appeared, as the physicians asserted, no marks of violence. When on his death-bed he said openly to his friends, 'I shall carry the monarchy with me, and a few factious spirits will share what is left.' At the moment of his death he retained all his fortitude and self-possession; on the very morning he wrote these words, 'It is not so difficult to die;' and at the instant when his eyes were closing, he wrote, 'To sleep.' His loss seemed to be considered as a public calamity, and it is remarkable that all parties, believing him to be in their interests, joined in regretting him. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp; all the theatres were shut; the deputies, the ministers, the members of all the authoritative assemblies, formed a procession which extended above a league, and which was four hours marching; and his body was placed in the Pantheon beside that of Descartes. In November 1793 his ashes were, by order of the Convention, removed thence, and scattered abroad by the people, who at the same time burned his bust in the Place de Grève, as an enemy to the republic, and one who had corresponded with the royal family. Thus did Mirabeau verify what he had himself said, 'that the Capitol was close to the Tarpeian rock, and that the same people who flattered him would have had equal pleasure in seeing him hanged.' Mirabeau was of middle stature; his face was disfigured by the marks of the small-pox; and the enormous quantity of hair on his head gave him some resemblance to a lion. He was of a lofty character, and had talents which were extraordinary, and some

which were sublime; his felicity of diction was unrivalled, and his knowledge of the human heart profound; but he was essentially a despot, and had he governed an empire, he would have surpassed Richelieu in pride, and Mazarin in policy. Naturally violent, the least resistance inflamed him; when he appeared most irritated, his expression had most eloquence; and being a consummate actor, his voice and gestures lent a new interest to all he said. His chief passion was pride; and though his love of intrigue was unbounded, it can be ascribed only to his pecuniary necessities. In the last year of his life he paid immense debts, bought estates, furniture, the valuable library of Buffon, and lived in a splendid style."—From the article "MIRABEAU," in the *Bio-graphie Moderne*.

E.

[Page 31.]

THE RESOLUTION OF CONCILIATION.

I think it right to state here the motives on which the Assembly of the commons founded the resolution which it was about to take. This first act, which commences the Revolution, being of high importance, it is essential to justify the necessity for it; and I think this cannot be done better than by the considerations which preceded the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commons. These considerations, as well as the *arrêté* itself, belong to the Abbé Sièyes.

"The Assembly of the commons, deliberating on the overture of conciliation proposed by the commissioners of the King, has deemed it incumbent on it to take at the same time into consideration the resolution (*arrêté*) which the nobility have hastened to adopt respecting the same overture.

"It has seen that the nobility, notwithstanding the acquiescence at first professed, soon introduced a modification which retracts it almost entirely, and that consequently their resolution (*arrêté*) on this subject cannot be considered as any other than a positive refusal.

"From this consideration, and because the nobility have not desisted from their preceding deliberations, in opposition to every plan of reunion, the deputies of the commons conceive that it has become absolutely useless to bestow any further attention on an expedient which can no longer be called conciliatory, since it has been rejected by one of the parties to be conciliated.

"In this state of things, which replaces the deputies of the commons in their original position, the Assembly judges that it can no longer wait inactive for the privileged classes without sinning against the nation, which has doubtless a right to require a better use of its time.

"It is of opinion that it is an urgent duty for the representatives of the nation, to whatever class of citizens they belong, to form themselves without further delay into an active Assembly, capable of commencing and fulfilling the object of their mission.

"The Assembly directs the commissioners who attended the various conferences called conciliatory, to draw up a report of the long and vain efforts of the deputies of the commons to bring back the classes of the privileged to true principles; it takes upon itself the exposition of the motives which oblige it to pass from a state of expectation to a

state of action; finally, it resolves that this report and these motives shall be printed at the head of the present deliberation.

"But since it is not possible to form themselves into an active Assembly without previously recognizing those who have a right to compose it—that is to say, those who are qualified to vote as representatives of the nation—the same deputies of the commons deem it their duty to make a last trial with the clergy and the nobility, who claim the same quality, but have nevertheless refused up to the present moment to make themselves recognized.

"Moreover, the Assembly having an interest in certifying the refusal of these two classes of deputies, in case they should persist in their determination to remain unknown, deems it indispensable to send a last invitation, which shall be conveyed to them by deputies charged to read it before them, and to leave them a copy of it, in the following terms:—

"GENTLEMEN,—We are commissioned by the deputies of the commons of France to apprise you that they can no longer delay the fulfilment of the obligation imposed on all the representatives of the nation. It is assuredly time that those who claim this quality should make themselves known by a common verification of their powers, and begin at length to attend to the national interest, which alone, and to the exclusion of all private interests, presents itself as the grand aim to which all the deputies ought to tend by one general effort. In consequence, and from the necessity which the representatives of the nation are under to proceed to business, the deputies of the commons entreat you anew, gentlemen, and their duty enjoins them to address to you, as well individually as collectively, a last summons to come to the hall of the States, to attend, concur in, and submit, like themselves, to the common verification of powers. We are at the same time directed to inform you that the general call of all the *baillages* convoked will take place in an hour, that the Assembly will immediately proceed to the verification, and that such as do not appear will be declared defaulters."

F.

[Page 42.]

THE CONSTITUTION.

I support with notes and quotations only such passages as are susceptible of being disputed. The question, whether we had a constitution, seems to me one of the most important of the Revolution; for it is the absence of a fundamental law that justifies our having determined to give ourselves one. On this point, I think it impossible to quote an authority more respectable and less suspicious than that of M. Lally-Tollendal. On the 15th of July 1789 that excellent citizen delivered a speech in the chamber of the nobility, the greater part of which is subjoined:—

"Long reproaches, tinctured, moreover, with considerable acrimony, have been made, gentlemen, against members of this Assembly, who, with equal pain and reserve, have expressed doubts on what is called our constitution. This subject has not perhaps a very direct connection with that at present under discussion; but since it has afforded ground for accusation, let it also furnish one for defence; and permit me to address a few words to the authors of those reproaches.

"You have assuredly no law which enacts that the States-general are an integral part of the sovereignty, for you are demanding one; and up to this day, sometimes a decree of council forbade them to deliberate, at others a decree of parliament annulled their deliberations.

"You have no law that fixes the periodical return of your States-general, for you are demanding one; and it is one hundred and seventy-five years since they were assembled.

"You have no law to protect your individual safety and liberty from arbitrary attacks, for you are demanding one; and during the reign of a King whose justice is known, and whose probity is respected by all Europe, ministers have caused your magistrates to be torn from the sanctuary of the laws by armed satellites. In the preceding reign all the magistrates in the kingdom were dragged from their seats, from their homes, and scattered by exile, some on the tops of mountains, others in the slough of marshes, all in situations more obnoxious than the most horrible of prisons. Go back still further, and you will find a hundred thousand *lettres de cachet* issued on account of paltry theological squabbles; and further still, and you see as many sanguinary commissions as arbitrary imprisonments: nay, you will find no spot on which you can repose till you come to the reign of your good Henry.

"You have no law which establishes the liberty of the press, for you are demanding one; and up to this time your thoughts have been enslaved, your wishes chained; the cry of your hearts under oppression has been stifled, sometimes by the despotism of individuals, at others by the still more terrible despotism of bodies.

"You have not, or at least you no longer have, a law requiring your consent to taxes, for you are demanding one; and for two centuries past you have been burdened with more than three or four hundred millions of taxes without having consented to a single one.

"You have no law which establishes the responsibility of all the ministers of the executive power, for you are demanding one; and the creators of those sanguinary commissions, the issuers of those arbitrary orders, the dilapidators of the public exchequer, the violators of the sanctuary of public justice, those who have imposed upon the virtues of one king, those who flattered the passions of another, those who brought disasters upon the nation, have been called to no account—have undergone no punishment.

"Lastly, you have no general, positive, written law, no diploma at once royal and national, no great charter, upon which rests a fixed and invariable order, from which each learns how much of his liberty and property he ought to sacrifice for the sake of preserving the rest, which ensures all rights, which defines all powers. On the contrary, the system of your government has varied from reign to reign, frequently from ministry to ministry: it has depended on the age and the character of one man. In minorities, under a weak prince, the royal authority, which is of importance to the prosperity and the dignity of the nation, has been indecently degraded, either by the great, who with one hand shook the throne, and with the other crushed the people, or by bodies which at one time seized with temerity what at another they had defended with courage. Under haughty princes who were flattered, under virtuous princes who were deluded, this same authority has been carried beyond all bounds. Your secondary powers, your intermediate powers, as you call them, have not been either better defined or more fixed. Sometimes the parliaments have laid it down as a principle that they could not interfere in affairs of State; at others, they have insisted

that it was their prerogative to discuss them as representatives of the nation. On the one hand were seen proclamations making known the will of the King; on the other, decrees in which the King's officers forbade in the King's name the execution of the King's orders. Among the Courts the like discord prevails; they quarrel about their origin, their functions; they mutually launch anathemas at each other by their decrees.

"I set limits to these details, which I could extend *ad infinitum*; but if all these are incontestable facts, if you have none of these laws which I have just enumerated and which you demand, or if, having them—and pay particular attention to this point—if, having them, you have not that which enforces their execution, that which guarantees their accomplishment and maintains their stability, explain to us what you understand by the word constitution, and admit at least that some indulgence is due to those who cannot help entertaining some doubts of the existence of ours. You are told continually to rally round this constitution: let us rather lose sight of that phantom, to substitute a reality in its stead. And as for the term *innovations*, as for the appellation of *innovators*, which is constantly levelled at us, let us admit that the first innovators are in our hands, that the first innovators are our instructions: let us respect, let us bless this happy innovation, which must put everything in its place, which must render all rights inviolable, all the authorities beneficent, and all the subjects happy.

"It is this constitution, gentlemen, that I wish for; it is this constitution that is the object for which we were sent hither, and which ought to be the aim of all our labours; it is this constitution which is shocked at the mere idea of the address that is proposed to us—an address which would compromise the King as well as the nation—an address, in short, which appears to me so dangerous that not only will I oppose it to the utmost, but that were it possible it could be adopted, I should feel myself reduced to the painful necessity of protesting solemnly against it."

G.

[Page 42.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

It may not be amiss to introduce here the summary of the instructions submitted to the National Assembly by M. de Clermont-Tonnerre. It is a good sketch of the state of opinions at this period throughout France. In this point of view the summary is extremely important, and though Paris exercised an influence upon the drawing up of these instructions, it is not the less true that the provinces had the greatest share in them.

Report of the Committee of Constitution, containing a Summary of the Instructions relative to this subject, read to the National Assembly by M. the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, in the sitting of July 27, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN,—You are called to regenerate the French empire: to this great work you bring both your own wisdom and the wisdom of your constituents."

We have thought it right first to collect and to present to you the suggestions scattered over the greater number of your instructions; we shall then submit to you the particular views of your committee, and those which it has been or shall be enabled to collect from the different plans and the different observations which have been or which shall be communicated or transmitted to it by the members of this august Assembly.

"It is of the first part of this labour, gentlemen, that we are about to render you an account.

"Our constituents, gentlemen, are all agreed upon one point: they desire the regeneration of the State; but some have expected it from the mere reform of abuses, and from the re-establishment of a constitution existing for fourteen centuries past, and which appeared to them capable of being yet revived, if the injuries which it has suffered from time, and the numerous insurrections of private interest against the public interest, were to be repaired.

"Others have considered the existing social system as so faulty that they have demanded a new constitution, and that with the exception of the monarchical government and forms, which it is an innate feeling of every Frenchman to love and to respect, and which they have ordered you to maintain, they have given to you all the powers necessary for creating a constitution, and for founding the prosperity of the French empire on sure principles, and on the distinction and regular constitution of all the powers. These latter, gentlemen, have thought that the first chapter of the constitution ought to contain a declaration of the rights of man, of those imprescriptible rights for the maintenance of which society was established.

"The demand of this declaration of the rights of man, so constantly misconceived, may be said to be the only difference that exists between the instructions which desire a new constitution, and those which demand only the re-establishment of that which they regard as the existing constitution.

"Both the one and the other have alike fixed their ideas upon the principles of monarchical government, upon the existence of the power and the organization of the Legislative Body, upon the necessity of the national assent to taxes, upon the organization of the administrative bodies, and upon the rights of the citizens.

"We shall advert, gentlemen, to these different subjects, and submit to you on each, as decision, the uniform results, and as questions, the differing or contradictory results presented by such of your instructions as it has been in our power to analyze or to procure the substance of.

"1. The monarchical government, the inviolability of the sacred person of the King, and the hereditary descent of the crown from male to male, are alike acknowledged and sanctioned by the great majority of the instructions, and are not called in question by any.

"2. The King is in like manner acknowledged as the depository of the executive power in all its plenitude.

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

"4. Some of the instructions assign to the King the legislative power, limited by the constitutional and fundamental laws of the kingdom; others admit that the King, in the interval between one session of the States-general and another, can, singly, make laws of police and administration, which shall be but provisional, and for which they require free registration in the sovereign courts; one *baillage* has even required that

the registration shall not take place without the consent of two-thirds of the immediate commissions of the district assemblies. The greater number of the instructions acknowledge the necessity of the royal sanction for the promulgation of the laws.

"With respect to the legislative power, most of the instructions recognize it as residing in the national representation, on condition of the royal sanction; and it appears that this ancient maxim of the capitularies, *Lex fit consensu populi et constitutione regis*, is almost generally adopted by your constituents.

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

"As to the convocation, some have declared that the States-general cannot be dissolved but by themselves; others, that the right of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving belongs to the King, on the sole condition, in case of dissolution, that he shall immediately issue a fresh convocation.

"As to the duration, some have required that the sessions of the States shall be periodical, and insisted that the periodical recurrence should not depend either on the will or the interest of the depositaries of authority; others, but in smaller number, have demanded the permanence of the States-general, so that the separation of the members should not involve the dissolution of the States.

"The system of periodical sessions has given rise to a second question: Shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission in the intervals between the sessions? The majority of your constituents have considered the establishment of an intermediate commission as a dangerous expedient.

"As to the composition, some have insisted on the separation of the three orders; but in regard to this point, the extension of the powers which several representations have already obtained, leaves, no doubt, a greater latitude for the solution of this question.

"Some *baillages* have demanded the junction of the two higher orders in one and the same chamber; others, the suppression of the clergy, and the division of its members between the other two orders; others, that the representation of the nobility should be double that of the clergy, and that both together should be equal to that of the commons.

"One *baillage*, in demanding the junction of the two higher orders, has demanded the establishment of a third, to be entitled the order of the farmers (*ordre des campagnes*). It has likewise been proposed, that any person holding office, employ, or place at Court, shall be disqualified to be a deputy to the States-general. Lastly, the inviolability of the persons of the deputies is recognized by the greater number of the *baillages*, and not contested by any. As to the mode of deliberation, the question of opinion by individuals and of opinion by orders is solved: some *baillages* require two-thirds of the opinions to form a resolution.

"The necessity of the national consent to taxes is generally admitted by your constituents, and established by all your instructions: all limit the duration of a tax to the period which you shall have fixed, a period which shall in no case extend further than from one convocation to another; and this imperative clause has appeared to all your constituents the surest guarantee of the perpetuity of your National Assemblies.

"Loans being but an indirect tax, they have deemed it right that they should be subjected to the same principles.

"Some *baillages* have excepted from imposts for a term such as should be destined for the liquidation of the national debt, and have expressed their opinion that these ought to be levied until its entire extinction.

"As to the administrative bodies, or provincial States, all the instructions demand of you their establishment, and most of them leave their organization to your wisdom.

"Lastly, the rights of the citizens, liberty, property, are claimed with energy by the whole French nation. It claims for each of its members the inviolability of private property, as it claims for itself the inviolability of the public property; it claims in all its extent individual liberty, as it has just established for ever the national liberty; it claims the liberty of the press, or the free communication of thought; it inveighs with indignation against *lettres de cachet* which dispose in an arbitrary manner of persons, and against the violation of the secrecy of the post, one of the most absurd and most infamous inventions of despotism.

"Amidst this concurrence of claims, we have remarked, gentlemen, some particular modifications relative to *lettres de cachet* and the liberty of the press. You will weigh them in your wisdom; you will no doubt cheer up that sentiment of French honour, which in its horror of disgrace has sometimes misconceived justice, and which will no doubt be as eager to submit to the law when it shall command the strong, as it was to withdraw itself from its control when it pressed only upon the weak; you will calm the uneasiness of religion, so frequently assailed by libels in the time of the prohibitory system; and the clergy, recollecting that licentiousness was long the companion of slavery, will itself acknowledge that the first and the natural effect of liberty is the return of order, of decency, and of respect for the objects of the public veneration.

"Such, gentlemen, is the account which your committee has conceived itself bound to render of that part of your instructions which treats of the constitution. You will there find, no doubt, all the foundation-stones of the edifice which you are charged to raise to its full height; but you will perhaps miss in them that order, that unity of political combination without which the social system will always exhibit numerous defects: the powers are there indicated, but they are not yet distinguished by the necessary precision; the organization of the national representation is not sufficiently established, the principles of eligibility are not laid in them: it is from your labours that those results are to spring. The nation has insisted on being free, and it is you whom it has charged with its enfranchisement: the genius of France has hurried, as it were, the march of the public mind. It has accumulated for you in a few hours the experience which could scarcely be expected from many centuries. You have it in your power, gentlemen, to give a constitution to France: the King and the people demand one: both the one and the other have deserved it.

"Result of the Analysis of the Instructions.

"AVOWED PRINCIPLES.

"Art. 1. The French government is a monarchical government.

"2. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred.

"3. His crown is hereditary from male to male.

"4. The King is the depository of the executive power.

- "5. The agents of authority are responsible.
- "6. The royal sanction is necessary for the promulgation of the laws.
- "7. The nation makes laws with the royal sanction.
- "8. The national consent is necessary for loans and taxes.
- "9. Taxes can be granted only for the period from one convocation of the States-general to another.
- "10. Property shall be sacred.
- "11. Individual liberty shall be sacred.

"Questions on which the whole of the Instructions have not explained themselves in a uniform manner.

"Art. 1. Does the King possess the legislative power, limited by the constitutional laws of the kingdom?

"2. Can the King, singly, make provisional laws of police and administration in the interval between the holding of the States-general?

"3. Shall these laws be subject to free registration in the sovereign courts?

"4. Can the States-general be dissolved only by themselves?

"5. Has the King alone the power to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve the States-general?

"6. In case of dissolution, is not the King obliged immediately to issue a new convocation?

"7. Shall the States-general be permanent or periodical?

"8. If they are periodical, shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission?

"9. Shall the two first orders meet together in one and the same chamber?

"10. Shall the two chambers be formed without distinction of orders?

"11. Shall the members of the order of the clergy be divided between the other two orders?

"12. Shall the representation of the clergy, nobility, and commons be in the proportion of one, two, and three?

"13. Shall there be established a third order with the title of order of the farmers?

"14. Can persons holding offices, employments, or places at Court be elected deputies to the States-general?

"15. Shall two-thirds of the votes be necessary in order to form a resolution?

"16. Shall taxes having for their object the liquidation of the national debt be levied till its entire extinction?

"17. Shall *lettres de cachet* be abolished or modified?

"18. Shall the liberty of the press be indefinite or modified?"

H.

[Page 54.]

THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE.

"All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: 'To the Bastille!' Repeated 'deputations of citizens' have been here passionate for arms, whom de Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through

port-holes. Towards noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance: finds de Launay indisposed for surrender—nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled: cannon all duly levelled! in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little! But outwards, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale*: the suburb Sainte-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment: prophetic of other phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering spectral realities which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt! ‘Que voulez-vous?’ said de Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menace. ‘Monsieur,’ said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, ‘what mean you? Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,’—say only a hundred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch! Whereupon de Launay fell silent.

“Wo to thee, de Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grape-shot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un-questionable*. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, cannot do execution. The outer drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputation of citizens* (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the outer court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, de Launay gives fire; pulls up his drawbridge. A slight sputter—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Bursts forth insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and overhead, from the fortress, let one great gun, with its grape-shot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

“On, then, all Frenchmen that have hearts in their bodies! Roar with all your throats of cartilage and metal, ye sons of liberty; stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at that outer drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never over nave or felloe did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed edifice sink thither, and tyranny be swallowed up for ever! Mounted some say on the roof of the guard room, some ‘on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall,’ Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The eight grim towers with their Invalides’ musketry, their paving stones and cannon-mouths, still soar aloft intact;—ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner drawbridge with its *back* towards us: the Bastille is still to take!”—*Carlyle’s French Revolution*.

I.

[Page 79.]

THE ROYAL SANCTION.

I am far from censuring the obstinacy of Mounier, for nothing is more respectable than conviction; but it is a curious fact to ascertain. Here follows a passage on this subject, extracted from his *Report to his Constituents*:—"Several deputies," says he, "resolved to obtain from me the sacrifice of this principle (the royal sanction), or by sacrificing it themselves, to induce me, out of gratitude, to grant them some compensation. They took me to the house of a zealous partisan of liberty, who desired a coalition between them and me, in order that liberty might meet with fewer obstacles, and who wished merely to be present at our conferences, without taking any part in the decision. With a view to try to convince them, or to enlighten myself, I assented to these conferences. They declaimed strongly against the alleged inconveniences of the unlimited right which the King would possess to set aside the new law; and I was assured that if this right were to be recognized by the Assembly, there would be a civil war. These conferences, twice renewed, were unsuccessful; they were recommenced at the house of an American, known for his abilities and his virtues, who had both the experience and the theory of the institutions proper for maintaining liberty. He gave an opinion in favour of my principles. When they found that all their efforts to make me give up my opinion were useless, they at length declared that they attached but little importance to the question of the royal sanction, though they had represented it a few days before as a subject for civil war; they offered to vote for the unlimited sanction, and to vote also for two chambers, but upon condition that I would not insist, in behalf of the King, on the right of dissolving the Chamber of Representatives; that I would claim only a suspensive veto for the first chamber; and that I would not oppose a fundamental law for convoking national conventions at fixed epochs, or on the requisition of the Assembly of the representatives, or on that of the provinces, for the purpose of revising the constitution, and making such changes in it as should be deemed necessary. By *national conventions* they meant Assemblies to which should be transferred all the rights of the nation, which should combine all the powers, and would consequently have annihilated by their mere presence the authority of the sovereign and of the ordinary Legislature; which should have the power to dispose arbitrarily of all sorts of authorities, to overthrow the constitution at their pleasure, and to re-establish despotism or anarchy. Lastly, they desired in some measure to leave to a single Assembly, which was to be called the National Convention, the supreme dictatorship, and to expose the nation to a periodical recurrence of factions and tumult.

"I expressed my surprise that they should wish to engage me in a negotiation concerning the interests of the kingdom, as if we were its absolute masters. I observed that in leaving only the suspensive veto to a first chamber, if it were composed of eligible members, it would be found difficult to form it of persons worthy of the public confidence; in this case all the citizens would prefer being elected representatives; and that the chamber, being the judge of State offences, ought to possess a

very great dignity, and consequently that its authority ought not to be less than that of the other chamber. Lastly, I added, that when I believed a principle to be true, I felt bound to defend it, and that I could not barter it away, since truth belonged to all citizens."

J.

[Page 84.]

MIRABEAU IN THE ASSEMBLY.

The particulars of Mirabeau's conduct towards all the parties are not yet thoroughly known, but they are soon likely to be. I have obtained positive information from the very persons who intend to publish them; I have had in my hands several important documents, and especially the paper written in the form of a profession of faith which constituted his secret treaty with the Court. I am not allowed to give to the public any of these documents, or to mention the names of the holders. I can only affirm what the future will sufficiently demonstrate when all these papers shall have been published. What I am enabled to assert with sincerity is, that Mirabeau never had any hand in the supposed plots of the Duc d'Orleans. Mirabeau left Provence with a single object, that of combating arbitrary power, by which he had suffered, and which his reason as well as his sentiments taught him to consider as detestable. On his arrival in Paris he frequented the house of a banker, at that time well known, and a man of great merit. The company there conversed much on politics, finances, and political economy. There he picked up a good deal of information on those matters, and he connected himself with what was called the exiled Genevese colony, of which Clavières, afterwards minister of the finances, was a member. Mirabeau however, formed no intimate connection. In his manners there was a great familiarity, which originated in a feeling of his strength—a feeling that he frequently carried to imprudence. Owing to this familiarity he accosted everybody, and seemed to be on the best terms with all whom he addressed. Hence it was that he was frequently supposed to be the friend and accomplice of many persons with whom he had no common interest. I have said, and I repeat it, he had no party. The aristocracy could not think of Mirabeau; the party of Necker and Mounier could not comprehend him; the Duc d'Orleans alone appeared to unite with him. He was believed to do so, because Mirabeau treated the Duke in a familiar manner, and both being supposed to possess great ambition, the one as prince, the other as tribune, it appeared but natural that they should be connected. Mirabeau's distress and the wealth of the Duc d'Orleans seemed also to be a reciprocal motive of alliance. Nevertheless Mirabeau remained poor till his connection with the Court. He then watched all the parties, strove to make them explain themselves, and was too sensible of his own importance to pledge himself lightly. Once only there was a commencement of intercourse between him and one of the supposed agents of the Duc d'Orleans. By this reputed agent he was invited to dinner, and he, who was never afraid to venture himself, accepted the invitation more from curiosity than any other motive. Before he went he communicated the circumstance to his intimate confidant, and seemed much pleased at the prospect of this

interview, which led him to hope for important revelations. The dinner took place, and Mirabeau, on his return, related what had passed: there had been only some vague conversation concerning the Duc d'Orleans, the esteem in which he held the talents of Mirabeau, and the fitness which he supposed him to possess for governing a State. This interview, therefore, was absolutely insignificant, and it seems to indicate at most a disposition to make Mirabeau a minister. Accordingly he did not fail to observe to his friend, with his usual gaiety, "I am quite sure to be minister, since both the King and the Duc d'Orleans are equally desirous to appoint me." This was but a joke: Mirabeau himself never put any faith in the projects of the Duke. I shall explain some other particulars in a succeeding note.

K.

[Page 88.]

LETTER OF D'ESTAING TO THE QUEEN.

The letter of Comte d'Estaing to the Queen is a curious document, which must ever continue to be consulted relative to the events of the 5th and 6th of October. This brave officer, full of loyalty and independence (two qualities which appear contradictory, but which are frequently found combined in seamen), had retained the habit of saying all he thought to the princes to whom he was attached. His testimony cannot be called in question, when in a confidential letter to the Queen he lays open the intrigues which he has discovered, and which have alarmed him. It will be seen whether the Court was actually without plan at that period:—

"It is necessary—my duty and my loyalty require it—that I should lay at the feet of the Queen the account of the visit which I have paid to Paris. I am praised for sleeping soundly the night before an assault or a naval engagement. I venture to assert that I am not timorous in civil matters. Brought up about the person of the Dauphin who distinguished me, accustomed from my childhood to speak the truth at Versailles, a soldier and a seaman acquainted with forms, I respect without permitting them to affect either my frankness or my firmness.

"Well, then, I must confess to your Majesty that I did not close my eyes all night. I was told in good society, in good company—and gracious Heaven! what would be the consequence if this were to be circulated among the people?—I was repeatedly told that signatures were being collected among the clergy and the nobility. Some assert that this is done with the approbation of the King, others believe that it is without his knowledge. It is affirmed that a plan is formed, that it is by Champagne or Verdun that the King is to retire or to be carried off; that he is going to Metz. M. de Bouillé is named, and by whom? By M. de Lafayette, who told me so in a whisper at dinner at M. Jauge's. I trembled lest a single domestic should overhear him. I observed to him that a word from his lips might become the signal of death. He replied, that at Metz, as everywhere else, the patriots were the stronger party, and that it was better that one should die for the welfare of all.

"The Baron de Breteuil, who delays his departure, conducts the plan.

Money is taken up at usurious interest, and promises are made to furnish a million and a half per month. The Comte de Mercy is unfortunately mentioned as acting in concert. Such are the rumours; if they spread to the people, their effects are incalculable: they are still but whispered about. Upright minds have appeared to me to be alarmed for the consequences: the mere doubt of the reality is liable to produce terrible results. I have been to the Spanish ambassador's—and most certainly I shall not conceal it from the Queen—there my apprehensions were aggravated. M. Fernand Nunez conversed with me on the subject of these false reports, and how horrible it was to suppose an impossible plan, which would produce the most disastrous and the most humiliating of civil wars; which would cause the partition or the total ruin of the monarchy, that must fall a prey to domestic rage and foreign ambition; and which would bring irreparable calamities on the persons most dear to France. After speaking of the Court wandering, pursued, and deceived by those who have not supported it when they could, who now wish to involve it in their fall . . . afflicted by a general bankruptcy, then become indispensable, and most frightful . . . I observed that at least there would be no other mischief than what this false report would produce if it were to spread, because it was an idea without any foundation. The Spanish ambassador cast down his eyes at this last expression. I became urgent: he then admitted that a person of distinction and veracity had told him that he had been solicited to sign an association. He refused to name him; but either from inattention, or for the good of the cause, he luckily did not require my word of honour, which I must have kept. I have not promised not to divulge this circumstance to any one. It fills me with such terror as I have never yet known. It is not for myself that I feel it. I implore the Queen to calculate in her wisdom all that might result from one false step; the first costs dear enough. I have seen the kind heart of the Queen bestow tears on the fate of immolated victims: now it would be streams of blood spilt to no purpose that she would have to regret. A mere indecision may be without remedy. It is only by breasting the torrent, not by humouring it, that one can succeed in partly directing it. Nothing is lost. The Queen can conquer his kingdom for the King. Nature has lavished upon her the means of doing it; they alone are practicable. She may imitate her august mother: if not, I am silent. . . . I implore your Majesty to grant me an audience some day this week."

L.

[Page 92.]

ROBESPIERRE.

The following sketch of Robespierre, who from the period of the banquet of the 2nd of October began to make his influence felt in the revolutionary clubs, is derived from the *Biographie Moderne*:—"Maximilien Isidore Robespierre was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the Revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went to England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to remain ignorant of his existence. His mother;

whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer: she soon died, leaving her son, then nine years of age, and a brother, who shared his fate. The Bishop of Arras contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted on the foundation. One of the professors there, an admirer of the heroes of Rome, contributed greatly to develop the love of republicanism in him; he surnamed him the Roman, and continually praised his vaunted love of independence and equality. Assiduous and diligent, he went through his studies with considerable credit, and gave promise of talent that he never realized. In 1775, when Louis XVI. made his entry into Paris, he was chosen by his fellow-students to present to that Prince the homage of their gratitude. The political troubles of 1788 heated his brain; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings in 1789; and the *tiers-état* of the province of Artois appointed him one of their deputies to the States-general. On his arrival at the Assembly he obtained very little influence there; however, though the want of eloquence did not permit him to vie with the orators who then shone in the tribune, he began to acquire great power over the populace. For some time he paid court to Mirabeau, who despised him; yet he accompanied him so assiduously in the streets and public squares that he was at last surnamed Mirabeau's ape. In 1790 he continued to gain power over the rabble, and frequently spoke in the Assembly. On the King's departure for Varennes he was disconcerted; but as soon as that Prince had been arrested, his hopes of turning the monarchy increased, and he laboured hard to bring on the insurrections which took place in the Champ de Mars. He had been for some time connected with Marat and Danton, and by their help he exercised great authority over the Jacobins, and through them, over the capital. He was in consequence denounced by the Girondists, who accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. He was one of the most strenuous advocates for the King's trial, and voted for his execution. After overthrowing the party of the Gironde, he turned against his old allies, the Dantonists, whom he brought, together with their chief leaders, to the scaffold, from which time till his fall he reigned without rivals. He restored the worship of the Suprême Being, which the atheist faction of the Hebertists had succeeded in abolishing. After ruling France for some months with a rod of iron, he was arrested, together with his partisans, by the Convention, in consequence of having excited the fear and distrust of some of his colleagues (Billaud-Varennes among the number). At the moment when he saw that he was going to be seized, he tried to destroy himself with a pistol shot, but he only shattered his under jaw. He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, then shut up in the Conciergerie, and executed on the 28th of July 1794. As he was proceeding to execution, the prisoners obstructing the passage, the gaoler cried out, 'Make way! make way! I say, for the incorruptible man!' for Robespierre was always vaunting his disinterestedness. He was carried in a cart, placed between Henriot and Couthon. The shops, the windows, the roofs, were filled with spectators as he passed along, and cries of joy accompanied him all the way. His head was wrapped up in a bloody cloth, which supported his under jaw, so that his pale and livid countenance was but half seen. The horse-men who escorted him showed him to the spectators with the point of their sabres. The mob stopped him before the house where he had lived; some women danced before the cart; and one of them cried out, 'Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!' The

executioner, when about to put him to death, roughly tore the dressing off his wound; upon which he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the other; the blood spouted out; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of thirty-five. The following epitaph was written for him: 'Passenger, lament not his fate, for were he living, thou wouldst be dead.' Robespierre had not any of those accomplishments or brilliant advantages which seem to command success. He was hard and dry, without imagination and without courage; neither could his feeble constitution, his gloomy countenance, his weak sight, and almost inaudible voice, prepossess or seduce the multitude; and although in public speaking he had by long habit attained some degree of facility, he could never contend with the principal orators of the Convention; but Nature seemed to supply all the resources that she denied him by granting him the art of profiting at the same time by the talents of others, and by the faults which they might commit. Strong in his integrity in pecuniary matters, he always took care to open the path of honours, and especially of riches, to his rivals, that he might be furnished with additional means of ruining them when they became obnoxious to him. Of all the men whom the Revolution brought into notice, none has left a name so generally abhorred as Robespierre."

In the *Memoirs* of the Duchesse d'Abrantès the following highly characteristic anecdote of Robespierre is related:—"When Madame de Provence quitted France, the Comtesse Lamarière could not accompany her, much as she wished to do so. But she was a wife and a mother, and to these ties she was obliged to sacrifice the sentiments of gratitude which animated her heart. She remained in France to suffer persecution and misery. She saw her husband arrested at the head of the troops he commanded, cast into a dungeon, and conducted to the scaffold. She had the courage to implore the mercy of him who never knew mercy: she threw herself at the feet of Robespierre. Madame Lamarière had then the look of a young woman: a complexion of dazzling brilliancy, a profusion of fair hair, fine eyes and teeth, could not fail to render her exceedingly attractive. Her beauty was perhaps rather heightened than diminished by despair, when she threw herself at the feet of the dictator, and with a faltering voice implored the pardon of the husband of her child. But the axe was in the hand of the executioner, and amidst a nuptial festival Robespierre pronounced the sentence which made a widow and an orphan. It was on that very day that Robespierre gave away in marriage the daughter of a carpenter named Duplay, in whose house he lodged in the Rue St. Honoré. This Duplay was president of the jury on the Queen's trial. The Comtesse Lamarière arrived before the hour fixed for the marriage ceremony, and she was obliged to wait in the dining-room, where the table was laid for the nuptial feast. Her feelings may easily be imagined! There she waited, and was introduced to the carpenter's wife. After she was gone, Robespierre merely said, 'That woman is very pretty—very pretty indeed,' accompanying the observation with some odious remarks."

We subjoin the opinion entertained by Lucien Bonaparte, himself an ardent apostle of liberty, respecting Robespierre:—"The first months of 1793 beheld the Jacobins redouble their atrocities; and Robespierre, the most cruel hypocrite, and greatest coward of them all, obtained unlimited power. Some ardent imaginations have not hesitated to celebrate the praises of that man, and also of Couthon and St. Just; they have even dared to insinuate that Robespierre was a patriotic

victim immolated by various conspirators more guilty than himself. They have stated that he fell because he would not proceed in the path of crime. These assertions are contradicted by facts. The revolutionary tribunal was never more active than during the last months of the power of that merciless tribune. Then were struck with hasty blows all those whom birth, fortune, or talents distinguished from the crowd. In the month of April, Malesherbes, one of the most virtuous of men, was dragged to the scaffold at seventy-two years of age, in the same cart with his sister, his son-in-law, his daughter, his grand-daughter, and the husband of that young woman! Robespierre was then at the height of his power. Because he afterwards decimated his accomplices, and because he struck at Danton and his partisans, was he for that reason to be considered more excusable? Blood cannot wash away blood! And for his festival of the Supreme Being, what else was it but a contempt for the religion of all Frenchmen, and a denial of the gospel? Blood was not sufficient for the incorruptible! He desired even to thrust his sacrilegious hands into the very depths of our conscience."—*Memoirs of the Prince of Canino.*

M.

[Page 92.]

PETION.

At this period Petion was one of the most influential men of the Revolution. He was an advocate at Chartres, and had been deputed to the States-general by the *tiers-état* of the bailiwick in that city, and distinguished himself by a thorough zeal for the revolutionary party. Endowed with a pleasing address, and a disposition ever enterprising although weak in danger, he became, in spite of the mediocrity of his talents, one of the prime movers in the Revolution. On the 5th of October he denounced the banquets of the body-guards, and seconded the designs of the faction of Orleans, to which he was then entirely devoted. On the 8th he proposed giving to the King the title of "King of the French by consent of the Nation," and suppressing the form of "by the grace of God." In the course of 1790 he supported the revolutionary party with considerable zeal. On the 4th of December the National Assembly elected him their president. In June following he was appointed president of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris. When the Assembly was informed of the departure of Louis XVI., he was one of the three commissioners appointed to go to Varennes after this Prince. At the end of September the Duc d'Orleans sent him to England, and on his return he obtained the situation of mayor, of which he took possession on the 18th of November. It is from this period that his real influence may be dated, as well as the outrages with which he did not cease to overwhelm the King, sometimes by handbills, and sometimes through the means of insurrections. On the 3rd of August he formally demanded of the Assembly, in the name of the commune, the deposition of Louis. On the 10th he took care to be confined at home by the insurgents under his orders, at the very time that his adherents were preparing to attack the palace. It is doubtful whether Petion was privy to the massacres of September, although Prudhomme declares that the mayor, the ministers, &c., were agreed. Being appointed

deputy of Eure et Loire to the Convention, he was the first president of that Assembly, which, at its first meeting on the 21st of September 1792, decreed the abolition of royalty. From that time until the death of Louis XVI., Petion ascended the tribune almost every day, to urge the monarch's execution; and at this period he also laboured in the interests of the Duc d'Orleans, to whose party he appeared very constantly attached. In November, however, a hatred which was in the end fatal to him began to break out between Petion and Robespierre, although up to that time they had been called the two fingers of the hand. In January 1793 he voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and on the 25th of March he was appointed a member of the first committee of public safety, and of general defence. From the declarations of General Miaczinski, who had asserted that Petion was concerned in the projects of Dumouriez, occasion was taken—through the means of Robespierre, Danton, and that party—to form a committee for examining into his conduct. On the 2nd of June a decree of accusation was passed against Petion, and on the 25th of July he was outlawed because he had succeeded in escaping from his own house. In 1794 he was found dead of hunger, or assassinated, and half devoured by beasts, in a field in the department of Gironde. Petion is said to have had an air of haughtiness, a fine face, and an affable look.—*From the Biographie Moderne.*

N.

[Page 96.]

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

History cannot bestow too much space on the justification even of individuals, especially in a Revolution in which the principal parts were extremely numerous. M. de Lafayette has been so calumniated, and his character is nevertheless so pure, so consistent, that it is right to devote at least one note to him. His conduct during the 5th and 6th of October was that of continual self-devotion, and yet it has been represented as criminal by men who owed their lives to it. He has been reproached, in the first place, with the very violence of the national guard, which drew him against his will to Versailles. Nothing can be more unjust, for though you may with firmness control soldiers whom you have long led to victory, yet citizens recently and voluntarily enrolled, and who obey you merely from the enthusiasm of their opinions, are irresistible when these opinions get the better of them. M. de Lafayette struggled against them for a whole day, and certainly nobody could expect more. Besides, nothing could be more beneficial than his departure; for, but for the national guard, the palace would have been stormed, and it is impossible to say what might have been the fate of the royal family amidst the popular exasperation. As we have already seen, the life-guards would have been overpowered but for the national guards. The presence of M. de Lafayette and his troops at Versailles was therefore indispensable.

Not only has he been reproached for having gone thither, but he has also been censured for having gone to bed when there, and this indulgence has been made the subject of the most virulent and oft-repeated attacks. The truth is that M. de Lafayette remained up till the morning, and that he passed the whole night in sending out patrols, and restoring order

and tranquillity; and what proves how judiciously his precautions were taken is, that none of the posts committed to his care was attacked. All appeared quiet, and he did what any one else would have done in his place: he threw himself on a bed to get a little rest, which he so much needed after struggling for twenty-four hours against the populace. But that rest lasted no longer than half an hour. He was stirring at the first outcries, and in time to save the life-guards who were about to be massacred. What, then, is it possible to reproach him with?—not having been present at the first minute? But this might have happened in any other case. The issuing of an order or the inspecting of a post might have taken him away for half an hour from the point where the first attack was to take place; and his absence at the first moment of the action was the most inevitable of all accidents. But did he arrive in time to save almost all the victims, to preserve the palace and the august personages within it? Did he generously involve himself in the greatest dangers? This is what cannot be denied, and what procured him at the time universal thanks. There was then but one voice among those whom he had saved. Madame de Staël, who cannot be suspected of partiality in favour of M. de Lafayette, relates that she heard the life-guards shouting "*Lafayette for ever!*" Mounier, whose testimony is equally above suspicion, commends his zeal; and M. de Lally-Tollendal regrets that at this crisis he had not been invested with a kind of dictatorship. (See his Report to his Constituents.) These two deputies have expressed themselves so strongly against the 5th and 6th of October, that their evidence may be received with perfect confidence. At any rate, in the first moment nobody durst deny an activity that was universally acknowledged. Subsequently the spirit of party, feeling the danger of allowing any virtues to a constitutionalist, denied the services of Lafayette, and then commenced that long series of calumny to which he has ever since been exposed.

O.

[Page 97.]

THE MOB AT VERSAILLES.

"The mob crowded in the marble court, and wandering on the outside of the palace, began to express again their designs with frightful howlings. 'To Paris! to Paris!' were the first cries. Their prey was promised them, and then fresh cries ordered the unfortunate family to appear on the balcony. The Queen showed herself, accompanied by her children; she was forced by threats to send them away. I mixed in the crowd, and beheld for the first time that unfortunate Princess; she was dressed in white, her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a victim on the block. The enraged populace were not moved at the sight of woe in all its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate Princess could not even find a support in the King, for his presence only augmented the fury of the multitude. At last preparations for departure did more towards appeasing them than promises could have done, and by twelve o'clock the frightful procession set off. I hope such a scene will never be witnessed again! I have often asked myself how the metropolis of a nation so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of

manners—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who so long reigned over it! In walking through the streets of Paris, it seems to me, the features even of the lowest and most miserable class of people do not present to the eye anything like ferociousness, or the meanest passions in all their hideous energy. Can those passions alter the features so as to deprive them of all likeness to humanity? Or does the terror inspired by the sight of a guilty wretch give him the semblance of a wild beast? These madmen, dancing in the mire, and covered with mud, surrounded the King's coach. The groups that marched foremost carried on long pikes the bloody heads of the life-guardsmen butchered in the morning. Surely Satan himself first invented the placing of a human head at the end of a lance! The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes, images of death, added to the gestures and salutations which the executioners made them perform in horrible mockery of life, presented the most frightful spectacle that rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly as crime itself, swarming like insects, and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs, embracing and insulting the life-guards. This scene lasted for eight hours before the royal family arrived at the Place de Grève. They alighted at the Hôtel de Ville, their first resting-place during protracted misery, that terminated some years afterwards in a horrible death. Thus ended the memorable 6th of October!"—*Memoirs of Lavalette.*

P.

[Page 98.]

THE JOURNEY TO PARIS.

"The King did not leave Versailles till one o'clock. The hundred deputies in their carriages followed him. A detachment of brigands, carrying in triumph the heads of two of the life-guards, formed the advanced guard, which had set off two hours earlier. These cannibals stopped for a moment at Sevres, and carried their ferocity to such a pitch as to force an unfortunate barber to dress the hair of those two bleeding heads. The main body of the Parisian army immediately followed. Before the King's carriage marched the poissardes, who had come the preceding evening from Paris, and that whole army of abandoned women, the scum of their sex, still drunk with fury and with wine. Several of them were astride upon the cannon, celebrating by the most abominable songs all the crimes which they had committed or witnessed. Others, nearer to the King's carriage, were singing allegorical airs, and by their gross gestures applying the insulting allusions in them to the Queen. Carts laden with corn and flour, which had come to Versailles, formed a convoy escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and market-porters armed with pikes, or carrying large poplar boughs. This part of the cortège produced at some distance the most singular effect: it looked like a moving wood, amidst which glistened pike-heads and gun-barrels. In the transports of their brutal joy the women stopped the passengers and yelled in their ears, while pointing to the royal carriage, 'Courage, my friends; we shall have plenty of bread now that we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's

boy.' Behind his Majesty's carriage were some of his faithful guards, partly on foot, partly on horseback, most of them without hats, all disarmed, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Cent-Suisses, and the national guards, preceded, accompanied, and followed the file of carriages.

"I was an eye-witness of this distressing spectacle, this melancholy procession: Amidst this tumult, this clamour, these songs interrupted by frequent discharges of musketry, which the hand of a monster or an awkward person might have rendered so fatal, I saw the Queen retain the most courageous tranquillity of mind, and air of inexpressible nobleness and dignity: my eyes filled with tears of admiration and grief."—*Bertrand de Molleville.*

Q.

[Page 98.]

LAFAYETTE'S ACCOUNT OF THE 5TH AND 6TH OCTOBER 1789.

The following is Lafayette's own account of this affair. It is derived from the numerous *Memoirs* of the General, lately published by his family:—"The numerous and armed hordes who quitted Paris on the 5th of October, and who, united with the populace of Versailles, committed the disorders of that day, were totally distinct from the immense assemblage that, blockading themselves and us, made it difficult for the news of that tumultuous departure for Versailles to reach the Hôtel de Ville. I instantly perceived that, whatever might be the consequence of this double movement, the public safety required that I should take part in it, and after having received from the Hôtel de Ville an order and two commissaries, I hastily provided for the security of Paris, and took the road to Versailles at the head of several battalions. When we approached the hall of the Assembly the troops renewed their oath. They only advanced after I had offered my respects to the president, and received orders from the King, who, having heard speeches from the commissaries and me, desired me to occupy the posts of the former French guards; and in truth, at that time the pretension of taking possession of the palace would have appeared a most singular one. Not only the gardes-du-corps on service, but the Swiss sentinels stationed in the garden, and four hundred gardes-du-corps on horseback on the side towards Trianon, were not dependent in the slightest degree on me. I did not undoubtedly carry terror into the palace; I answered for my own troops; the result proved that I was right in doing so. I was not sufficiently master of the minds of the courtiers to believe that their security depended solely on myself: for example, it was not I who sent to their own homes in Versailles the greatest number of the officers of the gardes-du-corps; nor was it I who sent to Rambouillet, at two o'clock in the morning (instead of employing them in forming patrols), the four hundred horse-guards placed on the side nearest to the gardens of Trianon.

[I have been told by a person worthy of credit, who had this piece of intelligence from M. de la Tour du Pin, the minister, that the King had hesitated until two in the morning respecting the projects of flight proposed to him.]

"I procured lodgings for the drenched and fatigued troops; I ascer-

tained that the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps was defended by a battalion ; I ordered patrols in the town and round the palace. The entry into the King's chamber was refused me at two o'clock in the morning : I then repaired to the house of M. de Montmorin, in the minister's court, within reach of my grenadiers. At break of day all things appeared to me to wear a tranquil aspect ; I went to the Hôtel de Noailles, very near the palace, in which the staff received reports. I made some necessary arrangements for Paris ; I partook of some refreshments, and should have believed that exhausted nature required, after more than twenty hours' unremitting exertion, some repose, if a few minutes later a sudden alarm had not restored to me all my strength.

"That infernal irruption was in truth most sudden, and perfectly distinct from the other tumults. Two gardes-du-corps were killed ; other brave and faithful guards stopped the brigands at the door of the apartment of the Queen, who was conducted to the King by young Victor Maubourg, one of their officers. The grenadiers of my advanced post had scarcely arranged themselves in order of battle when they received my command to hasten to the palace. A volunteer company also repaired thither very speedily. I flew at the same time to the spot, having sprung on the first horse I met with. I was fortunate enough, in the first instance, to liberate a group of gardes-du-corps, and having confided them to the charge of the few persons who accompanied me, I remained surrounded by a furious mob, one of whom cried out to the others to kill me. I commanded them to seize him, doubtless in a very authoritative voice, for they dragged him towards me, striking his head on the pavement. I found the apartments occupied with national guards. The King deigned never to forget the scene that ensued, when the grenadiers, with tears in their eyes, promised me to perish to the last man for him. During that time our guards were arriving ; the courts were lined with national guards, and filled with a multitude in a high state of excitement. Those who heard me address the King were not dissatisfied with my expressions.

"I had long been of opinion that the Assembly would be more quiet, and the King more secure, in Paris. I refused, however, being present at the deliberation (become necessary, I own), in which the departure was decided upon ; and as soon as the Queen had declared her noble determination of accompanying the King, I did, before thousands of witnesses, all that could be expected from the circumstances and my devotion. It was then that in the King's cabinet, while embraced by Madame Adelaide, I received from that respectable Princess testimonies of approbation that ill prepared me for the abuse from which I have since been obliged to vindicate myself.

"The statements of the proceedings of the Châtelet have mingled together the assertions, opinions, reports, and even suppositions of men of all parties. Such absurd accusations are found there, as that Mirabeau was seen on the 5th armed with a sabre, among the soldiers of a Flemish regiment ; that a prince distributed money at six o'clock in the morning ; and several tales of the same nature, the falsehood of which is evident. I have looked over some letters from officers and gardes-du-corps, found in the King's cabinet, written in 1790 and 1791. Some of them addressed to a friend are evidently intended to efface, at the expense of other persons, unfavourable expressions ; other letters contain inaccuracies, contradictions, and insignificant phrases ; but all of them tend to prove that we only had charge of the ancient posts, the French guards ; that when the chiefs of the gardes-du-corps required instruc-

tions, it was to the King, the ministers, and M. d'Estaing, and not to me, that they thought proper to apply; that I had taken, and even redoubled, every precaution for the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps; that those guards, as well as the palace, were saved by us; and that a wounded guard of the King selected my house in Paris as the place in which he would best be taken care of. These words, 'M. de Lafayette has saved us,' are continually repeated. Among the false assertions that have been propagated, I shall relate but one; it was said that the heads of two unfortunate gardes-du-corps had been carried before the carriage of the King. While we were only thinking of saving their comrades and the royal family, it is sufficiently horrible that bandits should have escaped with the infamous trophies of their crimes; but they had arrived at the Palais Royal; and public authority had succeeded in dispersing them before the King had even quitted Versailles."

CAREER OF M. DE LAFAYETTE.

"Lafayette, born in Auvergne, of one of the most ancient families of that province, was employed, when still young, in the army that Louis XVI. sent to defend the independence of the English colonies of North America. Rochambeau placed him at the head of some volunteers, and in this manner he served with some distinction during the whole war. He returned to France with the rank of major-general, full of ideas of liberty. Being appointed by the noblesse of his province deputy to the States-general, he voted that the examination of the powers should take place in common. After the union of the three orders, he insisted, with Mirabeau, on the removal of the troops whom the Court was marching towards Paris. Being appointed vice-president, he presented his well-known declaration of rights. In July 1789 he was appointed commander of the Parisian national guard. A few days after the famous 5th of October, Lafayette, in a conference, very imperious on the one side, and very timid on the other, gave the Duc d'Orleans to understand that his name was the pretext for all commotions, and that he must leave the kingdom. An apparent mission was given to this Prince, and he set out for England. In February 1790, Lafayette, in the Assembly, solicited measures for repressing the disturbers of the provinces, and indemnifying the proprietors of burnt houses; these excesses he attributed to the counter-revolutionary spirit. He afterwards voted for the suppression of titles of honour and nobility, refusing even to admit of an exception in favour of the princes. At the Federation in July he presented the national guards, who were collected from every part of the kingdom, to the Assembly and the King. At the time of Louis' flight he was accused by the Jacobins of having assisted in it, and by the royalists of having contrived the arrest of his sovereign. When the King's fate was debated in the Assembly, Lafayette was among those who objected to the motion for bringing him to trial and declaring him deposed. When the constitution was accepted, Lafayette voted for the amnesty demanded by the King, and resigned his office of commander of the guard, upon which the municipality ordered a gold medal to be struck in his honour. In 1792, Lafayette went to Metz, where he took the command of the central army. At first he encamped under the walls of Givet, but his advanced guard, posted near Philipsburg, met with a slight check, upon which he re-

moved to the entrenched camp at Maubeige, and placed his advanced guard at Griselles, under the command of Gouvion, where it was surprised and cut to pieces, and its leader killed by a cannon-ball. Shortly afterwards Lafayette's army received accounts of the attempt made on the 20th of June, and in different addresses declared its disapprobation of the outrage offered on that day to Louis. Proud of such support, Lafayette went to Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Legislative Body, where he complained of these outrages, and accused the Jacobins. For one moment the Assembly seemed intimidated by this step, but the faction soon took courage; and Lafayette returned to his army, after having in vain urged Louis to leave Paris and come among his troops, who were then faithful. Soon after, commissions having been sent from Paris to insist on his removal from his command, he addressed his troops in a proclamation, in which he called on them to choose between the constitution and Petion for a king. The whole army exclaimed, 'Long live the King!' 'Long live the constitution!' but Lafayette, placing little dependence on this burst of enthusiasm, fled with several officers of his staff. He was then declared an emigrant. On his arrival at the Austrian advanced posts he was made a prisoner. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia, who caused him to be removed to Magdeburg, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, he was restored to the Austrians, who sent him to Olmutz. After a rigorous imprisonment of three years and five months, he obtained his liberty at the request of Bonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburg, and after the 18th Brumaire returned to France."—*Biographie Moderne*. From this period Lafayette remained in comparative retirement till the breaking out of the second Revolution in 1830, when he was again appointed commander of the national guards, which, however, he resigned shortly after the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne. He died in the year 1834, at the age of seventy-six.

R.

[Page 98.]

JEAN SYLVAIN BAILLY.

"Jean Sylvain Bailly was one of the forty of the French Academy, and deputy of Paris to the States-general. Born in Paris on the 15th of September 1736, nature had endowed him with all the talents which fit men for the study of the sciences, and the meditations of philosophy. After several essays, which were well received by the public, he published a "History of Astronomy." When the Revolution broke out in 1789 the electors of Paris chose him as secretary, and then as deputy of the *tiers-état* to the States-general. He was president of this Assembly in its first session. On the 16th of July he was appointed mayor of Paris. When, after the flight of the King, the parties were divided, and the more violent Revolutionists wished to seize the opportunity of pronouncing the forfeiture of Louis, Bailly opposed the ferment excited in Paris in favour of the party of the forfeiture. An immense crowd having thronged to the Champ de Mars to frame an address recommending the forfeiture, on the 17th July 1791, Bailly caused martial law to be proclaimed against this assembly, which was dispersed

by armed force. The National Assembly approved this step; but from this time Bailly perceived that his credit was sinking. He vacated the office of mayor early in November, and then went over to England, whence he returned shortly after to Paris, trusting to spend the rest of his days in retirement. He was, however, arrested in 1793, and brought to trial in November before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to death. On the day after the passing of his sentence he was put into the fatal cart, and while proceeding to execution, was loaded with the insults of the people. It was resolved that he should die on the Champ de Mars, in the very place where he had caused the seditious people to be fired on. Here he fell down in a fainting fit. When he recovered, he demanded haughtily that an end might be put to his miseries. 'Dost thou tremble, Bailly?' said one of his executioners, seeing his limbs, weakened by age, quiver. 'Friend,' answered he calmly, 'if I do tremble, it is with cold.' After having been subjected to every species of ignominy, he ran himself to the scaffold, which had been fixed upon a heap of dung. He died with great courage. Bailly was tall, his face long and serious, and his character by no means devoid of sensibility. There are several valuable works on astronomy by him. His widow died in 1800."—*Biographie Moderne*.

S.

[Page 108.]

PARTY SPIRIT IN THE ASSEMBLY.

It will not be uninteresting to show the opinion of Ferrières concerning the manner in which the deputies of his own party behaved in the Assembly.

"In the National Assembly," says Ferrières, "there were not more than about three hundred really upright men, exempt from party spirit, not belonging to any club, wishing what was right, wishing it for its own sake, independently of the interests of orders or of bodies, always ready to embrace the most just and the most beneficial proposal, no matter from what quarter it came, or by whom it was supported. These were the men worthy of the honourable function to which they had been called, who made the few good laws that proceeded from the Constituent Assembly. It was they who prevented all the mischief which was not done by it. Invariably adopting what was good, as invariably opposing what was bad, they have frequently produced a majority in favour of resolutions which but for them would have been rejected from a spirit of faction; and they have often defeated motions which but for them would have been adopted from a spirit of interest.

"While on this subject, I cannot abstain from remarking on the impolitic conduct of the nobles and the bishops. As they aimed only to dissolve the Assembly, to throw discredit on its operations, instead of opposing mischievous measures, they manifested an indifference on this point which is inconceivable. When the president stated the question, they quitted the hall, inviting the deputies of their party to follow them; or if they stayed, they called out to them to take no part in the deliberation. The Clubbists, forming through this dereliction of duty a majority of the Assembly, carried every resolution they pleased. The

bishops and the nobles, firmly believing that the new order of things would not last, hastened, with a sort of impatience, as if determined to accelerate the downfall, both the ruin of the monarchy and their own ruin. With this senseless conduct they combined an insulting disdain both of the Assembly and of the people who attended the sittings. Instead of listening, they laughed and talked aloud, thus confirming the people in the unfavourable opinion which it had conceived of them; and instead of striving to recover its confidence and its esteem, they strove only to gain its hatred and its contempt. All these follies arose solely from the mistaken notion of the bishops and the nobles, who could not persuade themselves that the Revolution had long been effected in the opinion and in the heart of every Frenchman. They hoped by means of these dikes to set bounds to a torrent which was daily swelling. All they did served only to produce a greater accumulation of its waters, to occasion greater ravages—obstinately clinging to the old system, the basis of all their actions, of all their opposition, but which was repudiated by all. By this impolitic obstinacy they forced the Revolutionists to extend the Revolution beyond the goal which they had set up for themselves. The nobles and the bishops then exclaimed against injustice, tyranny. They talked of the antiquity and the legitimacy of their rights to men who had sapped the foundation of all rights.”—*Ferrières*, tom. ii. p. 122.

T.

[Page 110.]

THE MARQUIS DE FAVRAS.

“The Marquis de Favras, formerly lieutenant of Monsieur’s Swiss guards, was condemned by the Châtelet of Paris, on the 18th of February 1790, for having endeavoured to excite a counter-revolutionary project, and for having intended to attempt the life of Lafayette, Bailly, and Necker, and to carry off the King and the royal family. He was born at Blois, devoted himself from his earliest youth to the service, and went into the musketeers in 1755. In 1761 he obtained a company of dragoons in the regiment of Belsunce; and served with distinction in the campaigns of 1762 and 1763, after which he was appointed adjutant. In 1772 he acquired the office of first lieutenant of Monsieur’s Swiss, which conferred the rank of colonel. In 1786 he went to Vienna to get his wife legitimatized as only daughter of the Prince of Anhalt-Schaumburg. In 1787 he commanded a legion in Holland at the time of the insurrection against the Stadtholder. In 1790 he was accused of having plotted, at Paris, against the Revolution; of having wanted to introduce armed men into Paris by night, in order to destroy the three principal heads of the administration; of attacking the King’s guard; of taking away the seals of the State; and even of carrying off the King and his family to Véronne. He was summoned before the Châtelet, and repelled all the accusations brought against him; but his denials did not prevent the judges from condemning him. The announcement of his sentence did not shake his fortitude; he dictated his will with calmness, and paid great attention to the style of it. Favras was executed on the 11th of February 1790. On mounting

the scaffold he desired to be heard, and addressing himself to the people, said, 'Citizens, I am about to appear before God; I cannot be suspected of lying at this dreadful moment; well, then, I swear to you before Heaven, that I am not guilty. Do your office,' added he, addressing the executioner. The people showed the greatest fury against this victim, who was sacrificed to the policy of the moment. During the trial, groups of furious persons made the environs of the Châtelet echo with cries of 'Favras to the lamp-post!' Monsieur was so talked of among the populace as the principal person in this affair, that he thought proper to go to the town-hall and publicly disavow the plots ascribed to him. The Assembly seemed persuaded of the truth of these denials."—*Biographie Moderne*.

U.

[Page 112.]

THE KING'S SPEECH, 4TH FEBRUARY 1790.

The speech of the King on this occasion is too remarkable not to be quoted, with some remarks. That excellent and too unfortunate Prince was in a continual hesitation, and at certain times he perceived very clearly his own duties and the faults of the Court. The tone which pervades the speech delivered by him on the 4th of February proves sufficiently that in this instance his words were not prompted, and that he expressed himself with a due sense of his actual situation.

"Gentlemen, the critical circumstances in which France is placed bring me among you. The progressive relaxation of all the bonds of order and subordination, the suspension or the inactivity of justice, the discontents arising from individual privations, the unfortunate oppositions and animosities which are the inevitable consequences of long dissensions, the critical state of the finances, and the uncertainty respecting the public fortune; in short, the general agitation of minds, all seem to concur in exciting uneasiness in the true friends to the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom.

"A grand goal is presented to your view, but it is requisite that it be attained without any increase of agitation and without new convulsions. It was, I must say, in a more agreeable and a more quiet manner that I hoped to lead you to it when I formed the design of assembling you, and of bringing together, for the public welfare, the talents and the opinions of the representatives of the nation; but my happiness and my glory are not the less closely connected with the success of your labours.

"I have protected them by excessive vigilance from the baneful influence which the disastrous circumstances amidst which you are placed might have upon you. The horrors of dearth, which France had reason to apprehend last year, have been averted by the utmost care and by immense supplies. The disorder which the former state of the finances, the discredit, the extreme scarcity of specie, and the gradual decrease of the revenue, must naturally produce—this disorder, at least in its vehemence and its excesses, has hitherto been prevented. I have everywhere mitigated, and particularly in the capital, the dangerous consequences of the want of employment, and notwithstanding the decay of all the means of authority, I have maintained the kingdom, not in the quiet which I could have wished—very far from it—but in a state of

tranquillity sufficient to receive the blessing of a wise and well-regulated liberty. Lastly, notwithstanding our generally known situation at home, and notwithstanding the political storms which are agitating other nations, I have preserved peace abroad, and kept up with all the powers of Europe the relations of good-will and amity, which are capable of rendering that peace more durable.

"After having thus preserved you from great calamities, which might so easily have thwarted your efforts and your labours, I think the time is come when it is of importance to the interest of the State that I should associate myself, in a more express and manifest manner, in the execution and success of all that you have planned for the benefit of France. I cannot seize a more signal occasion than that when you submit to my acceptance decrees destined to establish a new organization in the kingdom, which must have so important and so propitious an influence on the happiness of my subjects, and on the prosperity of this empire.

"You know, gentlemen, it is more than ten years ago that at a time when the wishes of the nation relative to provincial assemblies had not yet been expressed, I began to substitute that kind of administration for the one which ancient and long habit had sanctioned. Experience having taught me that I have not erred in the opinion which I had formed of the utility of these establishments, I strove to extend the same benefit to all the provinces of my kingdom; and in order to ensure general confidence to the new administrations, I determined that the members who were to compose them should be freely elected by all the citizens. You have improved upon these views in several ways; and the most essential, no doubt, is that equal and wisely calculated subdivision which by breaking down the ancient partitions between province and province, and establishing a general and complete system of equilibrium, more intimately unites all the parts of the kingdom in one and the same spirit, and one and the same interest. This grand idea, this salutary design, are entirely your own: it required nothing less than a union of opinions on the part of the representatives of the nation; it required nothing less than their just ascendancy over the general sentiments, to undertake with confidence a change of such vast importance, and to vanquish in the name of reason the opposition of habit and of private interests."

All that the King here says is perfectly just and sincere. It is true that he had formerly attempted all the improvements of his own accord, and that he had set a rare example among princes—that of anticipating the wants of their subjects. The commendations which he bestows on the new territorial division bear also the character of entire sincerity, for it was certainly beneficial to the government, by destroying the opposition which particular localities had frequently made to it. Everything induces us therefore to believe that the King here speaks with perfect sincerity. He proceeds:—

"I will promote, I will second, by all the means in my power, the success of that vast organization on which depends the welfare of France; and I think it necessary to observe, that I am too attentive to the internal condition of the kingdom, my eyes are too open to the dangers of all kinds by which we are encompassed, not to be deeply sensible that, in the present disposition of minds, and considering the actual state of public affairs, it is requisite that a new order of things should be established quietly and peaceably, or the kingdom may be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy.

"Let well-disposed citizens reflect on this, as I have done, fixing their attention exclusively on the welfare of the State, and they will perceive, even in spite of the difference of opinion, that a paramount interest must this day unite them all. Time will remedy what may yet remain defective in the collection of the laws which shall have been the work of this Assembly."

This indirect and delicate censure proves that the King had no intention to flatter, but to speak the truth, observing at the same time the necessary measure.

"But every enterprise that should tend to shake the principles of the constitution itself, all concert that should aim at overthrowing them or diminishing their beneficial influence, would serve only to introduce among us the frightful evils of discord; and supposing such an attempt against my people and myself to be successful, the result would deprive us of the various blessings of which a new order of things holds out a prospect to us, without supplying any substitute.

"Let us then confidently indulge the hopes we are justified in conceiving, and let us think of realizing them only by unanimity. Let it be known everywhere that the monarch and the representatives of the nation are united in the same interest and in the same wish; in order that this opinion, this firm belief, may diffuse through the provinces a spirit of peace and goodwill, and that all citizens distinguished for their honesty, all those who are capable of rendering the State essential service by their zeal and their talents, may be solicitous to take part in the different subdivisions of the general administration, the unanimity of which must efficaciously concur in the re-establishment of order, and in the prosperity of the kingdom.

"We must not disguise it from ourselves; there is much to be done to reach that goal. A persevering determination, a general and common effort, are absolutely necessary to obtain real success. Continue your labours, then, without any other passion than that of doing good; keep your chief attention constantly fixed on the condition of the people and on the public liberty; but direct it also to the means of soothing, of tranquillizing all jealousies, and put an end as speedily as possible to the different alarms which keep so many of her citizens aloof from France, and the effect of which is in such contrast with the laws of safety and liberty that you are desirous of establishing: prosperity will not return without the general consent. We perceive on every side hopes; be impatient to see also on every side happiness.

"Some day, I fondly believe, every Frenchman without exception will acknowledge the benefit of the total suppression of the differences of order and condition, when they have to labour in common for the public welfare, for the prosperity of the country, which equally interests all the citizens; and every one must see without difficulty, that in order to be called henceforward to serve the State in any manner, it will be sufficient for a man to have rendered himself remarkable by his talents and by his virtues.

"At the same time, however, all that reminds a nation of the antiquity and the continuity of the services of an honoured race is a distinction that nothing can destroy; and as it is united with the duties of gratitude, those who in all classes of society aspire to serve their country efficaciously, and those who have already had the happiness to do so, have an interest in respecting this transmission of titles or of recollections, the fairest of all the inheritances that can be bequeathed to one's children.

"Neither must the respect due to the ministers of religion be allowed to be swept away; and when their consideration shall be principally united to the sacred truths which are under the safeguard of order and morality, all honest and enlightened citizens will have an equal interest in upholding and defending it.

"No doubt those who have relinquished their pecuniary privileges, those who will no longer form, as of old, an order in the State, find themselves subjected to sacrifices the importance of which I fully appreciate; but I am persuaded that they will have generosity enough to seek an indemnification in all the public advantages of which the establishment of National Assemblies holds out a hope."

The King continues, as the reader perceives, to impress upon all parties the advantages of the new laws, and at the same time the necessity of retaining something of the ancient. What he says to the privileged classes proves his real opinion respecting the necessity and justice of the sacrifices that had been required of them, and their resistance will be everlastingly condemned by the words contained in this speech. It would be vain to urge that the King was not free; the care which he here takes to balance the concessions, counsels, and even reproaches, proves that he spoke sincerely. He expressed himself very differently when some time afterwards he wished to give notoriety to the state of restraint in which he conceived himself to be. His letter to the ambassadors, quoted hereafter, will sufficiently prove this. The thoroughly popular exaggeration which pervades it demonstrates the intention to appear to be no longer free. But the moderation of what he says here leaves no room for doubt, and what follows is so touching, so delicate, that it is impossible not to have been felt by him who had made up his mind to write and to deliver it:—

"I, too, should have losses to enumerate, if, amidst the most important interests of the State, I could dwell upon personal calculations; but I find a compensation that satisfies me, a full and entire compensation in the increase of the national happiness; and this sentiment comes from the very bottom of my heart.

"I will defend, therefore, I will uphold, constitutional liberty, the principles of which the public wish, in accordance with mine, has sanctioned. *I will do more; and in concert with the Queen, who shares all my sentiments, I will early adapt the mind and heart of my son to the new order of things which circumstances have brought about. I will accustom him from his very first years to seek happiness in the happiness of the French,* and ever to acknowledge that in spite of the language of flatterers a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a just liberty adds a new value to the sentiments of affection and loyalty, of which the nation has for so many ages given such touching proofs to its kings.

"I dare not doubt that in completing your work you will provide with wisdom and candour for the firm establishment of the executive power, that condition without which there cannot exist any durable order at home or any consideration abroad. No distrust can reasonably be left you: it is therefore your duty, as citizens and as faithful representatives of the nation, to ensure to the welfare of the State, and to the public liberty, that stability which can proceed only from an active and tutelary authority. You will surely bear in mind that without such an authority all the parts of your constitution will remain at once without bond and without correspondence: and in turning your attention to liberty, which you love, and which I love also, you will not lose

sight of this truth, that disorder in administration, by producing a confusion of powers, frequently degenerates, through blind violence, into the most dangerous and the most alarming of all tyrannies.

"Thus, not for my sake, gentlemen, who weigh not what is personal to myself against the laws and institutions which are to regulate the destiny of the empire, but for the very happiness of our country, for its prosperity, for its power, I exhort you to rid yourselves of all the impressions of the moment which could divert you from considering in its totality what such a kingdom as France requires, both on account of its great extent, its immense population, and its inevitable relations with foreign countries.

"Neither will you neglect to turn your attention to what is required of legislators by the manners, the character, and the habits of a nation that has become too famous in Europe, from the nature of its understanding and genius, for it to appear matter of indifference whether you uphold or undermine in it those sentiments of kindness, confidence, and generosity which have gained it so much renown.

"Set it also an example of that spirit of justice which serves as a safeguard to property, to that right respected by all nations, which is not the work of chance, which springs not from the privileges of opinion, but which is closely connected with the most essential relations of public order, and with the first conditions of social harmony.

"By what fatality is it that when tranquillity began to be restored, fresh disturbances have spread over the provinces! By what fatality is it that fresh outrages are there perpetrated! Join with me in putting a stop to them, and let us exert all our efforts to prevent criminal excesses from sullyng these days in which the felicity of the nation is preparing. You who possess so many means of influencing public confidence, *enlighten, in regard to its true interests, that people which pains are taken to mislead; that good people which is so dear to me, and by which I am assured that I am loved when those around me wish to cheer me up under my troubles.* Ah! if it but knew how unhappy I feel at the news of an attack upon property, or an act of violence against persons, perhaps it would spare me this severe infliction.

"I cannot address you on the great interests of the State without urging you to bestow your attention, in a serious and definitive manner, on all that relates to the re-establishment of order in the finances, and to the tranquillity of the innumerable multitude of citizens who are connected by some tie with the public fortune.

"It is time to allay all apprehensions; it is time to confer on this kingdom the strength of credit which it has a right to claim. You cannot undertake everything at once; accordingly I invite you to reserve for other times part of the benefits which the assemblage of your talents pictures to your view; but when you shall have added to what you have already accomplished, a wise and rational plan for the exercise of justice; when you shall have firmly laid the foundations of a perfect equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of the State; lastly, when you shall have completed the work of the constitution, you will have acquired strong claims to public gratitude; and in the successive continuation of the National Assemblies, a continuation founded henceforward on that very constitution; there will be nothing more to do than to add from year to year new means of prosperity. May this day on which your sovereign comes to unite with you in the most frank and cordial manner, be a memorable epoch in the history of this empire! It will be so, I hope, if my ardent wishes, if my earnest exhortations can be a signal of

peace and of reconciliation between you. *Let those who would still keep aloof from a spirit of concord that is become so necessary, make a sacrifice to me of all the recollections which afflict them; I will repay them with my gratitude and my affection.*

"Profess all of you from this day forward, profess all of you—and I will set the example—but one opinion, but one interest, but one will—attachment to the new constitution, and an ardent desire for the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of France."

V.

[Page 113.]

THE QUEEN'S OPINION OF MIRABEAU.

Previously to this interview, the Queen, though she dreaded his power, held Mirabeau in the utmost detestation, as appears from the following anecdote which the Duchesse d'Abrantès has related in her *Memoirs*:—"On the 7th of May 1789 the Queen was informed of Mirabeau's hostile intentions. M. Necker was consulted about the expediency of entering into a negotiation with him; and his opinion was, that Mirabeau was possessed of extraordinary talent, but wanted judgment; and M. Necker considered him not very formidable. He therefore declined to have anything to do with the matter, and merely yielded to the Queen's wish to place at her disposal a sum of money to assist the execution of her designs. Furnished with his instructions and a well-stocked purse, the Comte de Reb—went one morning to Mirabeau, plied him with much art, and finally made him offers which he felt confident he would not hesitate to accept. But fate ordained that the man who had always been needy and tormented by creditors, should be at that moment well supplied with money. What was the result? He rejected the Comte de Reb's offer, and asked him for whom he took him. He thus dismissed the Comte with all the dignity of an ancient Greek, telling him that offers of money could not be listened to by him. The Comte, though chagrined, did not lose hope. He knew Mirabeau well enough, and was sure he would not remain long in his present frame of mind. Shortly afterwards a certain M. Joulevet called on the Comte de Reb—, and announced to him that Mirabeau consented to place all his influence at the disposal of the Court, but required an honourable treaty, and not a paltry bargain; that he did not wish to supersede M. Necker, but that any other department of the ministry would suit him. On these terms he would devote himself to the Court. The Comte, on hearing this, went to Mirabeau, was well received, and heard all the reasons he gave for his readiness to *sacrifice* himself by entering the ministry at such a moment. The same day the Comte saw the individual who was to speak to the Queen; and he, on the first intelligence of the capitulation of Mirabeau—for he was really a tower of strength—ran immediately to acquaint her Majesty with the news. The Comte de Reb— followed, and when he entered the royal cabinet the Queen advanced towards him, her countenance beaming with pleasure. 'The King will be gratified by your zeal, Monsieur,' said she to the plenipotentiary: 'well, had you a good bargain of this man? How much has he cost?' He replied that Mirabeau, with true magnanimity,

had rejected all propositions of a pecuniary nature. He then mentioned the appointment to the ministry. At this the Queen reddened, and then turned deadly pale. She closed her eyes, and striking her forehead with her hand, exclaimed, 'A minister! Make Riquetti Mirabeau a minister! Never, never will I allow the threshold of the King's council to be sullied by the footsteps of such a man!' She trembled with rage. 'Let him have money—grant him all he asks for; but to make him a minister! Is it possible that my friends can give me this advice?' She then paced the room with every mark of agitation, repeating the words, 'A minister, forsooth! a minister.' The negotiation was consequently broken off for a season; for Mirabeau would not accept money, and the Queen would not till long afterwards consent to grant him an interview."

W.

[Page 114.]

THE MARQUIS DE BOUILLÉ.

"The Marquis de Bouillé was a gentleman of Auvergne, and a relative of Lafayette's. After having served in the dragoons, he became colonel of the regiment of Vexin infantry. Having attained the rank of major-general, the King appointed him governor-general of the Windward Islands. In 1778 he took Dominica, St. Eustatia, and soon after St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. On his return he was made lieutenant-general. In 1789 he brought back to its duty the revolted garrison of Metz. On the 5th of September in the same year, Grégoire complained to the Assembly that M. de Bouillé had not administered the civic oath individually, and obtained a decree that he should be obliged to do it. In 1790 he was commissioned to bring under subjection the garrison of Nancy, which had risen against its chiefs; he advanced upon the town with four thousand men, and succeeded in this enterprise, in which he showed much bravery, and which at first gained him great praises from the National Assembly, and afterwards as many reproaches. Being chosen by the King to facilitate his escape from Paris, in June 1791, Bouillé marched at the head of a body of troops to protect the passage of the royal family; but by false advices or ill-executed orders, this enterprise failed, and M. de Bouillé had great difficulty in leaving France. From Luxemburg he wrote to the Assembly a letter full of threats, and concluded by saying, that if a hair of Louis XVI.'s head was touched, he would not leave one stone on another in Paris. On the 13th of July the Assembly decreed that he should be tried for contumacy, and that the papers relative to the King's escape should be sent to the high court of the nation. From Vienna, whither he had first gone, Bouillé passed to the Court of Sweden, which gave him employment, and in the name of which he promised powerful assistance to the French princes. After the death of Gustavus III., M. de Bouillé went to England, where he published some valuable papers on the Revolution. He died in London, in 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*.

X.

[Page 116.]

THE ABBÉ MAURY.

"Jean Siffrein Maury, Prior of Lyons, Abbot of La Frenade, and King's preacher, was born at Vabreas, in the county of Avignon, on the 26th of June 1746, of a family engaged in commerce and in the law. He came very young to Paris, where his talent for preaching gained him several benefices, and he acquired reputation and a seat in the Academy by his sermons and panegyrics previous to the Revolution; at which period he employed all his eloquence in defence of the monarchy. It has been observed that he is almost the only person whom this line of conduct has not led to indigence or death. In 1789 the clergy of Peronne deputed him to the States-general, where he displayed eloquence, erudition, and a talent for extempore speaking, which rendered him formidable to the opposite party. In the chamber of the clergy he strongly objected to the union of the orders, and when it was effected, he for some time abandoned Versailles, and was arrested at Peronne, but soon released by order of the Assembly, in which he again appeared. On the 13th of October the Abbé Maury spoke eloquently in defence of the property of the clergy, which it was proposed to declare national. On the 9th of November he occasioned a tremendous commotion by accusing the president of exclusive partiality to the left side. On the 19th of December, he, supported by a great part of his order, protested against the measure for making assignats payable from the property of the clergy. On the 23rd he spoke with energy against the admission of Jews, executioners, and players to the rights of citizens, representing the two latter professions as infamous. On the 24th of February 1791, Maury made a victorious attack on the motion for compelling the King and the presumptive heir to the crown to reside near the Legislative Body, and ended his speech by a shout of 'God save the King!' which was repeated by the right side. On the 13th of May he discussed the great question concerning the admission of people of colour to the rights of citizens, which produced considerable effect on the Assembly, and gained him the applause of all parties. Leaving France after the Assembly closed, Maury went to Rome, where the Pope conferred on him the title of bishop, and sent him to Frankfort, in 1792, to assist as apostolic nuncio at the coronation of the Emperor. In 1792, after the 10th of August, the Legislative Assembly passed a decree of accusation against Maury; but it is worthy of remark, that though one of the most zealous defenders of the monarchy and the clergy, he was never an object of personal hatred to the populace. 'At least he does not seek to betray us, but openly supports the cause he has embraced,' said the people of the capital. Maury's presence of mind was remarkable. On one occasion when a Parisian mob pursued him with the fatal cry of 'To the lamp-post!' he coolly turned round and said, 'And when you have put me in the place of the lamp, do you imagine you will see the better?' A general laugh followed this remark, and Maury was left unmolested. In 1793 he was appointed Archbishop of Nice, and next year he received the cardinal's hat. In the beginning of 1805, Maury addressed a letter to Napoleon, in which he recognized the new government. Although he himself escaped the scaffold by quitting France before the reign of the Jacobins, yet almost the whole of Maury's family perished in one year."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Y.

[Page 116.]

M. DE CALONNE.

"M. Calonne was the third who had succeeded to the office of controller of the finances from the dismissal of M. Necker. He was confessedly a man of ability, and had filled successively the office of intendant of Metz, and of the province of Flanders and Artois. The public, however, saw with disgust and apprehension the wealth of the nation fall into the hands of a man who had dilapidated his own patrimony; who, inconsiderate in character, and immoral upon system, had dishonoured his talents by his vices, and his dignities by the baseness of his conduct; and who, while he exercised the office of procureur-general of the parliament of Douay, had degraded himself so far as to act as the spy of the minister with respect to the procureur-general of the parliament of Bretagne, and had the insolence to sit as the judge of that respectable magistrate, whom he had calumniated; and who, grown grey in the intrigues of gallantry and of the Court, came with a flock of needy sycophants, to devour the revenues of the nation under the pretence of administering them. The first part of the career of M. Calonne was, notwithstanding, brilliant, but it was only a brilliant deception. One of his first measures was to establish a sinking fund, which, by a kind of ministerial juggle, was, in a certain course of years, to discharge the whole national debt. It was even reported by his agents that he had discovered the miraculous secret of paying off the debts of the nation by—borrowing!"—*Impartial History of the French Revolution*.

In the memoirs ascribed to the unfortunate Princesse de Lamballe, it is asserted that M. de Calonne took an active part in the publication of Madame de la Motte's work against the Queen, relative to the celebrated affair of the necklace. It is there said also, that Sheridan, having accidentally seen at a London bookseller's a copy of the first edition, corrected by a person in Paris, supposed to be one of the King's ministers, wrote to the Princesse de Lamballe to inform her of the circumstance. A confidential agent was sent to London to purchase this copy, which was transmitted to the Queen; and the additions and corrections were instantly recognized as the handwriting of M. de Calonne. His dismissal from office was the immediate consequence.

Z.

[Page 117.]

THE EMIGRANTS.

In order to convey a correct idea of the emigration and the opinions which divided it, I cannot do better than quote the Memoirs of Fromont himself. In a volume entitled *Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*, M. Fromont thus expresses himself (p. 4 *et seq.*):—

"I repaired secretly to Turin (January 1790) to the French princes,

to solicit their approbation and their support. In a council which was held on my arrival, I demonstrated to them, that *if they would arm the partisans of the altar and the throne, and make the interests of religion go hand in hand with those of royalty, it would be easy to save both.* Though strongly attached to the faith of my forefathers, it was not upon the non-Catholics that I proposed to make war, but upon the declared foes of Catholicism and royalty, upon those who loudly asserted that Jesus Christ and the Bourbons had been talked of too long, upon those who wished to strangle the last of kings with the intestines of the last of priests. The non-Catholics *who continued faithful* to the monarchy have always found in me the most affectionate fellow-citizen; the rebel Catholics, the most implacable enemy.

"My plan tended solely to raise a party, and to give it all the extension and consistency I could. The real argument of the Revolutionists being force, I felt that the real answer was force. *Then, as at present, I was convinced of this great truth, that a strong passion can be stifled only by a still stronger; and that religious zeal alone can stifle the republican mania.* The miracles which zeal for religion has since wrought in La Vendée and in Spain prove that the philosophers and the Revolutionists of all parties would not have succeeded in establishing their anti-religious and anti-social system for a few years over the greater part of Europe, had the ministers of Louis XVI. conceived such a plan as mine, or had it been sincerely adopted and supported by the advisers of the emigrant princes.

"But, unluckily, most of the persons who directed Louis XVI. and the princes of his house reasoned and acted only on philosophic principles, though the philosophers and their disciples were the cause and the agents of the Revolution. They would have fancied that they were ridiculous and dishonoured if they had uttered the single word *religion*, or had employed the powerful means which it furnishes, and of which the greatest politicians of all ages have successfully availed themselves. While the National Assembly strove to mislead the people, and to secure their confidence by the suppression of feudal rights, of tithes, of the *gabelle*, &c., the monarchists proposed to bring them back to submission by an exposition of the incoherence of the new laws, by a picture of the misfortunes of the King, and by writings above their comprehension. By these means they hoped to revive in the hearts of all the French a pure and disinterested love for their sovereign; they imagined that the clamours of the discontented would stop the enterprises of the factions, and enable the King *to proceed direct to the goal which he was desirous of attaining.* The worth of my advice was probably rated according to my station in life, and the value placed by the *grande*es of the Court upon their titles and their wealth."

M. Fromont continues his narrative, and in another place characterizes the parties into which the fugitive Court was divided, in the following manner (p. 33):—

"These honourable titles, and the attention generally paid to me at Turin, would have made me forget the past, and conceive the most flattering hopes for the future, if I had discovered prudence in the advisers of the princes, and perfect harmony among those who had most influence on our affairs; but I observed with grief that the *emigration* was split into two parties, one of which would not attempt a counter-revolution but by the aid of foreign powers, and the other, but by the royalists of the interior.

"The first party promised, that on the cession of certain provinces to

the powers, they would furnish the French princes with armies sufficiently numerous to reduce the factions; that in time it would be easy to withdraw the concessions which they had been forced to make; and that the Court, by contracting no obligation to *any of the bodies of the State*, would be able to dictate laws to all the French. . . . The courtiers trembled lest the nobility of the provinces and the royalists of the *tiers-état* should have the honour of setting the tottering monarchy upon its legs again. They were aware that they would no longer be the dispensers of bounties and favours, and that they would be at an end as soon as the nobility of the provinces should have re-established the royal authority at the expense of its blood, and thereby earned the gratitude and the confidence of its sovereign. Dread of this new order of things caused them to unite, if not to dissuade the princes from employing in any way the royalists of the interior, at least to persuade them to fix their attention principally on the Cabinets of Europe, and to induce them to found their greatest hopes on foreign assistance. In consequence of this dread, they *secretly* set at work the most efficacious means for ruining the internal resources, and for thwarting the proposed plans, several of which were calculated to effect the re-establishment of order if they had been wisely directed and supported. This is what I myself witnessed; this is what I will some day prove by authentic facts and testimonies; but the time is not yet come. In a conference held about this very time on the subject of the advantage to be derived from the favourable disposition of the people of Lyons and Franche-Comté, I stated without reserve the means which ought to be employed, *at the same time*, to ensure the triumph of the royalists of the Gevaudan, the Cevennes, the Vivarais, the Comtat-Venaissin, Languedoc, and Provence. In the heat of the discussion the Marquis d'Autichamp, *maréchal-de-camp, the great champion of the powers*, said to me, 'But will not the oppressed and the relatives of the victims seek to revenge themselves?' 'What signifies that,' said I, 'provided we attain our aim?' 'See,' he exclaimed, 'how I have made him admit that private revenge would be wreaked!' With something more than astonishment at this observation, I said to the Marquis de Rouzière, who sat next to me, 'I did not imagine that a civil war ought to resemble a mission of Capuchins.' Thus it was that, by filling princes with the fear of rendering themselves odious to their bitterest enemies, the courtiers induced them to adopt half-measures, sufficient, no doubt, to provoke the zeal of the royalists of the interior, but most inadequate, after compromising them, to protect them from the fury of the factions. Since that time I recollect that while the army of the princes was in Champagne, M. de la Porte, aide-de-camp to the Marquis d'Autichamp, having taken prisoner a republican, fancied, agreeably to the system of his general, that he should bring him back to his duty by a pathetic exhortation, and by restoring to him his arms and his liberty; but no sooner had the republican got to the distance of a few paces than he levelled his conqueror with the ground. The Marquis d'Autichamp, unmindful of the moderation which he had displayed at Turin, burned several villages to avenge the death of his imprudent missionary.

"The second party maintained that, since the powers had several times taken up arms to humble the Bourbons, and in particular to prevent Louis XIV. from securing the crown of Spain for his grandson, so far from calling them to our aid, we ought, on the contrary, to rekindle the zeal of the clergy, the devotion of the nobility, the love of the people, for the King, and *lose no time in quelling a family quarrel*, of which foreigners might perhaps be tempted to take advantage. . . . It was to this fatal

division among the leaders of the emigration, and to the unskilfulness or the treachery of the ministers of Louis XVI., that the Revolutionists owed their first successes. I will go still farther, and assert that it was not the National Assembly which effected the Revolution, but those who were about the King and the Princes. I maintain that the ministers delivered up Louis XVI. to the enemies of royalty, as certain dabblers have delivered up the Princes and Louis XVIII. to the enemies of France. I maintain that the majority of the courtiers about Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and the Princes of their house, were and are *charlatans, real political eunuchs*; that to their listlessness, their cowardice, or their treason, are to be imputed all the calamities which France has suffered, and those which still threaten the world. If I had borne a great name, and had belonged to the council of the Bourbons, I should have outlived the idea that a horde of base and cowardly brigands, none of whom have displayed any kind of genius or superior talent, should have contrived to overthrow the throne, to establish their domination over several powerful States of Europe, and to make the world tremble. When this idea haunts me, I bury myself in the obscurity of my station, that it may screen me from censure, as it has withheld from me the power to arrest the progress of the Revolution."

AA.

[Page 131.]

BARON DE CLOOTZ.

"J. B. de Clootz, a Prussian baron, known since the Revolution by the name of Anacharsis Clootz, was born at Cleves, on the 24th of June 1755, and became the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he dissipated by his misconduct. He was not destitute of ability, but was half crazed by his fanatical love of liberty, and his constant habit of poring over the works of German metaphysicians. As he was the nephew of Cornelius Parr, author of several works, he thought he must also be a writer. He travelled in different parts of Europe, and particularly cultivated the society of Burke, who was then a member of the opposition in the English parliament. During the French Revolution, Clootz made himself notorious by the absurd extravagance of his conduct. The masquerade, known by the name of the 'Embassy of the Human Race,' was the first scene in which he attracted attention. He appeared on the 19th of June 1790 at the bar of the National Assembly, followed by a considerable body of Parisian porters in foreign dresses, whom he presented as deputies from all nations. He styled himself the 'Orator of the human race,' and requested to be admitted to the Federation, which was agreed to. On the 22nd of January 1792 he wrote a letter to the Legislative Assembly, beginning thus: 'The orator of the human race to the legislature of the human race sends greeting.' On the 21st of April he delivered a ridiculous tirade at the bar relative to the declaration of war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; proposed to the Assembly to adhere for a year to a strict regimen; and ended by offering what he called a patriotic gift of twelve thousand livres. He in consequence obtained the honour of a seat among the members. On the 12th of August he came to congratulate the Assembly on the

events of the 10th, and offered to raise a Prussian legion. On the 27th he begged the Assembly to set a price on the heads of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick, and delivered a long speech, in which the following expressions occurred: 'Charles IX. had a successor: Louis will have none.' 'You know how to value the heads of philosophers: a price yet remains to be set on those of tyrants.' 'My heart is French, and my soul sans-culotte.' The hatred of this fanatic against the Christian religion was as fervent as that which he entertained against the monarchy. In September, 1792 he was deputed from the Oise to the Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis XVI. in the name of the human race! In the same year he published a work entitled 'The Universal Republic,' wherein he laid it down as a principle that 'the people was the sovereign of the world—nay, that it was God!'—'that fools alone believed in a Supreme Being!' &c. He soon afterwards fell under the suspicion of Robespierre, was arrested as a Hebertist, and condemned to death on the 24th of March 1794. He died with great firmness, and on his way to execution, lectured Hebert on materialism, 'to prevent him,' as he said, 'from yielding to religious feelings in his last moments.' He even asked to be executed after all his accomplices, in order that he might have time 'to establish certain principles during the fall of their heads.'—*Biographie Moderne.*

BB.

[Page 134.]

THE BISHOP OF AUTUN.

"Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, minister for foreign affairs, ci-devant Bishop of Autun, Abbé of Celles and St. Denis, was born at Paris in 1754, and as deputy from the clergy of the bailiwick of Autun, joined the meeting of the commons on the opening of the States-general. He combined with natural ability a great facility for labour and application. His name, his dignities, and his example operated on a great number of deputies, who were wholly guided by his counsels. On the 20th of August 1789, Talleyrand procured the adoption of an article concerning the admission of all citizens without distinction to all offices. Three days afterwards he opposed the mention of divine worship in the declaration of the rights of man, and maintained that it was in the constitutional act that the holy name of the Catholic religion ought to be pronounced. In August, October, and November he made speeches on the finances, in one of which he recommended the sale of Church property. In February 1790 he composed the famous address to the French, to remind them of what the National Assembly had already done for them, and still intended to do; and on the 14th of July he celebrated the mass of the Federation. On the 29th of December he published an address to the clergy, giving an account of the motives which had induced him to take the constitutional oath, and exhorting them to follow his example. In March and November 1791 he joined the Abbé Siéyes in defending the nonjuring priests. Having been very intimate with Mirabeau, he in the tribune in March 1792 read a long discourse on Inheritances, which that great statesman had entrusted to him on his death-bed, in order that he should communicate

it to the Assembly. Assisted by the Bishops of Lydia and Babylon, Talleyrand consecrated the first bishops who were called constitutional, an act which drew upon him the displeasure of the Court of Rome. After the session he was sent to England as private negotiator, in order to conclude a treaty of peace between the two nations, but failed in his negotiation. Terrified at the blood which was so lavishly poured forth in France, and informed also that after the 10th of August 1792 papers had been found at the Tuileries which might compromise him, he retired to the United States. After the 9th Thermidor 1794 he returned to Paris, became a member of the National Institute, and in 1797 he entered on the administration of foreign affairs. From that time he began to acquire great influence in the government, and was one of those who contrived the events of the 18th Brumaire. In 1802, after the re-establishment of Catholic worship in France, the First Consul obtained for Talleyrand a brief from the Pope, which restored him to a secular and lay life, and authorized his marriage with Mrs. Grant."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Talleyrand remained in the administration of foreign affairs up to the period of the disastrous Russian campaign, when he began to make secret overtures—at least so it is reported of him by Napoleon's biographers—to the Bourbons. On the Emperor's downfall he held office for a time under Louis XVIII., and on the expulsion of Charles X. was appointed ambassador to England by Louis Philippe. He soon resigned this appointment, and lived in comparative retirement at his château until his death in 1838.

CC.

[Page 135.]

THE 14TH JULY 1790.

"In spite of plotting aristocrats, lazy, hired spademen, and almost of destiny itself (for there has been much rain), the Champ de Mars on the 13th of the month is fairly ready. The morning comes—cold for a July one—but such a festivity would make Greenland smile. Through every inlet of that national amphitheatre (for it is a league in circuit, cut with openings at due intervals) floods in the living throng; covers without tumult space after space. Two hundred thousand patriotic men, and twice as good, one hundred thousand patriotic women, all decked and glorified as one can fancy, sit waiting in this Champ de Mars. What a picture, that circle of bright-dyed life, spread up there on its thirty-seated slope; leaning, one would say, on the thick umbrage of those avenue trees, for the stems of them are hidden by the height; and all beyond it mere greenness of summer earth, with the gleams of waters, or white sparklings of stone edifices. On remotest steeple and invisible village belfry stand men with spy-glasses. On the heights of Chaillot are many-coloured undulating groups; round, and far on, over all the circling heights that embosom Paris, it is as one more or less peopled amphitheatre, which the eye grows dim with measuring. Nay, heights have cannon, and a floating battery of cannon is on the Seine. When eye fails, ears shall serve; and all France properly is but one amphitheatre, for in paved town and unpaved hamlet men walk listening, till the muffled thunder sounds audible on their horizon, that they too may

begin swearing and firing. But now, to streams of music come federates enough—for they have assembled on the Boulevard St. Antoine, and come marching through the city, with their eighty-three department banners and blessings not loud but deep; comes National Assembly and takes seat under its canopy; comes Royalty, and takes seat on a throne beside it. And Lafayette, on white charger, is here, and all the civic functionaries; and the federates form dances till their strictly military evolutions and manœuvres can begin. Task not the pen of mortal to describe them: truant imagination droops—declares that it is not worth while. There is wheeling and sweeping to slow, to quick, and double-quick time. Sieur Motier, or Generalissimo Lafayette—for they are one and the same, and he is General of France in the King's stead for four and twenty hours—must step forth with that sublime, chivalrous gait of his; solemnly ascend the steps of the Fatherland's altar, in sight of Heaven and of scarcely breathing earth; and pronounce the oath, 'To King, to law and nation,' in his own name, and that of armed France. Whereat, there is waving of banners, and acclaim sufficient. The National Assembly must swear, standing in its place; the King himself audibly. The King swears; and now be the welkin split with *vivats*; let citizens enfranchised embrace; armed federates clang their arms; above all, that floating battery speak! It has spoken—to the four corners of France! From eminence to eminence bursts the thunder, faint heard, loud repeated. From Arras to Avignon—from Metz to Bayonne! over Orleans and Blois it rolls, in cannon-recitative; Puy bellows of it amid his granite mountains; Pau, where is the shell-cradle of Great Henri. At far Marseilles, one can think, the ruddy evening witnesses it; over the deep blue Mediterranean waters, the castle of If, ruddy-tinted, darts forth from every cannon's mouth its tongue of fire; and all the people shout—Yes, France is free! Glorious France, that has burst out so, into universal sound and smoke; and attained—the Phrygian cap of liberty!"—*Carlyle's French Revolution*.

DD.

[Page 135.]

THE CHAMP DE MARS.

I have already quoted some pages of the Memoirs of Ferrières relative to the first sitting of the States-general. As nothing is more important than to ascertain the real sentiments which the Revolution excited, I think it right to give the description of the Federation by the same Ferrières. We shall see if this enthusiasm is genuine, if it was communicative, and if that Revolution was so hideous as some have wished to make it appear:—

"Meanwhile, the federalists were arriving from all parts of the empire. They were lodged in the houses of private individuals, who cheerfully supplied beds, linen, wood, and all that could contribute to render their stay in the capital agreeable and comfortable. The municipality took precautions that so great an influx of strangers might not disturb the public tranquillity. Twelve thousand labourers worked incessantly at preparing the Champ de Mars. Notwithstanding the activity with which the operations were prosecuted, they advanced but

slowly. It was feared that they could not be completed by the 14th of July, the day irrevocably fixed for the ceremony, because it was the famous epoch of the insurrection of Paris, and of the taking of the Bastille. In this perplexity, the districts, in the name of the country, invited the good citizens to assist the workmen. This civic invitation electrified all heads; the women shared and propagated the enthusiasm; seminarists, scholars, nuns of the order called *Sœurs du Pot*, Carthusians grown old in solitude, were seen quitting their cloisters, hurrying to the Champ de Mars, with shovels upon their shoulders, bearing banners adorned with patriotic emblems. There all the citizens collected, blended together, formed an immense and incessantly moving mass of labourers, every point of which presented a varied group; the dishevelled courtesan is placed beside the modest matron, the Capuchin draws the truck with the chevalier of St. Louis, the porter with the *petit maître* of the Palais Royal, the sturdy fishwoman drives the wheelbarrow filled by the hands of the delicate and nervous lady; wealthy people, indigent people, well-dressed people, ragged people, old men, boys, comedians, *Cent-Suisses*, clerks, working and resting, actors and spectators, exhibited to the astonished eye a scene full of life and bustle; moving taverns, portable shops, increased the charm and gaiety of this vast and exhilarating picture; songs, shouts of joy, the sound of drums and military instruments, that of spades and wheelbarrows, the voices of the labourers calling to and encouraging one another. . . . The mind felt sinking under the weight of a delicious intoxication at the sight of a whole people who had descended again to the sweet sentiments of a primitive fraternity. . . . As soon as the clock struck nine the groups separated. Each citizen repaired to the station of his section, returned to his family, to his acquaintance. The bands marched off to the sound of drums, returned to Paris, preceded by torches, indulging from time to time in sallies against the aristocrats, and singing the celebrated air, *Ça ira*.

"At length the 14th of July, the day of the Federation, arrived, amidst the hopes of some, and the alarms and terrors of others. If this grand ceremony had not the serious and august character of a festival at once national and religious, a character almost incompatible with the French spirit, it displayed that lively and delightful image of joy and enthusiasm a thousand times more touching. The federalists, ranged by departments under eighty-three banners, set out from the site of the Bastille; the deputies of the troops of the line and of the navy, the Parisian national guard, drums, bands of music, the colours of the sections, opened and closed the procession.

"The federalists passed through the Rues St. Martin, St. Denis, and St. Honoré, and proceeded by the Cours la Reine to a bridge of boats constructed across the river. They were greeted by the way with the acclamations of an immense concourse which filled the streets, the windows of the houses, and the quays. The heavy rain which was falling neither deranged nor slackened the march. Dripping with wet and perspiration, the federalists danced *farandoles*, shouting 'Long live our brethren, the Parisians!' Wine, ham, fruit, sausages, were let down from the windows for them; they were loaded with blessings. The National Assembly joined the procession at the Place Louis XV., and walked between the battalion of the veterans and that of the young pupils of the country—an expressive image, which seemed to concentrate in itself alone all ages and all interests.

"The road leading to the Champ de Mars was covered with people, who clapped their hands, and sang *Ça ira*. The Quai de Chaillot and

the heights of Passy presented a long amphitheatre, where the elegant dresses, the charms, the graces of the women enchanted the eye, without allowing it the faculty of dwelling upon any portion of the scene in preference. The rain continued to fall; nobody seemed to perceive it: French gaiety triumphed both over the bad weather, the bad roads, and the length of the march.

"M. de Lafayette, mounted on a superb horse, and surrounded by his aides-de-camp, gave orders, and received the homage of the people and the federalists. The perspiration trickled from his face. A man, whom nobody knew, pushed through the crowd, and advanced, holding a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other. 'General,' said he, 'you are hot; take a glass.' Raising his bottle, he filled a large glass, and handed it to M. de Lafayette. The general took the glass, eyed the stranger for a moment, and drank off the wine at a draught. The people applauded. Lafayette, with a smile of complaisance, cast a benevolent and confiding look upon the multitude, and that look seemed to say, 'I shall never conceive any suspicion, I shall never feel any uneasiness, so long as I am in the midst of you.'

"Meanwhile more than three hundred thousand persons of both sexes, from Paris and the environs, assembled ever since six in the morning in the Champ de Mars, sitting on turf seats, which formed an immense circus, drenched, draggled, sheltering themselves with parasols from the torrents of rain which descended upon them, at the least ray of sunshine adjusting their dresses, waited, laughing and chatting, for the federalists and the National Assembly. A spacious amphitheatre had been erected for the King, the royal family, the ambassadors, and the deputies. The federalists, who first arrived, began to dance *farandoles*; those who followed joined them, forming a round which soon embraced part of the Champ de Mars. A sight worthy of the philosophic observer was that exhibited by this host of men, who had come from the most opposite parts of France, hurried away by the impulse of the national character, banishing all remembrance of the past, all idea of the present, all fear of the future, indulging in a delicious thoughtlessness; and three hundred thousand spectators, of all ages, of both sexes, following their motions, beating time with their hands, forgetting the rain, hunger, and the weariness of long waiting. At length, the whole procession having entered the Champ de Mars, the dance ceased; each federalist repaired to his banner. The Bishop of Autun prepared to perform mass at an altar in the antique style, erected in the centre of the Champ de Mars. Three hundred priests, in white surplices, girt with broad tricoloured scarfs, ranged themselves at the four corners of the altar. The Bishop of Autun blessed the *oriflamme* and the eighty-three banners; he struck up the *Te Deum*. Twelve hundred musicians played that hymn. Lafayette, at the head of the staff of the Parisian militia, and of the deputies of the army and navy, went up to the altar, and swore in the name of the troops and the federalists to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the King. A discharge of four pieces of cannon proclaimed to France this solemn oath. The twelve hundred musicians rent the air with military tunes; the colours, the banners waved; the drawn sabres glistened. The president of the National Assembly repeated the same oath. The people and the deputies answered with shouts of *I swear it*. The King then rose, and in a loud voice said, '*I, King of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the State in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me.*' The

Queen, taking the Dauphin in her arms, held him up to the people, and said, '*Here is my son; he joins as well as myself in those sentiments.*' This unexpected movement was repaid by a thousand shouts of '*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive M. le Dauphin!*' The cannon continued to mingle their majestic voices with the warlike sounds of military instruments and the acclamations of the people. The weather had cleared up; the sun burst forth in all his splendour; it seemed as if it had pleased God Himself to witness this mutual contract, and to ratify it by His presence. . . . Yes, He did both see and hear it, and the terrible calamities which ever since that day have not ceased to desolate France—O Providence, ever active and ever faithful!—are the just punishment of perjury. Thou hast stricken both the monarch and the subject who violated their oath!

"The enthusiasm and the festivities were not confined to the day of the Federation. During the stay of the federalists at Paris there was one continued series of entertainments, of dances, and of rejoicings. People again went to the Champ de Mars, where they drank, sang, and danced. M. de Lafayette reviewed part of the national guard of the departments, and the army of the line. The King, the Queen, and the Dauphin were present at this review. They were greeted with acclamations. The Queen, with a gracious look, gave the federalists her hand to kiss, and showed them the Dauphin. The federalists, before they quitted the capital, went to pay their homage to the King; all of them testified the most profound respect, the warmest attachment. The chief of the Bretons dropped on his knee and presented his sword to Louis XVI. 'Sire,' said he, 'I deliver to you, pure and sacred, the sword of the faithful Bretons; it shall never be stained but with the blood of your enemies.' 'That sword cannot be in better hands than those of my dear Bretons,' replied Louis XVI., raising the chief of the Bretons, and returning to him his sword. 'I have never doubted their affection and their fidelity. Assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all the French.' The King, deeply moved, pressed the hand of the chief of the Bretons, and embraced him. A mutual emotion prolonged for some moments this touching scene. The chief of the Bretons was the first to speak. 'Sire,' said he, 'all the French, if I may judge from our hearts, love and will love you, because you are a citizen King.'

"The municipality of Paris resolved also to give an entertainment to the federalists. There was a regatta on the river, fireworks, illumination, ball and refreshments in the Halle au Blé, and a ball on the site of the Bastille. At the entrance of the enclosure was an inscription, in large letters, *ICI L'ON DANSE (Dancing here)*. Happy assemblage, which formed a striking contrast with the antique image of horror and despair called forth by the recollection of that odious prison! The people went to and from one of these places to the other without impediment. The police, by prohibiting the circulation of carriages, prevented the accidents so common in public festivities, as well as the tumultuous noise of horses and wheels, and shouts of *Gare!* (Take care)—a noise which wearies and stuns the citizens, makes them every moment afraid of being run over, and gives to the most splendid and best regulated fête the appearance of a flight. Public festivities are essentially for the people. It is they alone who ought to be considered. If the rich are desirous of sharing their pleasures, let them put themselves on a level with the people for that day; by so doing they will gain sensations to which they are strangers, and will not disturb the joy of their fellow-citizens.

"It was in the Champs Elysées that persons of feeling enjoyed more satisfactorily this charming popular festival. Columns of lights hung from every tree, and festoons of lamps connected them together; pyramids of fire, placed at intervals, diffused a pure light, which the enormous mass of surrounding darkness rendered still more brilliant by its contrast. The people covered the alleys and the greensward. The citizen, seated with his wife amidst his children, ate, chatted, walked about, and enjoyed himself. Here young lads and lasses danced to the sound of several bands of music stationed in the open spaces which had been formed. Farther on sailors, in jacket and trousers, surrounded by numerous groups who looked on with interest, strove to climb up tall masts rubbed with soap, to gain a prize reserved for him who should reach and bring down a tricoloured flag fastened to the summit. You should have seen the bursts of laughter which greeted those who were forced to relinquish the attempt, and the encouragements given to those who, more lucky or more adroit, appeared likely to reach the top. A soothing sentimental joy, diffused over every face, beaming in every eye, reminded you of the peaceful pleasures of the happy shades in the Elysian fields of the ancients. The white dresses of a multitude of females strolling under the trees of those beautiful alleys served to heighten the illusion."—*Ferrières*, tome ii. p. 89.

EE.

[Page 139.]

THE VALUE OF ASSIGNATS.

M. de Talleyrand had predicted in a very remarkable manner the financial results of paper-money. In his speech he first showed the nature of that money, characterized it with the greatest justice, and explained the reasons of its speedy inferiority.

"Will the National Assembly," said he, "order an issue of two thousand millions of money in assignats? People judge of this second issue by the success of the first; but they will not perceive that the wants of commerce, checked by the Revolution, naturally caused our first conventional issue to be received with avidity; and these wants were such, that, in my opinion, this currency would have been adopted, had it even not been forced: to make an attack on this first success, which, moreover, has not been complete, since the assignats are below par, in favour of a second and more ample issue, is to expose ourselves to great dangers; for the empire of the law has its measure, and this measure is the interest which men have to respect or to infringe it.

"The assignats will undoubtedly have characters of security which no paper-money ever had; none was ever created upon so valuable a pledge, clothed with so solid a security; that I am far from denying. The assignat, considered as a title of credit, has a positive and material value; this value of the assignat is precisely the same as that of the land which it represents; but still it must be admitted, above all, that never will any national paper be upon a par with the metals; never will the supplementary sign of the first representative sign of wealth have the exact value of its model: the very title proves want, and want spreads alarm and distrust around it.

"Why will assignat-money be always below specie? In the first place; because there will always be doubts of the exact application of its proportions between the mass of the assignats and that of the national property; because there will long be uncertainty respecting the consummation of the sales; because no conception can be formed by what time two thousand millions of assignats, representing nearly the value of the domains, will be extinguished; because money being put in competition with paper, both become a marketable commodity; and the more abundant any commodity is, the lower must be its price; because with money one will always be able to do without assignats, whilst it is impossible with assignats to do without money, and fortunately the absolute want of money will keep some specie in circulation, for it would be the greatest of all evils to be absolutely destitute of it."

Farther on the speaker added: "To create an assignat currency is not assuredly representing a metallic commodity, it is merely representing a metallic currency; now a metal that is merely money, whatever idea may be attached to it, cannot represent that which is at the same time money and merchandise. Assignat-money, however safe, however solid it may be, is therefore an abstraction of paper-money; it is consequently the free or forced sign, not of wealth, but merely of credit. It thence follows that to give to paper the functions of money by making it like other money, the medium between all exchangeable objects, is changing the quantity recognized as unity, otherwise called in this matter the mint standard; it is operating in a moment what centuries scarcely operate in a State that is advancing in wealth; and if, to borrow the expression of a foreign writer, money performs in regard to the price of things the same function as degrees, minutes, and seconds in regard to angles, or scales in regard to geographical maps and plans of all kinds, I ask what must be the result from this alteration in the common measure?"

After showing what the new money was, M. de Talleyrand predicted with singular precision the confusion which would result from it in private transactions:—

"But let us at length follow the assignats in their progress, and see what course they will have to take. The reimbursed creditor then must either purchase lands with the assignats, or he must keep them, or employ them for other acquisitions. If he purchases land, then your object will be fulfilled: I shall applaud with you the creation of assignats, because they will not be thrown into circulation; because, in short, they will only have made that which I propose to you to give to public credits, the faculty of being exchanged for public domains. But if this distrustful creditor prefers losing the interest by keeping an inactive title; if he converts assignats into metals for the purpose of hoarding them, or into bills on foreigners to carry them abroad; if these latter classes are much more numerous than the first; if, in short, the assignats remain a long time in circulation before they come to be extinguished in the chest of the sinking fund; if they are forced into currency, and stop in the hands of persons who are obliged to take them at par, and who, owing nothing, cannot employ them but with loss; if they are the occasion of a great injustice done by all debtors to all creditors anterior to the passing of assignats at the par of money, whilst it will be contradicted in the security which it orders, since it will be impossible to oblige the sellers to take them at the par of specie, that is to say, without raising the price of their commodities in proportion to the loss upon the assignats; how sorely then will this ingenious operation have disappointed

the patriotism of those whose sagacity has devised, and whose integrity defends it! and to what inconsolable regret should we not be doomed!"

It cannot then be asserted that the National Assembly was wholly unaware of the possible result of its determination; but to these forebodings might be opposed one of those answers which one never dare give at the moment, but which would be peremptory, and which become so in the sequel—the necessity of replenishing the exchequer and of dividing property.

FF.

[Page 140.]

THE COMTE DE MONTMORIN.

"Armand Marc Comte de Montmorin St. Herem, minister of finance and secretary of State, was one of the Assembly of Notables held at Versailles, and had the administration of foreign affairs at the time when the States-general opened. He was dismissed in 1789 with Necker, but was immediately recalled by order of the National Assembly. In September 1790, when all his colleagues were dismissed, he retained his place, and even the portfolio of the interior was for a time confided to him. In April 1791 he sent a circular letter to all the ministers at foreign Courts, assuring their sovereigns that the King was wholly unrestrained, and sincerely attached to the new constitution. In the beginning of June he was struck from the list of Jacobins, and was afterwards summoned to the bar for giving the King's passport when he fled to Varennes; but he easily cleared himself from this charge by proving that the passport had been taken out under a supposititious name. M. de Montmorin soon after this tendered his resignation; yet though withdrawn from public life, he continued near the King, and together with Bertrand de Molleville, Malouet, and a few others, formed a kind of privy council, which suggested and prepared various plans for strengthening the monarchy. This conduct drew on him the inveterate hatred of the Jacobins, who attacked him and Bertrand as members of the Austrian committee. M. de Montmorin was one of the first victims who fell in the massacres of September."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"The unfortunate M. de Montmorin had taken refuge, on the 10th of August, at the house of a washerwoman in the Faubourg St. Antoine. He was discovered in the early part of September by the imprudence of his hostess, who bought the finest fowls and the best fruit she could find, and carried them to her house, without taking any precautions to elude the observation of her neighbours. They soon suspected her of harbouring an aristocrat. This conjecture spread among the populace of the faubourg, who were almost all of them spies and agents of the Jacobins. M. de Montmorin was in consequence arrested, and conducted to the bar of the National Assembly. He answered the questions put to him in the most satisfactory manner; but his having concealed himself, and a bottle of laudanum having been found in his pocket, formed, said his enemies, a strong presumption that he was conscious of some crime. After being detained two days in the committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbaye, and a few days afterwards was murdered in a manner too shocking to mention, and his mangled body carried in triumph to the National Assembly."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville*.

GG.

[Page 145.]

THE PRIESTS AND THE OATH TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Ferrières, an eye-witness of the intrigues of that period, mentions those which were employed to prevent the oath of the priests. This page appears to me too characteristic not to be quoted:—

“The bishops and the Revolutionists intrigued, and were extremely busy, the one to cause the oath to be taken, the other to prevent it. Both parties were sensible of the influence which the line of conduct pursued by the ecclesiastics of the Assembly would have in the provinces. The bishops visited their curés; devotees of both sexes set themselves in motion. Nothing was talked of in every company but the oath of the clergy. One would have supposed that the destiny of France and the fate of every Frenchman depended on its being taken or not taken. Men the most free in their religious opinions, and the most notoriously immoral women, were suddenly transformed into rigid theologians, into ardent missionaries of the purity and integrity of the Romish faith.

“The *Journal de Fonteney*, *L'Ami du Roi*, and *La Gazette de Durosoir* employed their usual weapons—exaggeration, falsehood, calumny. Numberless tracts were distributed, in which the civil constitution of the clergy was treated as schismatic, heretical, and destructive of religion. The devotees hawked about pamphlets from house to house; they entreated, conjured, threatened, according to particular dispositions and characters. To some they represented the clergy triumphant, the Assembly dissolved, the prevaricating ecclesiastics stripped of their benefices, confined in their houses of correction; the faithful ones covered with glory and loaded with wealth. The Pope was about to launch his anathemas at a sacrilegious Assembly, and at the apostate priests. The people, deprived of the sacraments, would rise; the foreign powers would enter France, and that structure of iniquity and villainy would crumble to pieces upon its own foundations.”—*Ferrières*, tome ii. p. 198.

HH.

[Page 147.]

THE ROYALIST LEGIONS.

M. Fromont relates the following circumstance in his work, already quoted:—

“In this state of things the princes conceived the plan of forming in the interior of the kingdom, as soon as possible, legions of all the loyal subjects of the King, to be employed till the troops of the line should be completely reorganized. Desirous of being at the head of the royalists, whom I had directed and commanded in 1789 and 1790, I wrote to Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, begging his royal highness to

grant me the commission of colonel-commandant, worded in such a manner that every royalist who, like myself, should raise a sufficient number of good citizens to form a legion, might have reason to flatter himself that he should obtain the like favour. Monsieur le Comte d'Artois applauded the idea, and listened favourably to my application; but the members of the council were not of his opinion; they thought it so strange that a commoner should aspire to a military commission, that one of them angrily said to me, 'Why did you not ask for a bishopric?' The only answer I gave to the questioner was a loud burst of laughter, which somewhat disconcerted his gravity. Meanwhile the question was discussed at the house of M. de Flaschlanden: the persons engaged in this deliberation were of opinion that these new corps ought to be called civic legions (*legions bourgeoises*). I remarked to them, that under this denomination they would merely supply the place of the national guards; that the princes could not make them march to any quarter where they might be needed, because they would allege that they were bound only to defend their own hearths; that it was to be feared that the factions would find means to set them at loggerheads with the troops of the line; that with empty words they had armed the people against the depositaries of the public authority; that it would therefore be more politic to follow their example, and to give to these new corps the denomination of *royal militia*; that . . . 'No, no, sir,' said the Bishop of Arras, suddenly interrupting me, 'the word *bourgeois* must be inserted in your commission;' and the Baron de Flaschlanden, who drew it up, inserted the word *bourgeois* accordingly." — *Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*, p. 62.

II.

[Page 147.]

THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

"Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, was born at Chantilly, in 1736. He was the only son of the Duc de Bourbon and the Princesse de Hesse-Rheinfels. In 1753 he married the Princesse de Rohan-Soubise, who in 1756 bore him the Prince de Bourbon-Condé. In the Seven Years' War he distinguished himself by his skill and courage, and in 1762 gained a victory at Johannisberg over the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. In the Revolution he emigrated, in 1789, to Brussels, and thence to Turin. He afterwards formed a little corps of emigrant nobility, which joined the Austrian army under Wurmser. In 1795 he entered, with his corps, into the English service. In 1797 he entered the Russian service, and marched with his corps to Russia, where he was hospitably received by Paul I. In 1800, after the separation of Russia from the coalition, he re-entered the English service. He returned to Paris in 1814; and the next year fled with the King to Ghent. He died at Paris in 1818. His grandson was the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien." — *Cyclopædia Americana*.

JJ.

[Page 147.]

THE EMIGRANTS IN CAMP.

"Many of the emigrants had joined the army in a state of complete destitution. Others were spending improvidently the last relics of their fortunes. Several corps, composed wholly of officers, served as private soldiers. The naval officers were mounted. The country gentlemen formed themselves into companies, distinguished by the names of their native provinces. All were in good spirits, for the camp life was free and joyous. Some became drawers of water, others hewers of wood; others provided and dressed the provisions, and everywhere the inspiring note of the trumpet resounded. The camp, in fact, was a perfect kingdom. There were princes dwelling in waggons; magistrates on horseback; missionaries preaching the Bible, and administering justice. The poor nobles conformed with careless philosophy to this altered state of things, cheerfully enduring present privations in the sanguine expectation of speedily regaining all that they had lost. They confidently believed that the end of autumn would find them restored to their splendid homes, to their groves, to their forests, and to their old dove-cotes."—*Chateaubriand's Memoirs of the Duc de Berri*.

KK.

[Page 149.]

GENERAL SANTERRE.

"Santerre, a brewer in the Faubourg-St. Antoine, at Paris, possessed a boldness and energy which gave him great weight in his own neighbourhood. Though ignorant, he knew well how to address a mob, which made him courted by the Orleanists. On the taking of the Bastille he distinguished himself at the head of the forces of his faubourg, and when the national guard was formed, he was appointed commander of a battalion. In 1792 he began to obtain decided influence with the people, and on the 10th of August, becoming commander of the national guard, he conducted the King to the Temple. Yet, notwithstanding his democratic zeal, he was not considered fit to direct the massacres in the prisons. Marat said of him, that he was a man without any decided character. On the 11th of December he conducted the King to the bar of the National Convention on the occasion of his trial; and in January 1793 commanded the troops who superintended his execution. It was Santerre who interrupted the unfortunate monarch when he attempted to address the people, by ordering the drums to be beat. Wishing to figure as a warrior, Santerre departed, with 14,000 men, to fight the royalists in La Vendée; he was, however, continually unsuccessful; and on one occasion, it having been reported that he was killed, this epitaph was made on him: 'Here lies General Santerre, who had nothing of Mars but his beer.' Santerre survived the troubles of the Revolution, and died in obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne*.

LL.

[Page 152.]

THE POISONING OF MIRABEAU.

The author of the *Mémoires d'un Pair de France* positively asserts that Mirabeau was poisoned. He says, that in 1793, Robespierre, at a moment when he was off his guard, ventured to boast of the share which he had taken in that crime. "Two parties," he adds, "were then labouring to accomplish the ruin of the King; a third wished it without declaring itself: all of them were concerned to see that Louis XVI. inclined to a cordial reconciliation with the constitution, and all dreaded the sound advice which Mirabeau had it in his power to give him. It was well known that this man was the only person capable of directing affairs in such a manner as to keep the factions within the limits which they hoped to pass. As the issue of any attempt to strip him of his popularity was uncertain, it was thought better to despatch him; but as no assassin was to be found, it was necessary to have recourse to poison. Marat furnished the receipt for it; it was prepared under his superintendence, and he answered for its effect. How to administer it was the next question. At length it was resolved to choose the opportunity of a dinner, at which the poisonous ingredients should be introduced into the bread or wine, or certain dishes of which Mirabeau was known to be fond. Robespierre and Petion undertook to see to the execution of this atrocious scheme, and were assisted by Fabre d'Eglantine and two or three other subordinate Orleanists. Mirabeau had no suspicion of this perfidy; but its effects were manifested immediately after a party of pleasure, at which he had indulged in great intemperance. He was soon aware that he was poisoned, and told his intimate friends so, and especially Cabanis, to whom he said, 'You seek the cause of my death in my physical excesses; you will find it rather in the hatred borne me by those who wish for the overthrow of France, or those who are afraid of my ascendancy over the minds of the King and Queen.' It was impossible to drive it out of his head that his death was not natural, but great pains were taken to prevent this opinion from getting abroad."

MM.

[Page 154.]

G. J. DANTON.

"Georges Jacques Danton, an advocate by profession, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, October 26, 1759, and beheaded April 5, 1794. His external appearance was striking. His stature was colossal; his frame athletic; his features harsh, large, and disagreeable; his voice shook the Assembly; his eloquence was vehement; and his imagination as

gigantic as his person, which made every one recoil, and at which, says St. Just, 'Freedom herself trembled.' He was one of the founders of the club of the Cordeliers. His importance increased in 1792, when he became one of the instigators of the events of the 20th of June, and a leader on the 10th of August. After the fall of Louis XVI., Danton was made minister of justice, and usurped the appointments of officers in the army and departments. He thus raised up a great number of creatures wholly devoted to his views. Money flowed from all sides into his hands, and was profusely squandered on his partisans. His violent measures led to the September massacres. The invasion of Champagne by the Prussians spread consternation through Paris; and Danton alone preserved his courage. He assumed the administration of the State, prepared measures of defence, called on all Frenchmen capable of bearing arms to march against the enemy, and prevented the removal of the Assembly beyond the Loire. From this time forward he was hated by Robespierre, who could never pardon the superiority which Danton had shown on this occasion. On the occasion of the Festival of Reason, in which the Hebertists acted a conspicuous part, Danton declared himself against the attack on the ministers of religion, and subsequently united with Robespierre to bring Hebert and his partisans to the scaffold. But their connection was not of long duration. Danton wished to overthrow the despotism of Robespierre, who in his turn was anxious to get rid of a dangerous rival. Danton was accordingly denounced to the committee of safety by St. Just, and imprisoned with his adherents in the Luxembourg. When he was transferred thence to the Conciergerie he appeared deeply mortified at having been duped by Robespierre. On his trial he said composedly, 'I am Danton, sufficiently well known in the Revolution; I shall soon pass to nothingness; but my name will live in the Pantheon of history.' He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice in a conspiracy for the restoration of monarchy, and his large property was confiscated. He mounted the car with courage; his head was elevated; his look commanding and full of pride. On ascending the scaffold he was for a moment softened. 'Oh, my wife, my dear wife, shall I never see you again?' he said, but checked himself hastily, and exclaimed, 'Courage, Danton! no weakness.' He was thirty-five years old at the time of his death."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"During the short period that elapsed before his execution, Danton's mind, in a distracted state, reverted to the innocence of his earlier years. He spoke incessantly about trees, flowers, and the country. Then giving way to unavailing regret, he exclaimed, 'It was just a year ago that I was the means of instituting the revolutionary tribunal; may God and man forgive me for what I then did; but it was not that it might become the scourge of humanity.' When his sentence was read to him in his cell, 'We are sacrificed,' said Danton, 'to a few dastardly brigands; but I drag Robespierre after me in my fall.'"—*Alison*.

"Danton had sold himself to the Court, on condition that they would purchase from him, for 100,000 livres, his place of advocate, which after the suppression was only worth 10,000 livres. Lafayette met Danton at M. de Montmorin's the same evening that the bargain was concluded. He was a man ready to sell himself to all parties. While he was making incendiary motions in the Jacobins, he was their spy at Court, where he regularly reported whatever occurred. On the Friday previous to the

10th of August, 50,000 crowns were given him, and Madame Elizabeth exclaimed, 'We are tranquil, for we may depend on Danton.' Lafayette was apprized of the first payment, but not of the ensuing ones. Danton spoke of it himself at the Hôtel de Ville, and endeavouring to justify himself, said, 'General, I am a greater monarchist than you are yourself.' He was nevertheless one of the leaders of the 10th of August."—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

"Danton was sometimes denominated the Mirabeau, sometimes the Alcibiades of the rabble. He may be said to have resembled both (with the differences only of the patrician order and the populace)—in his tempestuous passions, popular eloquence, dissipation, and debts, like the one; his ambition, his daring and inventive genius, like the other. He exerted his faculties, and indulged his voluptuary indolence alternately, and by starts. His conceptions were isolated, but complete in themselves, and of terrific efficacy as practical agents in revolutions. Danton's ambition was not personal. He would freely sacrifice himself for the republic or his party. He was inhuman, not so much from instinctive cruelty, as from a careless prodigality of blood. He viewed the Revolution as a great game in which men played for their lives. He took those he won as freely as he would have paid those he lost."—*British and Foreign Review*.

NN.

[Page 158.]

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF THE FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

"A group in the Palais Royal were discussing in great alarm the consequences of the King's flight, when a man, dressed in a threadbare greatcoat, leaped on a chair, and addressed them thus: 'Citizens, listen to a tale which shall not be a long one. A certain well-meaning Neapolitan was once on a time startled in his evening walk by the astounding intelligence that the Pope was dead. He had not recovered his astonishment, when, behold! he was informed of a new disaster—the King of Naples was also no more. "Surely," said the worthy Neapolitan, "the sun must vanish from heaven at such a combination of fatalities!" But they did not cease here. The Archbishop of Palermo, he was informed, had also died suddenly. Overcome by this last shock, he retired to bed, but not to sleep. In the morning he was disturbed in his melancholy reverie by a rumbling noise, which he recognized at once to be the motion of the wooden instrument which makes macaroni. "Aha!" says the good man, starting up, "can I trust my ears? The Pope is dead—the King of Naples is dead—the Bishop of Palermo is dead—yet my neighbour the baker still makes macaroni. Come, the lives of these great men are not then so indispensable to the world after all.'" The man in the greatcoat jumped down and disappeared. 'I have caught his meaning,' said a woman among the listeners. 'He has told us a tale, and it begins like all tales—There was ONCE a King and a Queen.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

OO.

[Page 163.]

BARNAVE.

"Ant. Pierre Jos. Marie Barnave was a barrister, and deputy to the States-general. The son of a very rich attorney of Grenoble, he warmly espoused the revolutionary party, and was named by the *tiers-état* deputy of that town to the States-general. He there showed himself from the beginning one of the most implacable enemies of the Court. He warmly supported the tennis-court oath, and declared loudly in favour of the assertion of the rights of man. In 1790 he voted the abolition of religious orders. At the meeting of the 22nd of May he was one of those who were decidedly of opinion that the King should be deprived of the right of making war and peace, and opposed Mirabeau on many great questions of policy. At the sitting of the 19th of June he demanded that the Assembly should, before it rose, decree the suppression of all feudal titles and rights. In August he fought a duel with M. de Cazalès, and wounded him with a pistol-shot. Barnave had before fought with the Vicomte de Noailles; he had fired first, and missed his adversary, who discharged his pistol in the air; the difference was then adjusted by their friends. At the time of Louis XVI.'s flight Barnave showed great presence of mind in the midst of the stupefaction of the greatest part of the Assembly. On the news arriving of the King's arrest, Barnave was appointed, together with Petion and Latour-Maubourg, to bring the royal family back to Paris. He returned in the same carriage with them; showed them great respect, and by so doing, lost much of his popularity. In giving an account of his mission, he spoke about the inviolability of the King's person, for which he was hooted by the Assembly. At the end of the session Barnave was appointed mayor of Grenoble, where he married the only daughter of a lawyer, who brought him a fortune of 700,000 livres. After the events of the 10th of August 1792, certain documents having established the connivance of Barnave with the Court, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, and condemned to death on the 29th of November 1793. Barnave was a small but well-looking man, and professed Protestantism. Few orators of his day possessed so much grace of diction and sagacity of analysis. Mirabeau himself was astonished that a young man should speak so long, so rapidly, and so eloquently, and said of Barnave, 'It is a young tree, which, however, will mount high if it be let to grow.'—*Biographie Moderne*.

PP.

[Page 163.]

THE RETURN FROM VARENNES.

The following particulars of the return from Varennes were communicated to Madame Campan by the Queen herself:—

"On the very day of my arrival the Queen took me into her cabinet, to tell me that she had great need of my assistance for a correspondence

which she had established with MM. Barnave, Duport, and Alexandre Lameth. She informed me that M. de J * * * was her agent with these relics of the constitutional party, who had good intentions, but unfortunately too late; and she added that Barnave was a man worthy to inspire esteem. I was surprised to hear the name of Barnave uttered with such kindness. When I had quitted Paris a great number of persons never mentioned it but with horror. I made this remark to her; she was not astonished at it, but told me that he was very much changed; that this young man, full of intelligence and noble sentiments, was of the class who are distinguished by education, and merely misled by the ambition arising from mere merit. 'A feeling of pride, which I cannot blame too much in a young man of the *tiers-état*,' said the Queen with reference to Barnave, 'has caused him to applaud all that tends to smooth the way to honours and glory for the class in which he was born. If power should ever fall again into our hands, the pardon of Barnave is written beforehand in our hearts.' The Queen added that the same sentiments were not felt for the nobles who had thrown themselves into the revolutionary party, they who obtained all favours, and frequently to the detriment of persons of an inferior order, among whom were to be found the most splendid talents; lastly, that the nobles, born to be the rampart of the monarchy, were too culpable in having betrayed its cause to deserve pardon. The Queen astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favourable opinion that she had formed of Barnave. She then told me that his conduct during the journey had been excellent, whilst the republican rudeness of Petion had been insulting; that he ate and drank in the King's carriage with little regard to delicacy, throwing fowls' bones out at the window, at the risk of hitting the King in the face, lifting up his glass, when Madame Elizabeth was helping him to wine, without saying a word to signify that he had had enough; that this offensive tone was wilfully assumed, since he was a man of education; and that Barnave had been shocked at it. Being pressed by the Queen to take something: 'Madam,' replied Barnave, 'the deputies of the National Assembly, under circumstances so solemn, ought to trouble your Majesty solely with their mission, and by no means with their wants.' In short, his respectful behaviour, his delicate attentions, and all that he said, had won not only her goodwill, but also that of Madame Elizabeth.

"The King had begun to speak to Petion on the situation of France, and on the motives of his conduct, which were grounded on the necessity of giving to the executive power a force requisite for its action for the welfare of the constitutional act itself, since France could not be a republic. . . . 'Not yet, to be sure,' replied Petion, 'because the French are not yet ripe enough for that.' This audacious and cruel reply imposed silence on the King, who maintained it till his arrival at Paris. Petion had the little Dauphin on his knees; he amused himself with rolling the fair hair of the interesting boy upon his fingers; and in the warmth of talking he pulled his locks with such force as to make him cry. . . . 'Give me my child,' said the Queen; 'he is accustomed to kindness, to respect, which unfit him for such familiarities.'

"The Chevalier de Dampierre had been killed near the King's carriage as it left Varennes. A poor village curé, a few leagues from the place where this crime was committed, had the imprudence to approach for the purpose of speaking to the King. The savages who surrounded the carriage rushed upon him. 'Tigers,' cried Barnave,

'have you ceased to be French? From a nation of brave men, are you changed into a nation of murderers?' Nothing but these words saved the curé, who was already struck to the ground, from certain death. Barnave, as he uttered them, had almost thrown himself out at the door, and Madame Elizabeth, touched by this noble warmth, held him back by his coat. In speaking of this circumstance, the Queen said that in the most critical moments she was always struck by odd contrasts; and that on this occasion the pious Elizabeth holding Barnave by the skirt of his coat had appeared to her a most surprising thing. That deputy had experienced a different kind of astonishment. The remarks of Madame Elizabeth on the state of France, her mild and persuasive eloquence, the noble simplicity with which she conversed with Barnave, without abating an iota of her dignity, all appeared to him celestial in that divine Princess, and his heart, disposed undoubtedly to noble sentiments, if he had not pursued the way of error, was subdued by the most touching admiration. The conduct of the two deputies showed the Queen the total separation between the republican party and the constitutional party. At the inns where she alighted she had some private conversations with Barnave. The latter talked much of the blunders of the royalists in the Revolution, and said that he had found the interests of the Court so feebly, so injudiciously defended, that he had several times been tempted to make it an offer of a bold champion, acquainted with the spirit of the age and that of the nation. The Queen asked what were the means that he should have advised resorting to. 'Popularity, madam.' 'And how could I have any?' replied her Majesty. 'It had been taken from me.' 'Ah, madam! it was much easier for you to conquer it than for me to obtain it.' This assertion would furnish matter for comment: my task is merely to record this curious conversation."—*Mémoires de Madame de Campan*, tome ii. p. 150 et seq.

QQ.

[Page 163.]

RETURN OF THE ROYAL FAMILY TO PARIS.

"Lafayette went forward to meet the procession. During his absence an immense crowd had been allowed to approach the Tuileries, and endeavoured, as the royal family were alighting, to maltreat the two gardes-du-corps who had served as couriers during the escape, and were then seated on the box of the King's carriage. The Queen, anxious for their safety, no sooner saw the commander-in-chief than she exclaimed, 'Save the gardes-du-corps;' on which Lafayette placed them himself in security in one of the halls of the palace. The royal family alighted without having experienced any insults. The King was apparently calm. Lafayette then, with a feeling of mingled respect and emotion, presented himself at the King's apartment, and said to him, 'Has your Majesty any orders to give me?' 'It appears to me,' replied the King, with a smile, 'that I am more under your orders than you are under mine.' Lafayette then respectfully announced to him the decree of the Assembly, at which the King testified no displeasure. The Queen, however, betrayed some irritability, and wished

to force Lafayette to receive the keys of the desks which had remained in the carriage. He replied that no person thought or would think of opening those desks. The Queen then placed the keys on his hat. Lafayette requested her to pardon the trouble he gave her of taking back those keys, and declared that he would not touch them. 'Well,' said the Queen impatiently, 'I shall find persons less scrupulous than you are.'—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

RR.

[Page 165.]

THE KING'S MOTIVE FOR FLIGHT.

Here is the answer itself, the composition of Barnave, and a model of reasoning, address, and dignity:—

"I see, gentlemen," said Louis XVI. to the commissioners, "I see by the object of the mission which is given to you, that here is no question of an examination; I will therefore answer the inquiries of the Assembly. I shall never be afraid of making public the motives of my conduct. It was the insults and menaces offered to my family and myself on the 18th of April that were the cause of my departure from Paris. Several publications have endeavoured to provoke acts of violence against my person and against my family. I deemed that there would not be safety, nor even decency, for me to remain longer in this city. Never was it my intention to leave the kingdom; I had had no concert on this subject, either with foreign powers, or with my relatives, or with any of the French emigrants. I can state, in proof of my intentions, that apartments were provided at Montmedy for my reception. I had selected this place, because, being fortified, my family would be safer there; because, being near the frontiers, I should have been better able to oppose every kind of invasion of France, had a disposition been shown to attempt any. One of the principal motives for quitting Paris was to set at rest the argument of my non-freedom, which was likely to furnish occasion for disturbances. If I had harboured an intention of leaving the kingdom, I should not have published my memorial on the very day of my departure: I should have waited till I was beyond the frontiers. But I always entertained the wish to return to Paris. It is in this sense that the last sentence in my memorial must be taken, where it is said, 'Frenchmen, and above all, Parisians, what pleasure shall I feel in finding myself again in your midst!' . . . I had in my carriage but three thousand louis in gold, and fifty-six thousand livres in assignats. I did not warn Monsieur of my departure till a very short time before. Monsieur has gone into another country only because he had agreed with me that we should not both take the same route: he was to come back into France to me. The passport was requisite to facilitate my journey: it purported to be for a foreign country merely because the office for foreign affairs gives none for the interior of the kingdom. The road to Frankfort was not even taken. I have made no protest but in the memorial which I left before my departure. That protest does not bear, as the tenor of it attests, upon the groundwork of the principles of the constitution, but on the form of sanctions—that is to say, on the little liberty that I appeared to enjoy, and on the

circumstance that, as the decrees had not been laid before me *en masse*, I could not judge of the constitution as a whole. The chief reproach contained in the memorial relates to the difficulties in the means of administration and execution. I have ascertained during my journey that public opinion was decided in favour of the constitution; I did not conceive that I could judge fully of this public opinion in Paris; but from the observations which I have personally made during my journey, I am convinced how necessary it is for the support of the constitution to give strength to the powers established for the maintenance of public order. As soon as I had ascertained the general will, I hesitated not, as I never have hesitated, to make a sacrifice of everything that is personal to me. The happiness of the people has always been the object of my wishes. I will gladly forget all the crosses that I have experienced if I can but ensure the peace and the felicity of the nation."

SS.

[Page 167.]

DUMOURIEZ.

"Dumouriez was born at Cambray, and was descended from a Provençal family engaged in the law. He was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the Revolution. Up to that time he had lived amidst intrigues, in which he was but too fond of engaging. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whose help he might rise; and the second, in discovering those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789, a constitutionalist under the first Assembly, a Girondin under the second, and a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men—an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success. He was, besides, frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position until he could change it. It must be admitted, however, that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. Dumouriez was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious, in consequence of his continual thirst for action. But his great fault was want of all political principle."—*Mignet*.

TT.

[Page 168.]

THOMAS PAINE.

"Thomas Paine was born in 1737, at Thetford, in Norfolk, where his father, a Quaker, was a staymaker. He received his education at a grammar-school in his native place. In early life he followed his father's business, and afterwards became a grocer and exciseman at

Lewes, but was dismissed for keeping a tobacconist's shop, which was incompatible with his duties. In 1774 he went to America, and became editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Hostilities having commenced between England and the United States, he composed his celebrated pamphlet, 'Common Sense,' which was written with great vigour, and for which the legislature of Pennsylvania voted him five hundred pounds. He was soon afterwards appointed clerk to the committee for foreign affairs; when he published a series of political appeals, which he entitled the 'Crisis.' In 1787 he embarked for France, and after visiting Paris, went to England. On the appearance of 'Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution,' he wrote his well-known 'Rights of Man,' for which he was prosecuted; but while the trial was pending he was chosen member of the National Convention for the department of Calais, and making his escape, he set out for France. On the trial of Louis XVI. he voted against the sentence of death, which offended the Jacobins, who in 1793 ordered him to be committed to the Luxembourg. Just previous to his confinement he had finished his 'Age of Reason,' which, when published, lost him the greater part of his American connections. On the fall of Robespierre he was released, and remained in France till 1802, when he embarked again for America. His subsequent life was by no means happy; for though possessed of a decent competence, yet his attacks on religion, and his habitual intemperance, had greatly narrowed the circle of his friends. He died in 1809, in his seventy-third year."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

UU.

[Page 170.]

DESMOULINS.

"B. Camille Desmoulins, a lawyer, born at Guise, in Picardy, in 1762, was the son of the lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Guise. His appearance was vulgar, his complexion swarthy, and his looks unprepossessing. He made his first appearance at the bar to plead against his own father, whom he wanted to make him a greater allowance than he could afford. At the very commencement of the Revolution he formed an intimate acquaintance with Robespierre. In July 1789 he harangued a large mob in the Palais Royal with a brace of pistols in his hand, and assumed the appellation of attorney-general of the lamp-post. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to Danton, and organized with him the September massacres. He asserted frequently, that society consisted of two classes of men—gentlemen and sans-culottes; and that in order to save the republic, it was necessary to take the purses of the one, and put arms into the hands of the other. His connection with Danton was his ruin; and his sentence of death, the word 'clemency,' which he recommended in his journal of the *Old Cordelier*. He was arrested in 1794, and during his imprisonment he gave himself up alternately to rage and despair. His favourite studies were the works of Young and Hervey. When led to execution, at the age of thirty-three, he made the most violent efforts to avoid getting into the cart. His shirt was in tatters, and his shoulders bare; his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth,

crying out, while he ascended the scaffold, 'This, then, is the reward reserved for the first apostle of liberty! The monsters who assassinate me will not survive me long.' His wife, whom he adored, and by whom he was as warmly beloved, beautiful, courageous, and sensible, begged to share his fate, and ten days afterwards Robespierre sent her to the scaffold, where she exhibited much more firmness than her husband."
—*Biographie Moderne*.

VV.

[Page 172.]

TRANSACTIONS IN THE ASSEMBLY.

Bouillé had an intimate friend in Comte de Gouvernet; and though they differed widely in their opinions, each entertained a high esteem for the other. Bouillé, who does not spare the constitutionalists, expresses himself in the most honourable manner towards M. de Gouvernet, and seems to place the utmost confidence in him. To give in his Memoirs an idea of what was passing in the Assembly at this period, he quotes the following letter, addressed to him by Comte de Gouvernet, on the 26th of August 1791:—

"I have held out hopes to you which I no longer entertain. That fatal constitution, which was to be revised and amended, will not be touched. It will remain what it is—a code of anarchy, a source of calamities; and owing to our unlucky star, at the moment when the democrats themselves begin to be sensible of some of their errors, it is the aristocrats, who, by refusing their support, oppose their reparation. In order to enlighten you, and to justify myself for having perhaps imparted to you a false hope, I must go back a little in my account of things, and tell you all that has passed, since I have to-day a safe opportunity of writing to you.

"On the day of the King's departure, and the following day, the two sides of the Assembly were closely watching each other's movements. The popular party was in great consternation; the royalist party extremely uneasy. The least indiscretion would have been liable to awaken the fury of the people. All the members of the right side were silent, and those of the other left their leaders to propose measures, which they call measures of *safety*, and which were not opposed by any one. On the second day after the King's departure the Jacobins became menacing, and the constitutionalists moderate. They were then, and they still are, much more numerous than the Jacobins. They talked of accommodation, of a deputation to the King. Two of them proposed to M. Malouet conferences, which were to be opened the following day; but news arrived of the King's apprehension, and then no further mention was made of them. Their opinions, however, having been manifested, they found themselves from that very circumstance separated more than ever from the furious. The return of Barnave, the respect which he had paid to the King and Queen, while the ferocious Petion insulted their misfortunes, and the gratitude which their Majesties testified to Barnave, have in some measure changed the heart of that young man, which till then knew no pity. He is, as you know, the ablest and one of the most influential of his party. He had therefore rallied round

him four-fifths of the left side, not only to save the King from the fury of the Jacobins, but to restore to him part of his authority, and to furnish him also with the means of defending himself in future, by keeping in the constitutional line. In regard to the latter part of Barnave's plan, nobody was in the secret but Lameth and Duport; for the constitutional crowd still gave them so much uneasiness that they could not reckon upon a majority of the Assembly without including the right side, and they conceived that they might rely upon it when in revising their constitution they should give greater latitude to the royal authority.

"Such was the state of things when I wrote to you. But convinced as I was of the awkwardness of the aristocrats and their continual blunders, I was not aware how far they could go.

"When the news of the King's apprehension at Varennes arrived, the right side, in the secret committees, determined to vote no more, and to take no further part in the deliberations or the discussions of the Assembly. Malouet disapproved this course. He represented to them that whilst the session lasted, and they attended it, they were bound to make an active opposition to measures injurious to public order and to the fundamental principles of the monarchy. All his remonstrances were useless: they persisted in their resolution, and secretly drew up a protest against all that was doing. Malouet declared that he would continue to protest in the tribune, and to make ostensibly all possible efforts to prevent the evil. He told me that he had not been able to bring over to his opinion more than thirty-five or forty members of the right side, and that he much feared that this false step of the most zealous royalists would be productive of mischievous consequences.

"The general dispositions of the Assembly were then so favourable to the King, that while he was coming back to Paris, Thouret, having ascended the tribune to determine the manner in which the King should be guarded (I was at the sitting), the utmost silence prevailed in the hall and in the galleries. Almost all the deputies, even on the left side, looked confounded during the reading of that fatal decree, but no one spoke. The president was going to put it to the vote, when Malouet abruptly rose, and with indignant look, exclaimed, 'What are you about, gentlemen? After apprehending the King, it is proposed that you should constitute him prisoner by decree. Whither will this step lead you? Have you considered that? Would you order the King to be imprisoned?' 'No! no!' cried several members of the left side, rising tumultuously; 'we mean not that the King should be a prisoner;' and the decree was on the point of being rejected almost unanimously, when Thouret hastily added, 'The last speaker has not justly comprehended the terms and the object of the decree. We have no intention, any more than he, to imprison the King; it is for his safety and that of the royal family that we propose these measures.' And it was not till after this explanation that the decree passed, though the imprisonment became an absolute reality, and is continued to this day without shame.

"At the end of July, the constitutionalists, who suspected the protest of the right side, without having any certainty of it, proceeded leisurely with their plan of revision. They dreaded the Jacobins and the aristocrats more than ever. Malouet went to their committee of revision. He at first addressed them as men who had nothing to learn respecting the dangers and the faults of their constitution; but he found them less disposed in favour of great reforms. They were afraid of losing their

popularity. Target and Duport opposed his arguments, and defended their work. Next day he met Chapelier and Barnave, who at first disdainfully refused to answer his provocations, and at length agreed to the plan of attack, all the risks of which he was ready to incur. He proposed to discuss, in the sitting of the 8th, all the principal points of the constitutional act, and to point out all its vices. 'You, gentlemen,' said he, 'answer me. Overwhelm me unanimously with your indignation. Defend your work with advantage on the least dangerous articles, even on the plurality of the points, against which my censure will be levelled; and as for those which I shall characterize as anti-monarchical, as preventing the action of the government, say that neither the Assembly nor the committee needed my remarks on that head; that you intend to propose their reform; and forthwith propose it. Be assured that it is our only resource for upholding the monarchy, and for returning in time to give all the support that is necessary for it.' This was accordingly agreed upon: but the protest of the right side having become known, and its perseverance in not voting having deprived the constitutionalists of all hope of succeeding in their plan of revision, which the Jacobins opposed with all their might, they gave it up. Malouet, who had no regular communications with them, nevertheless made his attack. He solemnly rejected the constitutional act as anti-monarchical, and as impracticable of execution in several points. The development of his motives had begun to produce a considerable impression, when Chapelier, who had no further hope from the execution of the agreement, broke it, crying blasphemy, interrupting the speaker, and requiring that he should be ordered to leave the tribune, which was accordingly done. Next day he acknowledged that he was in the wrong; but he said that he and his partisans had lost all hope from the moment when they had no further aid to expect from the right side.

"I was obliged to relate to you this long history, lest you should lose all confidence in my prognostics. They are gloomy now: the evil is extreme; and to repair it, I perceive, either within or without, but one remedy, which is the union of force with reason."—*Mémoires de Bouillé*, p. 288 *et seq.*

WW.

[Page 177.]

THE KING AND THE CONSTITUTION.

This minister has given such an account of the dispositions of the King and Queen at the commencement of the first legislature, as leaves but little doubt of their sincerity. He relates his first interview with these august personages as follows:—

"After replying to some general observations which I had made on the difficulty of circumstances and on the numberless faults which I was liable to commit in a department with which I was unacquainted, the King said to me, 'Well, have you still any objection?' 'No, Sire; the wish to please and to obey your Majesty is the only sentiment that I feel; but to know if I can flatter myself with the prospect of

serving you usefully, it would be necessary that you should let me know what is your plan relative to the constitution, and what the line of conduct which you wish your ministers to pursue.' 'Very true,' replied the King. 'I consider that constitution as by no means a masterpiece; in my opinion it has very great defects, and if I had been at liberty to address some observations to the Assembly, very beneficial reforms might have resulted from them; but now it is too late, and I have accepted it such as it is. I have sworn to cause it to be executed, and I ought and will be strictly faithful to my oath; and the more so, as I believe the most rigorous execution of the constitution to be the surest means of making the nation acquainted with it, and rendering it sensible of the changes that it would be well to introduce in it. I have not, neither can I have, any other plan than this; I will assuredly not deviate from it, and it is my wish that the ministers should conform to it.' 'This plan, Sire, appears to me infinitely prudent; I feel myself capable of following it, and I engage to do so. I have not sufficiently studied the new constitution, either as a whole or in its details, to have a decided opinion upon it; and I will abstain from adopting one, be it what it may, before its execution has enabled the nation to appreciate it by its effects. But may I be permitted to ask your Majesty if the Queen's opinion on this point agrees with the King's?' 'Yes, precisely; she will tell you so herself.'

"I went down-stairs to the Queen, who, after declaring with extreme kindness that she felt under as much obligation to me as the King for having accepted the ministry under such critical circumstances, added these words: 'The King has acquainted you with his intentions relative to the constitution; do you not think that the only plan he has to follow is to adhere to his oath?' 'Most certainly, madam.' 'Well, be assured that nothing shall induce us to change. Come, M. Bertrand, courage! I hope that, with patience, firmness, and perseverance, all is not yet lost.'"—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi. p. 22.

The testimony of M. Bertrand is corroborated by that of Madame Campan, which, though sometimes suspicious, has on this occasion very much the air of truth:—

"The constitution had been, as I have said, presented to the King on the 3rd of September; I recur to this presentation, because it furnished a very important subject of deliberation. All the ministers, excepting M. de Montmorin, insisted on the necessity of accepting the constitutional act in its entire state. Such, too, was the opinion of the Prince de Kaunitz. Malouet wished that the King would frankly point out the vices and dangers which he discovered in the constitution. But Duport and Barnave, alarmed at the spirit which prevailed in the association of the Jacobins, and even in the Assembly, where Robespierre had already denounced them as traitors to the country, and apprehensive of great calamities, agreed in opinion with the majority of the ministers and M. de Kaunitz. Those who sincerely wished to uphold the constitution advised that it should not be accepted purely and simply: of this number were, as I have mentioned, Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet. The King appeared to like their advice; and this is one of the strongest proofs of the sincerity of the unfortunate monarch."—*Memoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 161.

XX.

[Page 178.]

THE MARQUIS DE CONDORCET.

“Marie Jean Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, was born in 1743. His was one of the oldest families in Dauphiné. He was educated in the college of Navarre, at Paris, and from early youth devoted himself to the study of the exact sciences. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld was his patron, and introduced him into the world at the age of nineteen. With astonishing facility Condorcet treated the most difficult problems in mathematics, and gained such celebrity as a man of science that in 1777 he was made secretary to the Academy of Sciences. He contributed several articles to the ‘Encyclopædia,’ and was intimate with most of the writers of that great work. Under a cold exterior, Condorcet concealed the most violent passions. D’Alembert compared him to a volcano covered with snow. On the intelligence of the King’s flight, he defined the royal dignity as an anti-social institution. In 1792 he was appointed president of the Assembly, and composed the proclamation addressed to the French and to Europe, which announced the abolition of royalty. On the trial of Louis he voted for the severest sentence not capital, at the same time he voted for the abolition of capital punishments, except in crimes against the State. In 1793 he was accused of being an accomplice with Brissot, and to save his life, concealed himself in the house of Madame Verney, where he remained eight months, during which period, though in constant fear of discovery, he wrote one of his best philosophical treatises. Having at length learned that death was denounced against all who harboured a proscribed individual, he left his generous hostess, and fled in disguise from Paris. He wandered about for some time, until, driven by hunger, he entered a small inn at Clamar, where he was arrested as a suspicious person, and thrown into prison. On the following morning, March 28, 1794, he was found dead on the floor of his room, having apparently swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which nothing but his love for his wife and daughter prevented him using before.”—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

YY.

[Page 178.]

VERGNIAUD.

“Vergniaud was the most eloquent speaker of the Gironde, but he had not the vigour requisite for the leader of a party in troubled times. Passion, in general, had little influence over his mind. He was humane, gentle, and benevolent; difficult to rouse to exertion, and still more to be convinced of the wickedness either of his adversaries or a large part

of his supporters. But when great occasions arose, he poured forth his generous thoughts in streams of eloquence which never have been equalled in the French Assembly. It was not like that of Mirabeau, broken and emphatic, but uniformly elegant, sonorous, and flowing—swelling at times into the highest strains of impassioned oratory. Guadet was more animated than Vergniaud; but Gensonné, with inferior talents for speaking, was nevertheless looked up to as a leader of his party, from his firmness and resolution of character. Barbaroux, a native of the South of France, brought to the strife of faction the ardent temperament of his sunny climate. He was resolute, sagacious, and daring, and early divined the bloody designs of the Jacobins.”—*Alison*.

ZZ.

[Page 180.]

BRISSET DE WARVILLE.

“The principal leader of the Gironde was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and now belonged to the Assembly. The opinions of Brissot, who wished for a complete reform; his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called the *Patriot*, in the rostrum of the Assembly, and at the club of the Jacobins; and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situations of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was distracted with the strife of parties.”—*Mignet*.

“Brissot de Warville was born in 1754 at a village near Chartres. His father kept a cook’s shop, which occasioned the saying that the son had all the heat of his father’s stoves. After passing four years in an attorney’s office he turned author, and at twenty years of age had already published several works, one of which occasioned his imprisonment in the Bastille in 1784. He married a person attached to the household of Madame d’Orleans, and afterwards went to England. He lived there on pay as a spy from the lieutenant of police at Paris. At the same time he employed himself in literature, and endeavoured to form an academy in London; but this speculation proving unsuccessful, he returned to France, and distinguished himself greatly during the Revolution. At the time of the trial of Louis XVI. he strove to bring the subject of his condemnation before the people, and afterwards voted for his death, though he was anxious to obtain a reprieve. Being denounced, together with the rest of the Girondins, by the Jacobins, he was guillotined in 1793. Brissot was thirty-nine years of age, of middle stature, slightly formed, and pale. He was so passionate an admirer of the Americans that he adopted the appearance of a Quaker, and was pleased to be mistaken for one.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

AAA.

[Page 183.]

THE KING'S LETTERS TO THE EMIGRANTS.

It is Madame Campan who takes it upon her to inform us that the King kept up a secret correspondence with Coblenz:—

"While the courtiers were conveying the confidential letters of the King to the princes, his brothers, and to the foreign princes, the Assembly requested the King to write to the princes and to exhort them to return to France. The King directed the Abbé de Montesquieu to draw up for him the letter which he proposed sending. This letter, admirably written, in a touching and simple style, suitable to the character of Louis XVI., and full of very strong arguments on the advantage of rallying round the principles of the constitution, was put into my hands by the King for the purpose of making a copy of it.

"At this period M. Mor . . . , one of the intendants of Monsieur's household, obtained from the Assembly a passport to go to the Prince, on account of some work that was absolutely necessary to be done to his house. The Queen selected him to carry this letter: she determined to deliver it to him herself, and acquainted him with her motive for doing so. The choice of this courier surprised me: the Queen assured me that there could not be a fitter, that she even reckoned upon his indiscretion, and that it was merely essential that the public should know of the King's letter to his brothers. *The princes were no doubt forewarned by the private correspondence.* Monsieur nevertheless showed some surprise, and the messenger returned more afflicted than pleased by such a mark of confidence, which had well-nigh cost him his life during the years of terror."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 172.

BBB.

[Page 186.]

Letter from the King to Louis Stanislas Xavier, French Prince, the King's Brother.

PARIS, November 11, 1791.

I wrote to you, my brother, on the 16th of October last, and you ought not to have had any doubt of my real sentiments. I am surprised that my letter has not produced the effect which I had a right to expect from it. In order to recall you to your duty, I have used all the arguments that ought to touch you most. Your absence is a pretext for all the evil-disposed, a sort of excuse for all the deluded French, who imagine that they are serving me by keeping all France in an alarm and an agitation, which are the torment of my life. / The Revolution

is finished; the constitution is completed; France wills it, I will maintain it: upon its consolidation now depends the welfare of the monarchy. The constitution has conferred rights upon you; it has attached to them one condition, which you ought to lose no time in fulfilling. Believe me, brother, and repel the doubts which pains are taken to excite in you respecting my liberty. I am going to prove to you by a most solemn act, and in a circumstance which interests you, that I can act freely. Prove to me that you are my brother and a Frenchman by complying with my entreaties. Your proper place is by my side; your interest, your sentiments alike urge you to come and resume it; I invite you, and if I may, I order you, to do so.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Answer of Monsieur to the King.

COBLENTZ, December 3, 1791.

SIRE, MY BROTHER AND LORD,—The Comte de Vergennes has delivered to me, in the name of your Majesty, a letter, the address of which, notwithstanding my baptismal names which it contains, is so unlike mine, that I had some thoughts of returning it unopened. However, upon his positive assertion that it was for me, I opened it, and the name of brother which I found in it having left me no further doubt, I read it with the respect which I owe to the handwriting and the signature of your Majesty. The order which it contains to return and resume my place by your Majesty's person is not the free expression of your will; and my honour, my duty, nay, even my affection, alike forbid me to obey. If your Majesty wishes to be acquainted with all these motives more in detail, I beg you to refer to my letter of the 10th of September last. I also entreat you to receive with kindness the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c. &c. &c.*

Letter from the King to Charles Philippe, French Prince, the King's Brother.

PARIS, November 11, 1791.

You must certainly be aware of the decree which the National Assembly has passed relative to the French who have left their country. I have not thought it right to give my consent to it, fondly believing that mild means will more effectually accomplish the end which is proposed, and which the interest of the State demands. The various communications which I have made to you cannot leave you in any doubt respecting my intentions or my wishes. The public tranquillity and my personal peace are interested in your return. You could not persist in a conduct which disturbs France and which grieves me, without disregarding your most essential duties. Spare me the regret of recurring to severe measures against you; consult your true interest; suffer yourself to be guided by the attachment which you owe to your country, and yield, in short, to the wish of the French and to that of your King. This step on your part will be a proof of your sentiments for me, and will ensure to you the continuance of those which I always entertained for you.

(Signed) LOUIS

Answer of the Comte d'Artois to the King.

COBLENTZ, December 5, 1791.

SIRE, MY BROTHER AND LORD,—Comte de Vergennes delivered to me yesterday a letter which he assured me had been addressed to me by your Majesty. The superscription, which gives me a title that I cannot admit, led me to suppose that this letter was not destined for me; however, having recognized the seal of your Majesty, I opened it, and paid respect to the handwriting and the signature of my King; but the total omission of the name of brother, and above all, the decisions referred to in this letter, have furnished me with a fresh proof of the moral and physical captivity in which our enemies dare to hold your Majesty. After this declaration, your Majesty will think it natural that, faithful to my duty and the laws of honour, I shall not obey orders evidently wrong from you by violence.

Besides, the letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty, conjointly with Monsieur, on the 10th of September last, contains the sentiments, the principles, and the resolutions from which I shall never swerve; I refer to it, therefore, absolutely; it shall be the basis of my conduct, and I here renew my oath to that effect. I entreat your Majesty to receive the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c. &c. &c.

CCC.

[Page 187.]

THE DISTURBANCES IN LA VENDÉE.

The Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné is indisputably the best historical authority concerning the commencement of the disturbances in La Vendée. The origin of those disturbances is the most interesting part of it, because it makes us acquainted with their causes. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to subjoin this Report. It seems to me to throw light on one of the most curious portions of that melancholy history.

Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné, Civil Commissioners sent into the Departments of La Vendée and Deux-Sèvres, by virtue of Decrees of the Constituent Assembly, made to the Legislative Assembly, October 9, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,—The National Assembly decreed, on the 16th of July last, on the report of its committee of research, that civil commissioners should be sent to the department of La Vendée, to collect all the information they could obtain respecting the causes of the recent disturbances in that country, and to concur with the administrative bodies in the restoration of the public tranquillity.

On the 23rd of July we were charged with this mission, and we set out two days afterwards for Fontenay-le-Comte, the chief town of that department.

After conferring for some days with the administrators of the

directory upon the state of things and the disposition of people's minds; after concerting with the three administrative bodies some preliminary measures for the maintenance of public order, we determined to visit the different districts composing this department, in order to examine how much was true or false, real or exaggerated, in the complaints which had already reached us—to ascertain, in short, with all possible accuracy, the state of this department.

We have travelled over almost every part of it, sometimes for the purpose of obtaining information that we needed, at others, to maintain peace, to obviate public disturbances, or to prevent the violence with which some of the citizens believed themselves to be threatened.

We have examined in several district directories all the municipalities of which each of them is composed; we have listened with the greatest attention to all the citizens who had either facts to communicate or suggestions to propose to us; we have carefully collected and compared together all the particulars that have come to our knowledge; but as these details are more numerous than diversified, as the facts, complaints, and observations have been everywhere alike, we shall present to you in one general point of view, and in an abridged but accurate manner, the result of this multitude of particular facts.

We deem it unnecessary to submit to you the information which we obtained concerning anterior disturbances; they have not appeared to us to have any very direct influence on the present state of this department; besides, the law of amnesty having put a stop to the different prosecutions to which those disturbances gave occasion, we could present to you only vague conjectures and uncertain results concerning those matters.

The epoch of the taking of the ecclesiastical oath was the first epoch of the disturbances in the department of La Vendée; till then the people there had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity. Remote from the common centre of all action and all resistance, disposed by their natural character to the love of peace, to the sentiment of order, to respect for the law, they reaped the benefits of the Revolution without experiencing its storms.

In the country, the difficulty of the communications, the simplicity of a purely agricultural life, the lessons of childhood and of the religious emblems destined incessantly to engage our attention, had opened the soul to a multitude of superstitious impressions, which in the present state of things no kind of instruction can either destroy or moderate.

Their religion, that is to say, religion such as they conceive it, is become to them the strongest, and indeed, we may say, the only moral habit of their lives; the most essential object which it holds forth to them is the worship of images; and the minister of this worship, he whom the country people consider as the dispenser of the Divine favour, who can, by the fervour of his prayers, mitigate the inclemency of the seasons, and has at his peculiar disposal the happiness of a future life, soon secures to himself the softest as well as the strongest affections of their souls.

The constancy of the people of this department in the kind of their religious acts, and the unlimited confidence possessed by the priests to whom they are accustomed, are some of the principal elements of the disturbances which have agitated and are still likely to agitate them.

It is easy to conceive with what assiduity either misguided or

factionous priests have contrived to avail themselves of these dispositions of the people towards them. Nothing has been neglected to kindle their zeal, to alarm their consciences, to strengthen weak characters, to encourage decided characters: in some have been awakened uneasiness and remorse; in others, hopes of happiness and salvation; and upon almost all the influence of seduction and fear has been tried with success.

Many of these ecclesiastics are upright and sincere; they appear to be deeply impressed both with the ideas which they disseminate and with the sentiments which they inspire: others are accused of cloaking with zeal for religion interests dearer to their hearts; these latter have a political activity, which increases or relaxes according to circumstances.

A powerful coalition has been formed between the late Bishop of Luçon and part of the former clergy of his diocese: they have concerted a plan of opposition to the execution of the decrees which were to be carried into effect in all the parishes; pastoral charges and inflammatory papers sent from Paris have been addressed to all the curés, to fortify them in their resolution, or to engage them in a confederation which is presumed to be general. A circular letter written by M. Beauregard, grand-vicar of M. de Merci, late Bishop of Luçon, deposited in the office of the tribunal of Fontenay, and which that ecclesiastic avowed at the time of his examination, will fix your opinion, gentlemen, in an accurate manner, both respecting the secret of that coalition, and the skilfully combined proceedings of those who have formed it.

It is as follows:—

Letter, dated Luçon, May 31, 1791, under envelope, addressed to the Cure of La Réorthe.

A decree of the National Assembly, Sir, dated 7th May, grants to the ecclesiastics whom it has pretended to remove for refusing to take the oath, the use of the parish churches for saying mass there only. The same decree authorizes the Roman Catholics, as well as the non-conformists, to meet for the exercise of religious worship in any place which they shall have chosen for that purpose, on condition that in their public instructions nothing shall be said against the civil constitution of the clergy.

The liberty granted to the legitimate pastors by the first article of this decree ought to be considered as a snare so much the more dangerous, because true believers would not find in the churches of which the intruders have gained possession any other instructions but those of their false pastors; because they could not receive the sacraments there but from their hands; and thus they would have with these schismatic pastors a communication which the laws of the Church interdict. To obviate so great an evil, gentlemen, the curés will feel the necessity of securing as soon as possible a place where they can, by virtue of the second article of this decree, exercise their functions, and assemble their faithful parishioners, as soon as their pretended successors have taken possession of their churches. Without this precaution, the Catholics, fearful of being deprived of the mass and the divine offices, and called by the voice of false pastors, might soon be induced to communicate with them, and be exposed to the risk of an almost inevitable seduction.

In the parishes where there are few wealthy proprietors, it will no doubt be difficult to find a suitable building, and to procure sacred vessels and ornaments: then a mere barn, a movable altar, a surplice of muslin or any other common stuff, and vessels of tin will suffice, in this case of necessity, for the celebration of the sacred mysteries and of divine service.

This simplicity, this poverty, by reminding us of the first ages of the Church and of the cradle of our holy religion, may be a powerful means of exciting the zeal of the ministers and the fervour of the faithful. The first Christians had no other temples but their houses; there the pastors and their flock met to celebrate the sacred mysteries, to hear the word of God, and to sing the praises of the Lord. In the persecutions with which the Church was afflicted, obliged to forsake their churches, they retired into caverns and even into tombs; and for the true believers these times of trial were periods of the greatest fervour. There are very few parishes where messieurs the curés could not procure a building and ornaments such as I have just mentioned, and till they can provide themselves with needful things, such of their neighbours as shall not be displaced will be able to assist them with what they can spare from their churches. We shall have it in our power immediately to supply with sacred stones those who want them, and at this moment we can cause the cups, or the vessels employed as substitutes for them, to be consecrated.

M. the Bishop of Luçon, in the particular instructions which he has transmitted to us, by way of supplement to those of M. the Bishop of Langres, and which will be circulated in like manner in the different dioceses, proposes to messieurs the curés:—

1. To keep a double register, in which shall be entered the acts of baptism, marriage, and burial of the Catholics of the parish: one of these registers shall remain in their hands; the other shall be by them deposited every year in the hands of a confidential person.

2. Besides this register, messieurs the curés will keep another, likewise double, in which shall be entered the acts of dispensation concerning marriages, which they shall have granted by virtue of the powers which shall be given them by Article 18 of the Instructions. These acts shall be signed by two trusty and faithful witnesses, and to give them greater authenticity, the registers destined to contain them shall be approved, numbered, and signed by M. the bishop, or in his absence, by one of his vicars-general. A duplicate of this register shall be delivered, as above mentioned, to a confidential person.

3. Messieurs the curés will wait, if possible, before they retire from their church and their ministry, till their pretended successor has notified to them the act of his appointment and institution, and till they protest against all that may be done in consequence.

4. They shall draw up privately a report (*procès-verbal*) of the intrusion of the pretended curé, and of the invasion made by him upon the parish church and the living: in this report, the model of which I annex, they will formally protest against all the acts of jurisdiction which he may choose to exercise as curé of the parish; and to give to this act all possible authenticity, it shall be signed by the curé, his vicar if he has one, and a neighbouring priest, and even by two or three pious and discreet laymen, taking nevertheless the utmost precaution not to betray the secret.

5. Such of messieurs the curés whose parishes shall be declared suppressed without the intervention of the legitimate bishop, shall adopt

the same means: they shall consider themselves as being still the only legitimate pastors of their parishes, and if it be absolutely impossible for them to remain there, they shall endeavour to procure a lodging sufficiently near to be able to supply the spiritual wants of their parishioners, and they shall take care to forewarn and to instruct them in their duties on that head.

6. If the civil power should oppose the faithful Catholics having one general cemetery, or if the relatives of deceased persons manifest too strong a repugnance to their being interred in a separate place, though specially consecrated, as it is said in Article 19 of the Instructions, after the legitimate pastor or one of his representatives shall have said at the house the prayers prescribed by the ritual, and shall have drawn up the certificate of death, which shall be signed by the relatives, the body of the deceased may be carried to the door of the church, and the relations shall be at liberty to accompany it; but they shall be warned to retire at the moment when the intruding curé and vicars come to have the body lifted up, that they may not participate in the ceremonies and prayers of the schismatic priests.

7. In the acts, when the displaced curés are denied their title of curé, they shall sign those acts with their Christian and family name without losing any quality.

I beg you, Sir, and such of your colleagues to whom you may think it right to communicate my letter, to have the goodness to inform us of the moment of your removal, if it does take place, of the installation of your pretended successor, and of its most remarkable circumstances, of the dispositions of your parishioners on this head, of the means which you think it right to adopt for the service of your parish, and of your residence, if you are absolutely obliged to leave it. You cannot doubt that all these particulars will deeply interest us: your griefs are ours, and our most ardent wish is to be able, by sharing them, to mitigate their bitterness.

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

These manoeuvres were powerfully seconded by missionaries established in the village of St. Laurent, district of Montaigu; nay, it is to the activity of their zeal, to their underhand dealings, to their indefatigable and secret exhortations that, we are of opinion, the disposition of a very great part of the population in almost the whole of the department of La Vendée and in the district of Chatillon, department of the Deux-Sèvres, is principally to be attributed. It is of essential importance to fix the attention of the National Assembly on the conduct of these missionaries and the spirit of their institution.

This establishment was founded, about sixty years ago, for a society of secular priests, living by alms, and destined as missionaries to the duty of preaching. These missionaries, who have won the confidence of the people by artfully distributing rosaries, medals, and indulgences, and by setting up Calvaries of all forms upon the roads of all this part of France—these missionaries have since become numerous enough to form new establishments in other parts of the kingdom. They are to be found in the late provinces of Poitou, Anjou, Bretagne, and Aunis, labouring with the same activity for the success, and in some measure for the eternal duration, of this sort of religious practices, which have become, through their assiduous endeavours, the sole religion of the people. The village of St. Laurent is their headquarters; they have

recently built there a spacious and handsome monastic house, and acquired, it is said, other territorial property.

This congregation is connected by the nature and spirit of its institution with an establishment of gray nuns, founded in the same place, and known by the name of *filles de la sagesse* (nuns of wisdom). Devoted in this department and in several others to attendance on the poor, particularly in the hospitals, they are a very active medium of general correspondence for these missionaries throughout the kingdom. The house of St. Laurent has become their place of refuge when the intolerant fervour of their zeal or other circumstances have obliged the managers of the hospitals which they attend to dispense with their services.

To determine your opinion respecting the conduct of these ardent missionaries and the religious morality which they profess, it will be sufficient, gentlemen, to lay before you a brief summary of the maxims contained in various manuscripts found upon them by the national guard of Angers and Cholet.

These manuscripts, drawn up in the form of instructions for the country people, lay it down as a rule that they must not apply to the constitutional priests, stigmatized as intruders, for the administration of the sacraments; that all those who partake therein, even by their mere presence, commit a deadly sin, for which nothing but ignorance or defect of understanding can be an excuse; that those who shall have the audacity to get married by intruders will not be really married, and that they will draw down the divine malediction upon themselves and their children; that things will be so arranged that the validity of the marriages performed by the late curés will not be disputed; but that meanwhile they must make up their minds to the worst; that if the children do not pass for legitimate, they will nevertheless be so; that, on the contrary, the children of those who shall have been married by the intruders will be really *bastards*, because God will not have ratified the union, and because it is better that a marriage should be invalid in the sight of men than in the sight of God; that they ought not to apply to the new curés in cases of burial; and that if the former curé cannot officiate without risking his life and liberty, the relatives or friends of the deceased ought privately to perform the duty of interment.

On this subject it is observed that the late curé will take care to keep an accurate register for the registration of these different acts; that in fact it is impossible for the civil tribunals to pay any attention to this point, but that is a misfortune to which people must submit; that the civil registration is a great advantage, which must nevertheless be dispensed with, because it is better to be deprived of it than to turn apostate by applying to an intruder.

Lastly, all true believers are exhorted to have no communication with an intruder, and to take no part in his intrusion; it is declared that the municipal officers who shall instal him will be apostates like himself, and that the very sextons, singers, and bellringers ought that very moment to resign their places.

Such, gentlemen, is the absurd and pernicious doctrine which is contained in those manuscripts, and of which the public voice accuses the missionaries of St. Laurent of having been the most zealous propagators.

They were denounced at the time to the committee of research of the National Assembly, and the silence observed in regard to them has

served only to increase the activity of their efforts, and to extend their baneful influence.

We have deemed it indispensably necessary to lay before you an abridged analysis of the principles contained in these writings, as displayed in an *arrêté* of the department of Maine and Loire, of the 5th June 1791, because it is sufficient to compare them with the circular letter of the grand-vicar of the late Bishop of Luçon to be convinced that they belong to a general system of opposition to the decrees on the civil organization of the clergy, and that the present state of the majority of the parishes of this department exhibits only the development of this system, and the principles of this doctrine, set almost everywhere in action.

The too tardy removal of the curés has greatly contributed to the success of this coalition: this delay has been occasioned, in the first place, by the refusal of M. Servant, who, after having been appointed to the bishopric of the department, and accepted that office, declared, on the 10th of April, that he withdrew his acceptance. M. Rodrigue, the present bishop of the department—whose moderation and firmness are almost his sole support in a chair surrounded by storms and embarrassments—M. Rodrigue could not be nominated till the first days in the month of May. At that time the acts of resistance had been calculated and determined upon agreeably to a uniform plan; the opposition was commenced and in full activity; the grand-vicars and the curés had agreed and bound themselves closely together by the same bond; the jealousies, the rivalships, the quarrels, of the old ecclesiastical hierarchy had had time to subside, and all interests had been blended into one general interest.

The removal could only be in part effected: the very great majority of the old public ecclesiastical functionaries still remains in the parishes invested with its former functions; the last appointments have been almost wholly unsuccessful; and the persons lately elected, deterred by the prospect of the numberless contradictions and disagreements prepared for them by their nomination, reply to it by refusals alone.

This division of sworn and nonjuring priests has formed an absolute division between the people of their parishes: families, too, are divided: wives have been seen, and are daily seen, parting from their husbands, children leaving their parents: the state of citizens is in most cases certified only upon loose pieces of paper, and the individual who receives them, not being clothed with any public character, cannot give any legal authenticity to this kind of proof.

The municipalities have disorganized themselves, and the greater number of them that they might not concur in the removal of non-juring curés.

A great portion of the citizens has renounced the service in the national guard, and that which remains could not be employed without danger in any operations having for their principle or object acts concerning religion, because the people would then view the national guards, not as the unimpassioned instruments of the law, but as the agents of a party hostile to its own.

In several parts of the department, an administrator, a judge, a member of the electoral body, are objects of aversion to the people, because they concur in the execution of the law relative to the ecclesiastical functionaries.

This disposition of mind is the more deplorable, as the means of public instruction are daily becoming more difficult. The general laws

of the State are confounded by the people with the particular regulations for the civil organization of the clergy, and this renders the reading and the publication of them useless.

The malcontents, the men who dislike the new system, and those who in the new system dislike the laws relative to the clergy, studiously keep up this aversion of the people, strengthen by all the means in their power the influence of the nonjuring priests, and weaken the influence of the others; the pauper obtains no relief, the artisan cannot hope to obtain any employment for his talents and industry, unless he promises not to attend mass said by a priest who has taken the oath; and it is by this concurrence of confidence in the former priests on the one hand, and of threats and seductive arts on the other, that at this moment the churches where priests who have taken the oath officiate are deserted, and that people throng to those where, for want of candidates, the removals have not yet been carried into effect.

Nothing is more common than to see in parishes of five or six hundred persons ten or twelve only attending mass said by the sworn priest; the proportion is the same in all the places of the department. On Sundays and holidays may be seen whole villages and hamlets whose inhabitants leave their homes to go to the distance of a league, and sometimes ten leagues, to hear mass said by a nonjuring priest. These habitual desertions have appeared to us the most powerful cause of the ferment, sometimes secret, at others open, which exists in almost all the parishes served by priests who have taken the oath; it is easy to conceive that a multitude of persons who consider themselves obliged by their conscience to go to a distance to obtain the spiritual succours which they need, must see with aversion, when they return home exhausted with fatigue, the five or six individuals who find at hand the priest of their choice; they view with envy and treat with harshness, nay, frequently even with violence, the men who seem to them to possess an exclusive privilege in matters of religion. The comparison which they make between the facility which they formerly had to find by their side priests who enjoyed their confidence, and the trouble, fatigue, and loss of time occasioned by these repeated journeys, greatly diminishes their attachment to the constitution, to which they attribute all the discomforts of their new situation.

It is to this general cause, more active perhaps at this moment than the secret provocation of the nonjuring priests, that in our opinion ought to be attributed more especially the state of internal discord in which we have found the greater number of the parishes of the department served by priests who have taken the oath.

Several of them have presented to us, as well as to the administrative bodies, petitions praying that they may be authorized to hire particular edifices for the use of their religious worship; but as these petitions, which we knew to be instigated with the greatest activity by persons who did not sign them, appeared to us to belong to a more general and more secret system, we have not deemed it right to take any measure tending to a religious separation, which we conceived at the time, considering the state of this department, to involve all the characters of a civil breach between the citizens. We have thought and publicly said that it was for you, gentlemen, to determine in a precise manner how, and by what concurrence of moral influences, laws, and means of execution, the exercise of the

liberty of religious opinions ought on this point, and in the present circumstances, to ally itself to the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

It is certainly matter of surprise that the nonjuring priests who reside in their old parishes do not avail themselves of the liberty allowed by the law to say mass in the church where the new curé officiates, and are not eager to make use of that faculty, in order to spare their old parishioners, and those who have remained attached to them, the loss of time and the inconveniences of these numerous and compulsory journeys. To explain this conduct, apparently so extraordinary, it is of importance to recollect that one of the things which have been most strongly recommended to the nonjuring priests, by the able men who have directed this grand religious enterprise, is to abstain from all communication with the priests whom they call intruders and usurpers, lest the people, who are struck only by sensible signs, should at length become accustomed to see no difference between the priests who should perform in the same church the exercises of the same worship.

Unfortunately this religious division has produced a political breach between the citizens, and this breach is further widened by the appellation given to each of the two parties: the small number of persons who go to the church of the priests who have taken the oath call themselves and are called *patriots*; those who attend the church of the nonjuring priests are called and call themselves *aristocrats*. Thus, with the poor country people, love or hatred of their country consists nowadays not in obeying the laws, and in respecting the legitimate authorities, but in going or not going to mass said by a sworn priest. On this point ignorance and prejudice have struck such deep root that we have had great difficulty to make them comprehend that the political constitution of the State was not the civil constitution of the clergy; that the law did not tyrannize over consciences; that every one was at perfect liberty to go to the mass that he liked best, and to the priest in whom he had most confidence; that they were all equal in the sight of the law, and that on this point it imposed on them no other obligation than to live in peace, and to bear mutually with the difference of each other's religious opinions. We have done all in our power to banish this absurd denomination from the minds and from the language of the country people, and we have endeavoured to do so the more assiduously, because it was easy for us to calculate at that period all the consequences of such a demarcation in a department where these pretended *aristocrats* form more than two-thirds of the population.

Such, gentlemen, is the result of the facts that have come to our knowledge in the department of La Vendée, and such are the reflections to which these facts have given rise.

We have taken on this subject all the measures that were in our power, both to maintain the general tranquillity, and to prevent or suppress the violations of public order: organs of the law, we have everywhere spoken its language. At the same time that we established means of order and security, we took pains to explain or to elucidate, before the administrative bodies, the tribunals, or individuals, the difficulties incident either to the right understanding of the decrees or to their mode of execution; we exhorted the administrative bodies and the tribunals to redouble their vigilance and zeal in the execution of the laws which protect the safety of persons and property—to use,

in short, with firmness, the authority which the law has conferred on them; we distributed part of the public force which was at our disposal in places where the danger was described to us as being more serious or more imminent; we repaired to every place on the first tidings of disturbance; we ascertained the state of things with more calmness and reflection; and after having, either by the language of peace and consolation, or by the firm and just expression of the law, pacified this momentary tumult of individual passions, we were of opinion that the mere presence of the public force would be sufficient. It is to you, gentlemen, and to you alone, that it belongs to take truly efficacious measures respecting a matter which, from the relation into which it has been brought with the constitution of the State, exercises at this moment a much greater influence upon that constitution than the first and most simple notions of reason, apart from the experience of facts, could lead one to imagine.

In all our operations relative to the distribution of the public force we have been seconded in the most active manner by a general officer well known for his patriotism and his intelligence. No sooner was M. Dumouriez apprized of our arrival in the department than he came to associate himself with us in our labours, and to concur with us in the maintenance of the public peace. We were on the point of being totally deprived of troops of the line at a moment when we had reason to believe that they were more necessary for us than ever; it was to the zeal and to the activity of M. Dumouriez that we were indebted for immediate succour, which, owing to the delay of the organization of the gendarmerie, was in some measure the sole guarantee of the tranquillity of the country.

We had just finished our mission in this department of La Vendée, gentlemen, when the decree of the National Assembly of the 8th of August, which, on the application of the administrators of the department of the Deux-Sèvres, authorized us to proceed to the district of Chatillon, reached us as well as the directory of this department.

We had been informed on our arrival at Fontenay-le-Comte, that this district was in the same state of religious agitation as the department of La Vendée. Some days before the receipt of the decree for our commission, several citizens, electors and public functionaries of that district, came to make a written complaint to the directory of the department of the Deux-Sèvres respecting disturbances which, as they alleged, existed in different parishes; they declared that an insurrection was on the point of breaking out. The remedy which to them appeared the most certain and the most prompt, and which they most earnestly proposed, was to compel all the curés who had not taken the oath, and been superseded, and all vicars who had not taken the oath, to quit the district within three days. The directory, after having long hesitated to adopt a measure which appeared to it to be contrary to the principles of strict justice, conceived at length that the public character of the complainants was sufficient to prove both the reality of the evil and the urgent necessity of the remedy. A resolution (*arrête*) was in consequence passed on the 5th of September, and the directory ordered all ecclesiastics to quit the district in three days, but at the same time invited them to repair within the same term to Niort, the chief town of the department, *assuring them that they should there find protection and safety for their persons.*

The resolution was already printed and about to be carried into execution, when the directory received a despatch containing the

decree of commission which it had solicited. It immediately passed a fresh resolution, by which it suspended the execution of the first, and left to our prudence the faculty of confirming, modifying, or suppressing.

Two administrators of the directory were by the same resolution appointed commissioners to communicate to us what had passed, to repair to Chatillon, and there take in concert with us all the measures that we should deem necessary.

On our arrival at Chatillon we caused the fifty-six municipalities of which that district is composed to be called together; they were successively summoned into the hall of the directory. We consulted each of them on the state of its parish. All these municipalities expressed the same wish: those whose curés had been superseded solicited the restoration of those priests; those whose nonjuring curés were still in office desired to retain them. There is another point on which all these country people agreed, that is, the liberty of religious opinions, which, they said, had been granted to them, and which they were anxious to enjoy. On the same and the following day the neighbouring country sent numerous deputations of its inhabitants to reiterate the same petition. "We solicit no other favour," said they, unanimously, "than to have priests in whom we have confidence." Several of them attached so high a value to this favour that they even assured us that they would willingly pay double their imposts to obtain it.

The very great majority of the public ecclesiastical functionaries of this district have not taken the oath; and whilst their churches are scarcely sufficient to hold the concourse of citizens, those of the priests who have taken the oath are almost deserted. In this respect the state of this district has appeared to us to be the same as that of the department of La Vendée: there, as in other parts, we have found the denominations of *patriot* and *aristocrat* completely established among the people, in the same signification, and perhaps in a more general manner. The disposition of people's minds in favour of the nonjuring priests appeared to us more decided than in the department of La Vendée; the attachment felt for them, the confidence reposed in them, have all the characters of the warmest and deepest sentiment; in some of these parishes, priests who have taken the oath, or citizens attached to these priests, had been exposed to threats and insult; and although there, as elsewhere, these acts of violence have appeared to be sometimes exaggerated, yet we ascertained—and the mere report of the disposition of minds is sufficient to produce this conviction—that most of the complaints were founded on undeniable rights.

At the same time that we recommended the utmost vigilance on this point to the judges and to the administrators, we omitted nothing that could infuse into the people notions and feelings more conformable with respect for the law and with the right of individual liberty.

We ought to inform you, gentlemen, that these very men, who had been described to us as furious, as deaf to every sort of reason, left us with souls filled with peace and happiness when we had given them to understand that respect for liberty of conscience was inherent in the principles of the new constitution; they were deeply penitent and grieved for the faults which some of them might have committed; they promised us with emotion to follow the advice which we gave them—to live in peace, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions, and to respect the public functionary established by the law. They were heard, as they went away, congratulating themselves on

having seen us, repeating to one another all that we had said to them, and mutually encouraging each other in their resolutions of peace and good fellowship.

The same day messengers came to inform us that several of these country people, on their return home, had posted up bills declaring that each of them had engaged to denounce and cause to be apprehended the first person who should injure another, and especially priests who had taken the oath.

We ought to remark that in this same district, which has long been agitated by the difference of religious opinions, the arrears of taxes for 1789 and 1790, amounting to 700,000 livres, have been almost entirely paid up; proof of which was furnished us by the directory of the district.

After we had carefully observed the state of minds and of things, we were of opinion that the resolution of the directory ought not to be carried into execution, and the commissioners of the department, as well as the administrators of the directory of Chatillon, were of the same opinion.

Setting aside all the motives of determination which we were enabled to draw both from things and persons, we examined whether the measure adopted by the directory were, in the first place, just in its nature, and in the next, whether it were efficacious in execution.

We conceived that the priests who have been superseded cannot be considered as in a state of rebellion against the law, because they continue to reside in the place of their former functions, especially since among these priests there are some who, it is matter of public notoriety, lead charitable and peaceful lives, far from all public and private discussion. We conceived that in the eye of the law a man cannot be in a state of rebellion unless by putting himself in that state by precise, certain, and authenticated acts. We conceived, lastly, that acts of provocation against the laws relative to the clergy and against all the laws of the kingdom ought, like all other misdemeanours, to be punished by legal forms.

Examining afterwards the efficacy of this measure, we saw that if faithful Catholics have no confidence in the priests who have taken the oath, it is not the way to inspire them with more to remove from them in this manner the priests of their choice. We saw that in the districts where the great majority of the nonjuring priests continue to exercise their functions, agreeably to the permission of the law till they are superseded, it would certainly not be, in such a system of repression, diminishing the evil to remove so small a number of persons when you would be obliged to leave in the same places a much greater number whose opinions are the same.

Such, gentlemen, are some of the ideas which have guided our conduct in this circumstance, independently of all the reasons of locality, which alone would have been strong enough to oblige us to follow this line: such, in fact, was the dispositions of minds, that the execution of this resolution would have infallibly been the signal for a civil war in those parts.

The directory of the department of the Deux-Sèvres, apprized at first by its commissioners, and afterwards by us, of all that we had done on this head, has been pleased to present to us the expression of its thanks by a resolution of the 19th of last month.

We shall add, with respect to the measure for removing the nonjuring priests who have been superseded, that it was constantly

proposed to us almost unanimously by those citizens of the department of La Vendée who are attached to the priests that have taken the oath—citizens who themselves form, as you have seen, the smallest portion of the inhabitants; in transmitting to you this petition we merely acquit ourselves of a commission with which we have been entrusted.

Neither can we suffer you to remain ignorant that some of the priests who have taken the oath, that we have seen, have been of a contrary opinion. One of them, in a letter which he addressed to us on the 12th of September, whilst assigning to us the same causes of the disturbances, whilst expatiating on the many vexations to which he is daily exposed, remarked that the only way of remedying all these evils (these are his own expressions) "is to be tender towards the opinion of the people, whose prejudices must be cured by gentleness and prudence; for," he adds, "all war on account of religion, whose wounds still bleed, must be prevented. . . . It is to be feared that the rigorous measures necessary under present circumstances against the disturbers of the public peace may appear rather in the light of a persecution than of a punishment inflicted by the law. . . . What prudence is it needful to employ! Mildness, instruction, are the weapons of truth."

Such, gentlemen, is the general result of the particulars which we have collected, and the observations which we have made, in the course of the mission with which we have been entrusted. The most pleasing reward of our labours would be to have facilitated for you the means of establishing, on solid foundations, the tranquillity of these departments, and having responded by the activity of our zeal to the confidence with which we have been honoured.

DDD.

[Page 191.]

M. ISNARD.

"M. Isnard, a wholesale perfumer at Draguignan, was deputed from Var to the Legislature, and afterwards to the Convention. His father, who was rich, had taken great pains with his education. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, observing, that 'were the lightnings of heaven in his hands, he would blast with them all those who should attack the sovereignty of the people.' Isnard was outlawed as a Girondin on the fall of that party, but succeeded in making his escape; and after the overthrow of the Mountaineers, resumed his seat in the Convention. Being then sent to the department of the Bouches du Rhone, he there declaimed vehemently against the Terrorists, who afterwards accused him of having encouraged the bloody reprisals made on them in the South, and of having addressed the people as follows: 'If you meet any Terrorists, strike them; if you have not arms, you have sticks; if you have not sticks, dig up your parents, and with their bones knock down the monsters!' In 1796 Isnard became a member of the Council of Five Hundred. In 1801 he published a work on the 'Immortality of the Soul.'—*Biographie Moderne*.

EEE.

[Page 193.]

LUCKNER, ROCHAMBEAU, AND LAFAYETTE.

"Luckner had been the most distinguished partisan of the Seven Years' War. After the peace of 1763 the Duc de Choiseul drew him into our service. He was much attached to the new constitution, but without pretending to understand it; and when the Jacobins wished to exalt his liberal opinions, he often embarrassed them by making the most absurd blunders. He had not the power of forming great combinations, but he had a quick eye, the habit of military tactics, and all the activity of youth. Rochambeau, who had made his fortune by arms, had been engaged in the war of Flanders, and distinguished himself also in the Seven Years' War. He never lost sight of the points most important to the soldier's trade. These two marshals had one fault in common—they were too distrustful of their new and inexperienced troops. Lafayette did not share this feeling. He augured better of the enthusiasm for liberty, having been an American general officer at the age of nineteen. With the exception of these three generals, there was not an officer in the French army who had ever fought at the head of two thousand men."—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

FFF.

[Page 194.]

FOREIGN PLANS REGARDING FRANCE.

I have already had occasion to refer several times to the sentiments of Leopold, of Louis XVI., and of the emigrants; I shall now quote some extracts which will leave no doubt respecting them. Bouillé, who was abroad, and whose reputation and talents had caused him to be courted by the sovereigns, had opportunities of learning better than any other person the sentiments of the different Courts, and his testimony is above suspicion. In different parts of his *Memoirs* he thus expresses himself:—

"It may be inferred from this letter that the King of Sweden was quite uncertain respecting the real plans of the Emperor and his allies, which ought then to have been not to interfere any more in the affairs of France. The Empress [of Russia] was no doubt informed of them, but she had not communicated them to him. I knew that at the moment she was exerting all her influence with the Emperor and the King of Prussia to induce them to declare war against France. She had even written a very strong letter to the former of these sovereigns, in which she represented to him that the King of Prussia, for a mere incivility offered to his sister, had sent an army into Holland; whilst he [the Emperor] patiently suffered the insults and affronts heaped upon the Queen of France, the degradation of her rank and dignity, and the

overthrow of the throne of a King who was his brother-in-law and ally. The Empress acted with the like energy towards Spain, which had adopted pacific principles. Meanwhile the Emperor, after the acceptance of the constitution by the King, had received the new ambassador of France, whom he had previously forbidden to appear at his Court. He was even the first to admit the national flag into his ports. The Courts of Madrid, Petersburg, and Stockholm were the only ones which at this period withdrew their ambassadors from Paris. All these circumstances tend to prove that the views of Leopold were directed towards peace, and that they were the result of the influence of Louis XVI. and of the Queen."—*Mémoires de Bouille*, p. 314.

In another place Bouillé says :—

"Meanwhile several months elapsed without my perceiving any progress in the plans which the Emperor had entertained for assembling armies on the frontiers, for forming a congress, and for opening a negotiation with the French government. I presumed that the King had hoped that his acceptance of the new constitution would restore to him his personal liberty, and re-establish tranquillity in the nation, which an armed negotiation might have disturbed; and that he had consequently prevailed upon the Emperor and the other sovereigns his allies not to take any step liable to produce hostilities, which he had constantly studied to avoid. I was confirmed in this opinion by the unwillingness of the Court of Spain to furnish the fifteen millions of livres which she had engaged to give him towards the expenses of his expedition. This Prince had prevailed on me to write on his behalf to the Spanish minister, from whom I received only vague replies. I then advised the King of Sweden to open a loan in Holland, or in the free maritime cities of the North, under the guarantee of Spain, whose dispositions, however, in regard to the affairs of France appeared to me to be changed.

"I learned that the anarchy was daily increasing in France, and this was but too plainly proved by the multitude of emigrants of all classes who sought refuge on the foreign frontiers. They were armed and formed into regiments on the banks of the Rhine, and they composed a little army which threatened the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These measures awakened the fury of the people, and aided the destructive projects of the Jacobins and anarchists. The emigrants had even planned an attempt upon Strasburg, where they imagined that they had supporters who could be relied on, and partisans who would open the gates to them. The King, who was informed of the scheme, employed commands and even entreaties to stop them, and to prevent them committing any act of hostility. To this end he sent to the princes, his brothers, the Baron de Viomenil, and the Chevalier de Cogné, who signified to them, in his name, his disapprobation of the arming of the French nobility, to which the Emperor opposed all possible obstacles, but which was nevertheless continued."—*Ibid.*, p. 303.

Lastly, Bouillé gives from the lips of Leopold himself his plan of a congress :—

"At length, on the 12th of September, the Emperor Leopold sent me word to call on him, and to bring with me the plan of the arrangements for which he had previously asked me. He desired me to step into his cabinet, and told me that he could not speak to me earlier on the subject concerning which he wished to see me, because he was waiting

for answers from Russia, Spain, England, and the principal sovereigns of Italy; that he had received them, and they were conformable with his intentions and his plans; that he was assured of their assistance in the execution, and of their agreement; excepting, however, the Cabinet of St. James's, which had declared its determination to preserve the strictest neutrality. He had taken the resolution to assemble a congress, to treat with the French government, not only concerning the redress of the grievances of the Germanic body, whose rights in Alsace and in other parts of the frontier provinces had been violated, but at the same time concerning the means of restoring order in the kingdom of France, the anarchy of which disturbed the tranquillity of all Europe. He added that this negotiation should be supported by formidable armies with which France would be encompassed; that he hoped this expedient would succeed, and prevent a sanguinary war, the very last resource that he would employ. I took the liberty of asking the Emperor if he was informed of the real intentions of the King. He was acquainted with them; he knew that this Prince disliked the employment of violent means. He told me that he was, moreover, informed that the charter of the new constitution was to be presented to him in a few days, and that it was his opinion that the King could not avoid accepting it without restriction, from the risks to which he would subject his life and the lives of his family if he made the least difficulty, and if he hazarded the slightest observation; but that his sanction, forced at the time, was of no importance, as it was possible to rescind all that should have been done, and to give France a good government, which should satisfy the people, and leave to the royal authority a latitude of powers sufficient to maintain tranquillity at home and to ensure peace abroad. He asked me for the plan of disposition of the armies, assuring me that he would examine it at leisure. He added, that I might return to Mentz, where Comte de Brown, who was to command his troops, and who was then in the Netherlands, would send word to me as well as to Prince Hohenlohe, who was going into Franconia, in order that we might confer together when the time should arrive.

"I judged that the Emperor had not adopted this pacific and extremely reasonable plan, since the conference of Pilnitz, till he had consulted Louis XVI., who had constantly wished for an arrangement, and to have recourse to negotiation, rather than the violent expedient of arms."—*Ibid.*, p. 299.

GGG.

[Page 199.]

THE DUC D'ORLEANS AND THE COURTIER.

The following is Bertrand de Molleville's account of this circumstance:—

"I made a report on the same day to the council of the visit paid me by the Duc d'Orleans and of our conversation. The King determined to receive him, and on the next day he had a conversation with him of more than half an hour, with which his Majesty appeared to us to be much pleased. 'I think, like you,' said the King, 'that he is perfectly sincere, and that he will do all that lies in his power to repair the

mischief which he has done, and in which it is possible that he may not have taken so large a part as we have imagined.'

"On the following Sunday he came to the King's levee, where he met with the most humiliating reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed, and from the royalists, who were in the habit of repairing to the palace in great numbers on that day, to pay their court to the royal family. They crowded around him, making believe to tread upon his toes and to thrust him towards the door, so as to prevent him from entering. He went down-stairs to the Queen, whose table was already laid. The moment he appeared, a cry was raised on all sides of *Gentlemen, take care of the dishes!* as though they had been sure that his pockets were full of poison.

"The insulting murmurs which his presence everywhere excited forced him to retire without seeing the royal family. He was pursued to the Queen's staircase, where some one spat on his head and several times upon his coat. Rage and vexation were depicted in his face; and he left the palace convinced that the instigators of the outrages which he had received were the King and Queen, who knew nothing of the matter, and who indeed were extremely angry about it. He swore implacable hatred against them, and kept but too faithfully this horrible oath. I was at the palace that day and witnessed all the circumstances that I have here related."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi. p. 390.

HHH.

[Page 199.]

THE VICOMTE DE MIRABEAU.

"Vicomte de Boniface de Riquetti Mirabeau was brother of the famous Mirabeau, and served with distinction in America. His celebrated relative said of him one day, 'In any other family the Vicomte would be a good-for-nothing fellow and a genius: in ours, he is a blockhead and a worthy man.' In 1789 the younger Mirabeau was deputed to the States-general, and defended his order with an energy equal to that with which his brother attacked it. On one occasion, when he had kept possession of the tribune above an hour, the latter, after the sitting was concluded, went to his house, and gently reproached him with often drinking to excess, which led him into unpleasant embarrassments. 'What do you complain of?' answered the Vicomte, laughing; 'this is the only one of all the family vices that you have left me.' In 1790 the younger Mirabeau emigrated, levied a legion, and served under the Prince de Condé. His singular conformation had gained him the nickname of 'Hogshead;' and indeed he was almost as big as he was tall, but his countenance was full of intelligence. In the beginning of the Revolution he wrote a satire entitled 'The Magic Lantern,' and left behind him a collection of tales, the versification of which is sprightly and graceful."—*Biographie Moderne*.

III.

[Page 207.]

DURANTHON.

"Duranthon was born at Massedon, in 1736. In December 1793 he was dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, and guillotined." "He was an honest man," says Madame Roland in her Memoirs, "but very indolent; his manner indicated vanity, and his timid disposition and pompous prattle made him always appear to me no better than an old woman."

KKK.

[Page 207.]

CLAVIÈRES.

"Clavières was born at Geneva, in 1735, where," says M. Dumont, "he became one of the popular leaders; shrewd and penetrating, he obtained the credit of being also cunning and artful; he was a man of superior intellect; deaf from his youth, and deprived by this infirmity of the pleasures of society, he had sought a compensation in study, and formed his education by associating politics and moral philosophy with trade. Being denounced by Robespierre, to avoid the guillotine he stabbed himself in prison, June 9, 1793. His wife poisoned herself on the following day."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

LLL.

[Page 207.]

ROLAND.

J. M. Roland de la Platière, born at Villefranche, near Lyons, of a family distinguished in the law for its integrity, was the youngest of five brothers, left orphans and without fortune. In order to avoid entering into the church, like his elder brother, he left home at the age of nineteen; went to Rouen, engaged in the direction of the manufactories, distinguished himself by his love of study, and his taste for commercial subjects, and obtained the place of inspector-general, first at Amiens, and then at Lyons. He travelled through a great part of Europe, and during the Revolution sided with the Girondins. He made great efforts, but in vain, to stop the September massacres. In 1793 he signed the order for the King's execution, and was soon afterwards involved in the fall of his party. He, however, contrived to escape to Rouen; but as soon as he heard of his wife's execution he resolved not to survive her; and having left his asylum

in the evening, he went along the road to Paris, sat down against a tree, and stabbed himself with a sword that he had brought with him in a cane. He killed himself so quietly that he did not change his attitude; and the next day the people who passed by thought he was asleep. A paper was found about him couched in these terms: 'Whoever you may be that find me lying here, respect my remains; they are those of a man who devoted all his life to being useful, and who died as he lived, virtuous and honest. Not fear but indignation has made me quit my retreat; when I learned that my wife had been massacred, I would not remain any longer in a world stained with crimes.' Roland was of an irascible temper, and deeply versed in the ancient and most of the modern languages."—*Biographie Moderne*.

MMM.

[Page 207.]

MADAME ROLAND.

"M. J. Philipon Madame Roland was born at Paris, in 1754. She was the daughter of a distinguished engraver who had ruined his fortune by dissipation. At nine years old she made an analysis of Plutarch. In 1780 she married Roland, then inspector of the manufactories. In 1792, having appeared at the bar of the National Convention, to give information concerning a denunciation, she spoke with remarkable grace and dignity, and was admitted to the honours of the sitting. In 1793 she was condemned to death, together with other of the Girondins. She went to execution with irony and disdain on her lips; and on reaching the Place de la Révolution, she bowed to the statue of liberty, exclaiming, 'O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!' She was thirty-nine years of age. Without being beautiful, she had a sweet and artless countenance, and elegant figure. Her large black eyes were full of expression; her voice was musical; and her conversation peculiarly attractive. Her mind was well stored with knowledge, but she was too much addicted to satire."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Condorcet, alluding to Madame Roland's influence over her husband, used to say, 'When I wish to see the minister of the interior, I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife.'"—*History of the Convention*.

NNN.

[Page 210.]

MARAT.

"J. P. Marat, born in 1744, of Calvinist parents, was not five feet high; his face was hideous, and his head monstrous for his size. From nature he derived a daring mind, an ungovernable imagination, a vindictive temper, and a ferocious heart. He studied medicine before

he settled in Paris, where he was long in indigence. At last he obtained the situation of veterinary surgeon to the Comte d'Artois. At the period of the Revolution his natural enthusiasm rose to delirium, and he set up a journal entitled *The People's Friend*, in which he preached up revolt, murder, and pillage. In 1790 Lafayette laid siege to his house, but he found an asylum in that of an actress, who was induced by her husband to admit him. In the different searches made after him, the cellars of his partisans and the vaults of the Cordeliers' church successively gave him shelter, and thence he continued to send forth his journal. In August, Marat became a member of the municipality, was one of the chief instigators of the September massacres, and even proposed to Danton to set the prisons on fire. Several deputies pressed the Assembly to issue a warrant for his arrest; but they could not obtain it, for Danton and Robespierre were his supporters. On one occasion Marat said to the people, 'Massacre 270,000 partisans of the former order of things!' Soon afterwards he was made president of the Jacobin society. Marat was stabbed to the heart, while in the bath, by Charlotte Corday. He had some talent; wrote and spoke with facility, in a diffuse, incoherent, but bold and impassioned manner. After his death, honours almost divine were paid him; and in the Place du Carrousel a sort of pyramid was raised in celebration of him, within which were placed his bust, his bathing-tub, his writing-desk, and lamp; and a sentinel was posted there, who one night died either of cold or horror. Eventually, however, France indignantly broke his bust, tore his remains from the Pantheon, and dragged them through the mud."—*Biographie Moderne*.

The following description of Marat is full of graphic energy:—"Marat's political exhortations began and ended like the howl of a bloodhound for murder. If a wolf could have written a journal, the gaunt and famished wretch could not have ravened more eagerly for slaughter. It was blood which was Marat's constant demand; not in drops from the breast of an individual, not in puny streams from the slaughter of families; but blood in the profusion of an ocean. We are inclined to believe that there was a touch of insanity in this unnatural ferocity; and the wild and squalid features of the wretch appear to have intimated a degree of alienation of mind. Danton murdered to glut his rage; Robespierre, to avenge his injured vanity, or to remove a rival whom he hated; Marat, from the same instinctive love of blood which induces a wolf to continue his ravages of the flocks long after his hunger is appeased."—*Sir Walter Scott*.

"None exercised a more fatal influence upon the period in which he lived than Marat. He depraved the morals of the existing parties, already sufficiently lax; and to him were owing the two ideas which the committee of public safety realized at a later period—the extermination of multitudes, and the dictatorship."—*Mignet*.

"A woman of Toulouse, who was desirous of obtaining the liberty of a relation, resolved on soliciting Marat. On going to his house she was informed that he was absent; but he heard the voice of a female, and came out himself. He wore boots, but no stockings, a pair of old leather breeches, a white silk waistcoat, and a dirty shirt, the bosom of which was open, and showed his yellow chest. Long dirty nails, skinny fingers, and a hideous face suited exactly this whimsical dress. He took the lady's hand, and leading her into a very pleasant room, furnished with blue and white damask, decorated

with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, and adorned with china vases full of natural flowers, which were then scarce and dear, Marat sat down beside her on a luxurious couch, heard the recital she had to make him, became interested in her, kissed her hand, and promised to set her cousin free. In consequence he was liberated from prison within twenty-four hours."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs*.

"‘Give me,’ said Marat, ‘two hundred Neapolitans, the knife in their right hand, in their left a *muff* to serve for a target, and with these I will traverse France and complete the Revolution.’ He also made an exact calculation showing in what manner 260,000 men might be put to death in one day."—*Barbaroux's Memoirs*.

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[Page 210.]

THE QUEEN AND DUMOURIEZ.

Madame Campan gives a different account of the conversation with Dumouriez:—

"All the parties," says she, "were bestirring themselves either to ruin the King or to save him. One day I found the Queen in extreme agitation: she told me that she knew not what to do; that the leaders of the Jacobins had offered themselves to her through Dumouriez; or that Dumouriez, forsaking the party of the Jacobins, had come and offered himself to her; that she had given him an audience; that being alone with her, he had thrown himself at her feet, and told her that he had put on the red cap, and even pulled it down over his ears, but that he neither was nor ever could be a Jacobin; that the Revolution had been suffered to roll on to that mob of dis-organizers, who, aspiring only to pillage, were capable of everything, and had it in their power to furnish the Assembly with a formidable army, ready to sap the remains of a throne already too much shaken. While speaking with extreme warmth, he had taken hold of the Queen's hand, and kissed it with transport, saying, ‘Allow yourself to be saved.’ The Queen told me that it was impossible to believe the protestations of a traitor; that all his conduct was so well known that the wisest plan indisputably was not to trust him; and besides, the princes earnestly recommended that no confidence should be placed in any proposal from the interior."—Tome ii. p. 202.

The account of that conversation here differs, as the reader may perceive, in some respects; yet the groundwork is the same. In passing through the lips of the Queen and those of Madame Campan, it could not fail to acquire a colouring rather unfavourable to Dumouriez. The narrative of Dumouriez describes in a much more probable manner the agitations of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and as it contains nothing injurious to that Princess, or that does not correspond with her character, I have preferred it. It is possible, however, that the presumption of Dumouriez may have caused him to record in preference the particulars most flattering to himself.

PPP.

[Page 211.]

THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

Bouillé, whose Memoirs I have already quoted, and whose situation enabled him to form a correct judgment of the real intentions of the powers, utterly disbelieved both the zeal and the sincerity of Catherine. On this subject he expresses himself as follows:—

“It is obvious that this Prince (Gustavus) relied much on the dispositions of the Empress of Russia, and on the active part which she was to take in the confederacy, and which was confined to demonstrations. The King of Sweden was deceived; and I doubt whether Catherine would ever have entrusted him with the eighteen thousand Russians she had promised. I am persuaded, moreover, that the Emperor and the King of Prussia had not communicated to him either their views or their plans. They had both of them personally more than a dislike for him, and they were desirous that he should not take any active part in the affairs of France.”—*Bouillé*, p. 319.

QQQ.

[Page 212.]

THE KING'S RELUCTANCE TO DECLARE WAR.

Madame Campan acquaints us, in one and the same passage, with the construction of the Iron Chest, and the existence of a secret protest made by the King against the declaration of war. This apprehension of the King for the war was extraordinary, and he strove in all possible ways to throw it upon the popular party.

“The King had a prodigious quantity of papers, and unluckily conceived the idea of having a closet made very secretly in an inner corridor of his apartments, by a locksmith whom he had kept at work about him for more than ten years. But for the denunciation of this man, that closet might have long remained unknown. The wall, just at the place where it was made, was painted to look like large stones, and the opening was completely masked in the brown grooves formed by the shaded part of these painted stones. But before this locksmith had denounced to the Assembly what has since been called the Iron Chest, the Queen knew that he had talked of it to some of her friends, and that this man, in whom the King, from habit, placed too great confidence, was a Jacobin. She apprized the King of this, and prevailed upon him to fill a very large portfolio with such papers as he was most anxious to preserve, and to commit it to my care. She begged him in my presence not to leave anything in that closet; and the King, to quiet her, replied that he had left nothing there. I would have taken up the portfolio for the purpose of carrying it to my apartments; it was too heavy for me to lift. The King told me that he would carry it himself; I went before to open the doors for him. When he had laid down this portfolio in my

inner cabinet, he merely said, 'The Queen will tell you what that contains.' On returning to the Queen, I asked, supposing from the intimation of the King that it was necessary for me to know. 'They are papers,' replied the Queen, 'which would be most fatal to the King if they were to go so far as to bring him to trial. But what he certainly means me to tell you is, that in this portfolio there is the report of a council of State, in which the King gave his opinion against the war. He made all the ministers sign it, and in case of a trial he calculates that this paper would be extremely serviceable to him.' I asked the Queen to whose care she thought I ought to commit this portfolio? 'Put it in the care of any one you please,' replied she; 'you alone are responsible for it. Do not leave the palace, even in your months of rest: there are circumstances under which it may be of the utmost importance to be able to find it at the very moment when it is wanted.'"
 —*Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 222.

RRR.

[Page 214.]

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA.

Exposition of the Motives which determined the National Assembly to decree, on the formal proposal of the King, that there is reason to declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. By M. Condorcet.

(Sitting of April 20, 1792.)

Forced by the most imperative necessity to consent to war, the National Assembly is well aware that it shall be accused of having wilfully accelerated or provoked it.

It knows that the insidious conduct of the Court of Vienna has had no other object than to give a shadow of plausibility to this imputation, which is needed by the foreign powers to conceal from their people the real motives of the unjust attack prepared against France; it knows that this reproach will be repeated by the domestic enemies of our constitution and our laws, in the criminal hope of robbing the representatives of the nation of the goodwill of the public.

A simple exposition of their conduct is their only reply, and they address it with equal confidence to foreigners and to Frenchmen, since Nature has placed the sentiments of the same justice in the hearts of all mankind.

Each nation has alone the power of giving laws to itself, and the inalienable right of changing them. This right either belongs to none, or it belongs to all in perfect equality: to attack it in one is to declare that it is not recognized in any other; to attempt to wrest it by force from a foreign nation is proclaiming that a person respects it only in that of which he is the citizen or the chief; it is betraying his country; it is proclaiming himself an enemy of the human race. The French nation could not but conceive that truths so simple would be felt by all princes, and that in the eighteenth century no one would dare to oppose to them the old maxims of tyranny. Its hope has been

disappointed; a league has been formed against its independence, and it has had no other choice left but to enlighten its enemies respecting the justice of its cause, or to oppose to them the force of arms.

Informed of this threatening league, but anxious to preserve peace, the National Assembly at first inquired what was the object of this concert between powers which had so long been rivals, and it received for answer that its motive was the maintenance of the general tranquillity, the safety and honour of crowns, the fear of witnessing the recurrence of the events which some of the epochs of the French Revolution have presented.

But how should France threaten the general tranquillity, since she has taken the solemn resolution not to attempt any conquest, not to attack the liberty of any nation; since, amidst that long and sanguinary struggle which has arisen in the territory of Liege, in the Netherlands, between the government and the citizens, it has maintained the strictest neutrality?

It is true that the French nation has loudly declared that the sovereignty belongs exclusively to the people, which, limited in the exercise of its supreme will by the rights of posterity, cannot delegate irrevocable power; it is true that it has loudly acknowledged that no usage, no express law, no consent, no convention, can subject a society of men to an authority which they would not have the right of resuming; but what idea would princes form of the legitimacy of their power, or of the justice with which they exercise it, if they were to consider the enunciation of these maxims as an enterprise against the tranquillity of their dominions?

Will they allege that this tranquillity might be disturbed by the writings, by the speeches of a few Frenchmen? This, then, would be requiring by main force a law against the liberty of the press; it would be declaring war against the progress of reason; and when it is known that the French nation has everywhere been insulted with impunity, that the presses of the neighbouring countries have never ceased inundating our departments with works designed to stir up treason, to excite rebellion; when it is recollected what marks of patronage and interest have been lavished on the authors, will any one believe that a sincere love of peace, and not hatred of liberty, has dictated these hypocritical reproaches?

Much has been said of attempts made by the French to rouse the neighbouring nations to break their fetters, to claim their rights. But the very ministers who have repeated these imputations, without daring to adduce a single fact in support of them, well knew how chimerical they were; and had even these attempts been real, the powers which have allowed assemblages of our emigrants, which have given them assistance, which have received their ambassadors, which have publicly admitted them into their conferences, which are not ashamed to incite Frenchmen to civil war, would have retained no right of complaining; otherwise it must be admitted that it is allowable to extend slavery, and criminal to propagate liberty; that everything is lawful against nations; that kings alone possess genuine rights. Never would the pride of the throne have more audaciously insulted the majesty of nations!

The French people, at liberty to fix the form of its constitution, could not, by making use of this power, endanger the safety or the honour of foreign crowns. Would then the chiefs of other countries class among their prerogatives the right of obliging the French nation

to confer on the head of its government a power equal to that which they themselves exercise in their dominions? Would they, because they have subjects, forbid the existence elsewhere of free men? Can they help perceiving that in permitting everything for what they term the safety of crowns, they declare legitimate whatever a nation can undertake in favour of the liberty of other nations?

If acts of violence, if crimes, have accompanied some of the epochs of the French Revolution, to the depositaries of the national will alone belonged the power of punishing or burying them in oblivion: every citizen, every magistrate, be his title what it may, ought not to demand justice but of the laws of his country—ought not to expect it but from them. Foreign powers, so long as their subjects have not suffered from these events, cannot have a just motive, either for complaining of them, or for taking hostile measures to prevent their recurrence. Kindred personal alliances between kings are nothing to the nations; whether enslaved or free, common interests unite them: Nature has placed their happiness in peace, in the mutual aids of a kindly fraternity; she would be indignant if one would dare to put in the same balance the fate of twenty millions of men, and the affections or the pride of a few individuals. Are we then doomed still to behold the voluntary servitude of nations encircling the altars of the false gods of the earth with human victims!

Thus these alleged motives of a league against France were but a fresh outrage against her independence. She had a right to require a renunciation of the injurious preparations, and to consider a refusal as an act of hostility; such have been the principles that have guided the conduct of the National Assembly. It has continued to desire peace; but it could not help preferring war to a patience dangerous for liberty; it could not help perceiving that changes in the constitution, that violations of the equality which is the basis of it, were the sole aim of the enemies of France; that they wished to punish her for having recognized in their full extent the rights common to all mankind; and then it took that oath, repeated by all Frenchmen, to perish rather than suffer the slightest attack either upon the liberty of the citizens, or upon the sovereignty of the people; or, above all, upon that equality without which there exists for societies neither justice nor happiness.

Would they reproach the French with not having sufficiently respected the rights of other nations, in offering only pecuniary indemnities either to the German princes holding possessions in Alsace, or to the Pope?

Treaties had acknowledged the sovereignty of France over Alsace, and it had been peaceably exercised there for upwards of a century. The rights which these treaties had reserved were but privileges; the meaning of this reserve therefore was, that the possessors of fiefs in Alsace should retain them, with their old prerogatives, so long as the general laws of France admitted of the different forms of feudalism; that reserve signified also, that if the feudal prerogatives were involved in one general ruin, the nation ought to indemnify the possessors for the real advantages resulting from it; for this is all that the right of property can demand, when it happens to be in opposition to the law, in contradiction to the public interest. The citizens of Alsace are Frenchmen, and the nation cannot, without disgrace and without injustice, suffer them to be deprived of the smallest portion of the rights common to all those whom this name

ought alike to protect. Shall it be urged, that in order to indemnify these princes, we can relinquish to them a portion of our territory? No: a generous and free nation does not sell men; it does not doom to slavery, it does not give up to masters those whom it has once admitted to share its liberty.

The citizens of the Comtats had a right to give themselves a constitution; they might have declared themselves independent: they preferred being Frenchmen; and, after adopting, France will not forsake them. Had she refused to accede to their desire, their country is encompassed by her territory, and she could not have permitted their oppressors to pass through a land of liberty in order to punish men for having dared to make themselves independent and to resume their rights. What the Pope possessed in this country was the salary of the functions of the government: the people, in taking from him these functions, have exercised a power which long servitude had suspended, but of which it could not deprive them; and the indemnity offered by France was not even required by justice.

Thus it is again violations of the right of nature that they dare to demand in the name of the Pope and the possessors of fiefs in Alsace! It is again for the pretensions of a few individuals that they would spill the blood of nations! And if the ministers of the house of Austria had resolved to declare war against reason in the name of prejudices, against nations in the name of kings, they could not have held any other language.

It has been asserted that the vow of the French people for the maintenance of its equality and its independence was the vow of a faction. But the French nation has a constitution; that constitution has been recognized, adopted, by the generality of the citizens; it cannot be changed but by the desire of the people, and according to the forms which it has itself prescribed: whilst it subsists, the powers established by it have alone the right of manifesting the national will, and it is by them that this will has been declared to the foreign powers. It was the King who, on the application of the National Assembly, and exercising the functions which the constitution confers on him, complained of the protection granted to the emigrants, and insisted to no purpose that it should be withdrawn; it was he who solicited explanations concerning the league formed against France; it was he who required that this league should be dissolved; and assuredly we have a right to be surprised to hear the solemn wish of the people, publicly expressed by its lawful representatives, proclaimed as the cry of a few factious men. What title equally respectable could then those kings invoke who force misled nations to fight against the interests of their own liberty, and to take arms against rights which are also their own, to stifle beneath the ruins of the French constitution the germs of their own felicity and the general hopes of mankind!

And besides, what sort of a faction is it that could be accused of having conspired the universal liberty of mankind? It is then the entire human race that enslaved ministers dare to brand with this odious name.

But, say they, the King of the French is not free. What! is to be dependent on the laws of one's country not to be free? The liberty of thwarting them, of withdrawing oneself from them, of opposing to them a foreign force, would not be a right, but a crime.

Thus, in rejecting all these insidious propositions, in despising these indecent declamations, the National Assembly had shown itself, in all

the foreign relations, equally friendly to peace, and jealous of the liberty of the people; thus the continuance of a hostile tolerance for the emigrants, the open violation of the promises to disperse their assemblages, the refusal to renounce a line evidently offensive, the injurious motives of this refusal which indicated a desire to destroy the French constitution, were sufficient to authorize hostilities, which would never have been any other than acts of lawful defence; for it is not attacking, not to give our enemy time to exhaust our resources in long preparations, to spread all his snares, to collect all his forces, to strengthen his first alliances, to seek fresh ones, to form connections in the midst of us, to multiply plots and conspiracies in our provinces. Does he deserve the name of aggressor, who, when threatened, provoked, by an unjust and perfidious foe, deprives him of the advantage of striking the first blows? Thus, so far from seeking war, the National Assembly has done everything to prevent it. In demanding new explanations respecting intentions which could not be doubtful, it has shown that it renounced with pain the hope of a return to justice, and that if the pride of kings is prodigal of the blood of their subjects, the humanity of the representatives of a free nation is sparing even of the blood of its enemies. Insensible to all provocations, to all insults, to the contempt of old engagements, to violations of new promises, to the shameful dissimulation of the plots hatched against France, to that perfidious condescension under which were disguised the succours, the encouragements, lavished on the French who have betrayed their country, it would still have accepted peace if that which was offered had been compatible with the maintenance of the constitution, with the independence of the national sovereignty, with the safety of the State.

But the veil which concealed the intentions of our enemy is at length torn. Citizens, which of you could, in fact, subscribe to these ignominious proposals? Feudal servitude, and an humiliating inequality, bankruptcy, and taxes which you alone would pay, tithes and the inquisition, your possessions bought upon the public faith restored to their former usurpers, the beasts of the chase re-established in the right of ravaging your fields, your blood profusely spilt for the ambitious projects of a hostile house—such are the conditions of the treaty between the King of Hungary and perfidious Frenchmen!

Such is the peace which is offered you! No; never will you accept it. The cowards are at Coblenz, and France no longer harbours in her bosom any but men worthy of liberty!

He proclaims in his own name, in the name of his allies, the plan of requiring of the French nation the relinquishment of its rights; he declares that he shall demand of it sacrifices which nothing but the fear of destruction could wring from it. Let him; but never will it submit to them. This insulting pride, so far from intimidating it, will only rouse its courage. It takes time to discipline the slaves of despotism, but every man is a soldier when he combats tyranny; money will start forth from its dark retreats at the cry of the country in danger; those ambitious wretches, those slaves of corruption and intrigue, those base calumniators of the people, from whom our foes dared promise themselves ignominious succours, will lose the support of the blind or pusillanimous citizens whom they had deluded by their hypocritical declamations; and the French empire throughout its wide extent will display to our enemies but one universal determination to conquer or utterly perish with the constitution and the laws.

SSS.

[Page 219.]

AN AUSTRIAN COMMITTEE.

"For several days past the journalists had been endeavouring to raise the people by violent declamations about plots asserted to be carried on by an Austrian committee. On the Sunday before, two orators had been taken up in the Palais Royal for haranguing against this committee, and on examination, they were found to carry the marks of the whip and branding iron on their shoulders: patents of their association with the Jacobin club were found at the same time in their pockets. Possessed of the above facts, I went to confer with M. de Montmorin, when I was informed that Carra had the day before denounced the Austrian committee in the Jacobin club; and that both Montmorin and myself were pointed out as its principal members. On learning this, I carried my complaint before Larivière, *juge de paix*—an intelligent, well-disposed man—who ordered the case to be brought before him, and witnesses to be heard, after which he issued a decree that Carra should appear before him. He presented himself accordingly, and declared in his own defence that he had been authorized by Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, members of the committee of public safety, to bring forward the accusation against MM. de Montmorin and Bertrand. In consequence of this, we jointly gave in our accusation against these three members, who were arrested by order of Larivière, a proceeding which drew down on him the wrath of the Assembly; the affair was then sifted to the bottom, and from that time forward no journalist or motion-maker ventured to mention the Austrian committee."—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

T.T.T.

[Page 220.]

LIBELS ON THE QUEEN.

Madame Campan explains in the following manner the secret of the paper burned at Sèvres:—

"In the beginning of 1792 a very worthy priest requested a private interview with me. He informed me that the arrival of the manuscript of a new libel by Madame Lamotte had come to his knowledge; that in the persons who had come from London to get it printed at Paris he perceived no other incentive but gain, and that they were ready to give up the manuscript to him for a thousand louis if he could find some friend of the Queen disposed to make that sacrifice to her tranquillity; that he had thought of me, and that if her Majesty would give him the twenty-four thousand francs, he would deliver the manuscript to me on receiving them.

"I communicated this proposal to the Queen, who rejected it, and ordered me to reply, that at the time when it was possible to punish

the publishers of these libels, she had deemed them so atrocious and so improbable that she had disdained the means of preventing their circulation; that if she were to be weak and imprudent enough to buy a single one, the active espionage of the Jacobins would be likely to discover it; that this libel, though bought up, would still be printed, and would prove infinitely more mischievous when they should acquaint the public with the means which she had employed to suppress it.

"Baron d'Aubier, gentleman-in-waiting on the King, and my particular friend, had an excellent memory, and a clear and precise manner for transmitting to me the substance of the deliberations, debates, and decrees of the National Assembly. I went every day to the Queen's apartments, to make my report on the subject to the King, who said, on seeing me, 'Ah! here comes the Calais postillion.'

"One day M. d'Aubier came and said to me, 'The Assembly has been much engaged with a denunciation made by the workmen in the manufactory of Sèvres. They brought and laid upon the president's desk a bundle of pamphlets, saying that they were the Life of Marie Antoinette. The director of the manufactory was summoned to the bar, and declared that he had received orders to burn these pamphlets in the ovens employed for baking the porcelain.'

"Whilst I was giving this account to the Queen, the King blushed and hung down his head over his plate. The Queen said, 'Do you know anything of this, Sir?' The King made no answer. Madame Elizabeth begged him to explain the meaning of this. Still he kept silence. I quickly withdrew. In a few minutes the Queen came to me, and told me that it was the King who, out of tenderness for her, had caused the whole edition printed from the manuscript which I had offered to her to be bought up, and that M. de Laporte could not devise any more secret way of annihilating the work than to cause it to be burnt at Sèvres among two hundred workmen, of whom at least one hundred and eighty were Jacobins. She told me that she had concealed her vexation from the King, who was exceedingly mortified, and that she could not say anything, as his kindness and affection for her had occasioned this accident."—*Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 196.

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[Page 231.]

MISSION OF MALLET DU PAN TO GERMANY.

The mission given by the King to Mallet du Pan is one of the facts which it is of the greatest importance to confirm; and from the allusions of Bertrand de Molleville, no doubt can be entertained on the subject. A minister at this period, Bertrand de Molleville must have possessed accurate information; and as a counter-revolutionary minister, he would rather have concealed than avowed such a fact. This mission proves the moderation of Louis XVI., but likewise his communications with foreigners.

"So far from sharing this patriotic security, the King saw with the deepest grief France engaged in an unjust and sanguinary war, which the disorganization of her armies seemed to render it impossible for her

to maintain, and which more than ever exposed our frontier provinces to the dangers of invasion. Above all things, his Majesty dreaded civil war, and had no doubt that it would break forth on the intelligence of the first advantage over the French troops gained by the corps of emigrants forming part of the Austrian army. It was, in fact, but too much to be apprehended that the Jacobins and the enraged populace would exercise the most cruel reprisals against the priests and the nobles remaining in France. These fears, which the King expressed to me in the daily correspondence that I had with his Majesty, determined me to propose to him to send a confidential person to the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to endeavour to prevail on their Majesties not to act offensively but at the last extremity; and before the entrance of their armies into the kingdom, to issue a well-written manifesto, in which it should be declared that 'the Emperor and the King of Prussia, being forced to take up arms by the unjust aggression that had been made upon them, attributed neither to the King nor to the nation, but to the criminal faction which oppressed both, the declaration of war which had been notified to them; that in consequence, so far from renouncing the sentiments of friendship which united them to the King and to France, their Majesties would fight only to deliver them from the yoke of the most atrocious tyranny that had ever existed, and to assist them in re-establishing the legitimate authority forcibly usurped, order, and tranquillity, without at all intending to interfere in any way whatever in the form of government, but to ensure to the nation the liberty of choosing that which was best suited to it; that all idea of conquest was therefore far from the thoughts of their Majesties; that private property should be not less respected than national property; that their Majesties took under their special safeguard all the peaceable and faithful citizens; that their only enemies as well as those of France, were the factious and their adherents, and that their Majesties wished to find out and to fight those alone.' Mallet du Pan, whom the King esteemed for his abilities and integrity, was charged with this mission. He was the more fit for it, inasmuch as he had never been seen at the palace, had no connection with any of the persons belonging to the Court, and by taking the route of Geneva, to which he was in the habit of making frequent journeys, his departure could not give rise to any suspicion."

The King gave Mallet du Pan instructions in his own handwriting, which are quoted by Bertrand de Molleville:—

"1. The King joins his entreaties to his exhortations, to prevail on the princes and the emigrant French not to take from the present war, by a hostile and offensive concurrence on their part, the character of a foreign war waged by one power against another;

"2. He recommends to them to rely upon him and the interfering Courts for the discussion and securing of their interests when the moment for treating shall arrive;

"3. It is requisite that they appear only as parties and not arbiters in the quarrel, as that arbitration ought to be reserved for his Majesty when liberty shall be restored to him, and for the powers who shall demand it;

"4. Any other conduct would produce a civil war in the interior, endanger the lives of the King and of his family, overturn the throne, cause the royalists to be slaughtered, rally around the Jacobins all the Revolutionists who have seceded and are daily seceding from them, rekindle an enthusiasm which is tending towards extinction, and render

more obstinate a resistance which will give way before the first successes, when the fate of the Revolution shall not appear to be exclusively committed to those against whom it has been directed; and who have been its victims;

"5. To represent to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin the utility of a manifesto jointly with the other States which have formed the concert; the importance of so wording this manifesto as to separate the Jacobins from the rest of the nation, and to give confidence to all those who are capable of renouncing their errors, or who, without wishing for the present constitution, desire the suppression of abuses and the reign of moderate liberty under a monarch to whose authority the law sets limits;

"6. To obtain the insertion in that document of this fundamental truth, that war is made on an anti-social faction, and not on the French nation; that the allies take up the defence of legitimate governments and nations against a ferocious anarchy, which breaks all the bonds of sociability among men, all the conventions under the shelter of which liberty, peace, public safety at home and abroad repose; to dispel all apprehensions of dismemberment; not to impose any laws, but to declare energetically to the Assembly, to the administrative bodies, to the municipalities, to the ministers, that they shall be held personally and individually responsible, in their bodies and goods, for all outrages committed against the sacred person of the King, against that of the Queen and of the royal family, and against the persons or property of any citizens whatever;

"7. To express the wish of the King, that on entering the kingdom, the powers declare that they are ready to give peace, but that they neither will nor can treat unless with the King; that in consequence they require that the most complete liberty be restored to him, and that afterwards there be a congress assembled, in which the different interests shall be discussed on bases already laid down, to which the emigrants shall be admitted as complaining parties, and at which the general plan of claims shall be negotiated under the auspices and the guarantee of the powers."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii. p. 39.

VVV.

[Page 231.]

MISSION OF MALLET DU PAN TO GERMANY.

Bertrand de Molleville, from whom I have borrowed the facts relative to Mallet du Pan, thus expresses himself respecting the reception and the dispositions which he met with:—

"On the 15th and 16th of July, Mallet du Pan had had long conferences with Comte de Cobentzel, Comte de Haugwitz, and M. Heymann, ministers of the Emperor and the King of Prussia. After examining the credentials of his mission, and listening with extreme attention to the reading of his instructions and of his memorial, those ministers acknowledged that the views which he proposed perfectly agreed with those which the King had previously expressed to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, which had respectively adopted them. They had in conse-

quence testified their entire confidence; and had approved in every point the plan of the manifesto which he had proposed to them. They had declared to him in the most positive terms that no views of ambition, no personal interest or design of dismemberment, entered into the plan of the war, and that the powers had no other view or interest than the re-establishment of order in France, because no peace could exist between her and her neighbours while she was a prey to the anarchy which prevailed, and which obliged them to keep cordons of troops on all the frontiers, and to take extraordinary and very expensive precautions of safety; but that so far from pretending to impose upon the French any form of government whatever, the King should be left at perfect liberty to concert with the nation on this subject. They had applied to him for the most circumstantial information relative to the dispositions of the interior, the public opinion concerning the old system, the parliaments, the nobility, &c. &c. They informed him in confidence that the emigrants were destined to form an army to be given to the King when he should be set at liberty. The French princes had been spoken of in an ill-natured and prejudiced manner: they were supposed to harbour intentions directly contrary to those of the King, and especially those of acting independently and creating a regent. [Mallet du Pan strongly combated this supposition, and observed, that the intentions of the princes ought not to be inferred from the silly or extravagant language of some of those around them.] Lastly, after having fully discussed the different demands and proposals on which Mallet du Pan was directed to insist, the three ministers had unanimously acknowledged their prudence and justice, had each desired to have a note or summary of them, and had given the most formal assurances that the views of the King, being perfectly accordant with those of the powers, should be strictly followed."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii. p. 320.

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[Page 237.]

PLOT TO ASSASSINATE THE QUEEN.

"M. Grammont assured me he was positively informed that Santerre had entertained a project to have the Queen assassinated, and that a grenadier of his battalion had engaged to perpetrate the crime for a considerable sum of money, a small part of which he had already received. The grenadier in question, added M. Grammont, was sufficiently remarkable by a scar in his left cheek. The 14th of July, the day of the Federation, was the time fixed on for the execution of the project. On that day, accordingly, M. Grammont went himself to the palace. The grenadier appeared at eight o'clock at night, and though he was perceived by the sentinel, yet he had the address to make his escape. He returned, however, the same night in his uniform, and was taken up at the bottom of the stair leading to the Queen's apartment. He was recognized by the scar, and conducted to the guard-room. On searching him a cutlass was found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, just as he was going to be brought before the justice of peace, he was carried off by a band of ruffians, who came to the palace on purpose to rescue him."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville*.

XXX.

[Page 237.]

LEGENDRE.

"L. Legendre was ten years a sailor, and afterwards a butcher in Paris. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was one of the earliest and most violent leaders of the mob. In 1791 he was deputed by the city of Paris to the Convention. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, and the day before his execution proposed to the Jacobins to cut him into eighty-four pieces, and send one to each of the eighty-four departments! He was one of the chief instigators of the atrocities at Lyons; and at Dieppe, when some persons complained of the want of bread, he answered, 'Well, eat the aristocrats!' Legendre died in Paris in 1797, aged forty-one, and bequeathed his body to the surgeons, 'in order to be useful to mankind after his death.'—*Biographie Moderne*.

YYY.

[Page 241.]

DECLARATION OF M. LAREYNIE.

Among the depositions contained in the proceedings instituted against the authors of the 20th of June is one that is extremely curious, on account of the particulars which it furnishes—I mean that of Lareynie. It comprehends almost everything that is repeated by the other witnesses, and therefore we quote it in preference. These proceedings were printed in quarto.

"Before us appeared *Sieur Jean Baptiste Marie Louis Lareynie*, a volunteer soldier of the battalion of the *Isle St. Louis*, decorated with the military cross, dwelling in Paris, *Quai Bourbon*, No. 1;

"Who, deeply afflicted at the disturbances which have recently taken place in the capital, and conceiving it to be the duty of a good citizen to furnish justice with all the information that it can need in these circumstances, for the purpose of punishing the abettors and instigators of all manoeuvres against the public tranquillity and the integrity of the French constitution, has declared that for a week past he has known, from acquaintance that he has in the *Faubourg St. Antoine*, that the citizens of that faubourg were worked up by the *Sieur Santerre*, commandant of the battalion of the *Enfans-Trouvés*, and by other persons, among whom were the *Sieur Fournier*, calling himself an American, and elector, in 1791, of the department of Paris; the *Sieur Rotondo*, who calls himself an Italian; the *Sieur Legendre*, butcher, living in the *Rue des Boucheries*, *Faubourg St. Germain*; the *Sieur Cuirette Verrières*, living over the coffee-house of *Rendez-Vous*, *Rue du Théâtre-Français*; who held by night secret meetings at the *Sieur Santerre's*, and sometimes in the committee-room of the section of the *Enfans-Trouvés*; that the deliberations were there carried on in the presence of a very small number of trusty persons of the faubourg,

such as the Sieur Rossignol, lately a journeyman goldsmith ; the Sieur Nicolas, sapper of the said battalion of the Enfants-Trouvés ; the Sieur Brierre, wine merchant ; the Sieur Gonor, who calls himself the conqueror of the Bastille, and others whom he could name ; that there they determined upon the motions which should be discussed by the groups at the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Place de Grève, and especially at the Porte St. Antoine ; that there were drawn up the incendiary placards posted from time to time in the faubourgs, and the petitions destined to be carried by deputations to the patriotic societies of Paris ; and lastly, that there was framed the famous petition, and there hatched the plot of the 20th of this month. That on the preceding night there was held a secret committee at the Sieur Santerre's, which began almost at midnight, and at which witnesses, whom he can bring forward when they have returned from the errand on which they have been sent by the Sieur Santerre to the neighbouring country, declare they saw present MM. Petion, mayor of Paris ; Robespierre ; Manuel, solicitor of the commune ; Alexandre, commandant of the battalion of St. Michel ; and Sillery, ex-deputy of the National Assembly. That on the 20th, the Sieur Santerre, seeing that several of his people, and especially the leaders of his party, deterred by the resolution (*arrêté*) of the directory of the department, refused to go down armed, alleging that they should be fired upon, assured them that they had nothing to fear, that *the national guard would not have any orders, and that M. Petion would be there*. That about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the said day the concourse did not amount to more than about fifteen hundred persons, including those drawn together by curiosity, and that it was not till the Sieur Santerre, leaving his house, and putting himself at the head of a detachment of invalids, had arrived at the Place, and by the way excited the spectators to join him, that the multitude increased considerably till his arrival at the passage of the Feuillans ; that there, not having dared to force the post, he turned into the court of the Capuchins, where he caused the May, which he had destined for the palace of the Tuileries, to be planted ; that then he, this deponent, asked several persons in the train of the said Sieur Santerre why the May was not planted on the terrace of the palace, as had been agreed upon, and that these persons replied that *they should take good care not to do any such thing ; that it was a snare into which the Feuillantins meant to lead them, because there were guns placed in the garden ; but that they should not run into the trap*. The deponent observed that at this moment the mob was almost entirely dispersed, and that it was not till the drums and music were heard in the vicinity of the National Assembly that the people, then scattered here and there, rallied, and, joined by the other spectators, filed off quietly, three deep, before the Legislative Body ; that he, deponent, remarked that these people in passing into the Tuileries were guilty of no misdemeanour, and did not attempt to enter the palace ; that even when assembled at the Place du Carrousel, where they arrived after going round by the Quai du Louvre, they manifested no intention of penetrating into the courts till the arrival of the Sieur Santerre, who was at the National Assembly, and did not leave it before the sitting was over. That then the Sieur Santerre, accompanied by several persons, among whom he, deponent, remarked the Sieur Hurugue, addressed the mob, which was at that time very quiet, and asked *why they had not entered the palace ; that they must go in, and that this was what they had come for*. That immediately he ordered the gunners of his battalion to follow him with one piece of cannon, and

said that if he was refused admittance he must break open the gate with cannon-balls; that afterwards he proceeded in this manner to the gate of the palace, where he met with a faint resistance from the horse gendarmerie, but a firm opposition on the part of the national guard; that this occasioned great noise and agitation, and they would probably have come to blows had not two men, in scarfs of the national colours, one of whom he, deponent, knew to be the *Sieur Boucher-René*, and the other was said by the spectators to be the *Sieur Sergent*, come by way of the courts, and *ordered*, he must say, in a very imperious, not to say insolent tone, at the same time prostituting the sacred name of the law, *the gates to be opened*, adding, *that nobody had a right to close them, but every citizen had a right to enter*; that the gates were accordingly opened by the national guard, and that then *Santerre* and his band rushed confusedly into the courts; that the *Sieur Santerre*, who had cannon drawn forward to break open the doors of the King's apartments if he found them fastened, and to fire upon the national guard in case it should oppose his incursion, was stopped in his progress in the last court on the left, at the foot of the staircase of the *Pavilion*, by a group of citizens, who addressed him in the most reasonable language with a view to appease his fury, and threatened to make him responsible for all the mischief that should be done on that fatal day, because, said they to him, *you are the sole cause of this unconstitutional assemblage, you alone have misled these good people, and you are the only villain among them*. That the tone in which these honest citizens spoke to the *Sieur Santerre* caused him to turn pale; but that encouraged by a look from the *Sieur Legendre*, butcher, above named, he had recourse to a hypocritical subterfuge, addressing his band, and saying, '*Gentlemen, draw up a report of my refusal to march at your head into the King's apartments*;' that the mob, accustomed to guess the *Sieur Santerre's* meaning by way of answer, fell upon the group of honest citizens, entered with its cannon and its commandant, the *Sieur Santerre*, and penetrated into the apartments by all the passages, after having broken in pieces the doors and windows."

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[Page 275.]

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST POISONING.

On the subject of the apprehensions of the royal family, *Madame Campan* relates as follows:—

"The police of *M. de Laporte*, intendant of the civil list, apprized him, about the end of 1791, that one of the King's household who had set up as a pastrycook in the *Palais Royal* had lately taken upon him the duties of an office which reverted to him on the death of the late holder; that he was so outrageous a Jacobin as to have dared to assert that it would be doing a great benefit to France to put an end to the life of the King. His functions were confined merely to articles of pastry. He was closely watched by the principal officers of the kitchen, who were attached to his Majesty; but a subtle poison may be so easily introduced into articles of food that it was decided that the King and Queen should eat nothing but what was roasted; that their bread should

be supplied by M. Thierry, of Ville d'Avray, intendant of the *petits appartemens*, and that he should also furnish the wine. The King was fond of pastry; I was directed to order some, as if for myself, sometimes of one pastrycook, sometimes of another. The grated sugar was likewise kept in my room. The King, the Queen, and Madame Elizabeth dined together without any attendants. Each of them had a dumb-waiter of mahogany, and a bell to ring when they wanted anything. M. Thierry himself brought me the bread and wine for their Majesties, and I locked up all these things in a particular closet in the King's cabinet on the ground floor. As soon as the King was at table I brought the pastry and the bread. Everything was hid under the table lest there might be occasion to call in the attendants. The King thought that it was not less dangerous than mortifying to show this apprehension of attempts against his person, and this distrust of the servants of his household. As he never drank a whole bottle of wine at dinner—the Princesses drank nothing but water—he half filled that from which he had been drinking out of the bottle supplied by the officers of his establishment. I carried it away after dinner. Though no pastry but that which I brought was ever eaten, care was taken to make it appear as if some of that which had been set on the table had been used. The lady who succeeded me found this secret service ready organized, and she executed it in the same manner. The public was never acquainted with these precautions or the apprehensions which had given rise to them. At the end of three or four months the same police gave intimation that there was no longer any reason to fear a plot of this kind against the King's life; that the plan was completely changed; that the blows intended to be struck would be directed as much against the throne as against the person of the sovereign."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 188.

LAFAYETTE'S PLAN FOR THE FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

"The plan of flight was as follows:—The King, accompanied by Lafayette, was to have gone to the National Assembly at mid-day, and announced his intention of spending some days at Compiègne. On his arrival there with a small escort of Parisian national guards, he could calculate on the national guard of Compiègne, and on two regiments of chasseurs belonging to Lafayette's army, of whom the latter was perfectly sure. The officers of this chosen body were to offer every kind of guarantee by their well-known patriotism and honour; and Brigadier-general Latour Maubourg was to have taken the command. Thus surrounded, the King, sheltered from all violence, and in a situation of his own choice, would, of his own accord, have issued a proclamation, forbidding his brothers and the emigrants to advance a step further; announcing himself ready to go in person, if the Assembly approved of it, against the enemy; and declaring for the constitution in such terms as to leave not a shadow of doubt as to his real intentions. Such a step might probably have enabled Louis to return to Paris amid the universal acclamations of the people; but such a triumph would have been the triumph of liberty, and therefore the Court rejected it. Some of the King's personal friends left nothing untried to inspire him with confidence in Lafayette. With tears in their eyes they conjured him to comply with the counsels of the only man who could snatch him from destruction. But his most influential advisers saw no chance for

absolute royalty, save in anarchy and foreign invasion. Lafayette was thanked for his plan, which was rejected; and when his aide-de-camp, Colombe, afterwards asked the Queen by what strange infatuation she and the King had come to so fatal a decision, 'We are very grateful to your general,' was her reply, 'but the best thing that could happen to us would be to be confined for two months in a tower!' Lafayette knew well that at the very moment when he was offering the only chance of safety that remained to the royal family, memorials full of asperity were, by the Queen's orders, composed against him; and that a part of the libels daily devoted to his defamation were paid for out of the civil list."—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

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[Page 276.]

LETTERS OF LALLY-TOLLENDAL AND LAFAYETTE.

When M. de Lafayette was confined at Olmütz, M. de Lally-Tollendal wrote in his behalf a very eloquent letter to the King of Prussia. He there recapitulated all that the general had done to save Louis XVI., and adduced proofs in confirmation. Among these documents were the following letters, which afford an insight into the plans and the efforts of the constitutionalists at this period:—

Copy of a Letter from M. de Lally-Tollendal to the King.

PARIS, Monday, July 9, 1792.

I am charged by M. Lafayette to propose directly to his Majesty, for the 15th of this month, the same plan which he had proposed for the 12th, and which cannot now be carried into execution on that day, on account of the promise given by his Majesty to attend the ceremony of the 14th.

His Majesty must have seen the plan sent by M. Lafayette, for M. Duport was to carry it to M. Montciel, that he might show it to his Majesty.

M. Lafayette means to be here on the 15th; he will have with him old General Luckner. They have just had a meeting; both have promised, and both have one and the same feeling and one and the same design.

They propose that his Majesty shall publicly leave the city between them, having written to the National Assembly, to assure it that he shall not pass the constitutional line, and that he is going to Compiègne.

His Majesty and all the royal family are to be in one carriage. It is easy to find a hundred good horse to escort them. The Swiss in case of need, and part of the national guard, will protect the departure. The two generals will keep close to his Majesty. On arriving at Compiègne he shall have for his guard a detachment belonging to the place, which is very good; one from the capital, which shall be picked; and one from the army.

M. Lafayette, after providing for all his fortresses and his reserve camp, has at his disposal for this purpose in his army ten squadrons of

horse artillery. Two forced marches may bring this whole division to Compiègne.

If, contrary to all probability, his Majesty should be prevented from leaving the city, the laws being most manifestly violated, the two generals would march upon the capital with an army.

The consequences of this plan are sufficiently obvious:—

Peace with all Europe, through the mediation of the King;

The King reinstated in all his legal power;

A great and necessary extension of his sacred prerogatives;

A real monarchy, a real monarch, real liberty;

A real national representation, of which the King shall be the head and an integral part;

A real executive power;

A real national representation, elected from among persons of property;

The constitution revised, partly abolished, partly improved, and founded on a better basis;

The new Legislative Body sitting for three months only in the year;

The old nobility restored to its former privileges, not political but civil, depending on opinion, such as titles, arms, liveries, &c.

I execute my commission without presuming to add either advice or reflection. My imagination is too full of the rage which will seize all those perverse heads at the loss of the first town that shall be taken from us, not to have my misgivings; and these are so strong that the scene of Saturday, which appears to have quieted many people, has doubled my uneasiness. All those kisses reminded me of that of Judas.

I merely solicit permission to be one of the eighty or one hundred horse who shall escort his Majesty, if he approves the plan; and I flatter myself that I have no occasion to assure him that his enemies should not get at him or at any member of his royal family before they had passed over my corpse.

I will add one word: I was a friend of M. Lafayette's before the Revolution. I broke off all intercourse with him since the 22nd of March in the second year. At this period I wished him to be what he is at this day; I wrote to him that his duty, his honour, his interest, all prescribed to him this line of conduct; I detailed the plan to him at length, such as my conscience suggested it. He gave me a promise; I saw no effect from that promise. I shall not examine whether this was owing to inability or insincerity; I renounced all further connection with him, telling him so, and nobody had yet told him more severe truths than myself and my friends, who were also his. These same friends have now renewed my correspondence with him. His Majesty knows what has been the aim and the nature of this correspondence. I have seen his letters; I had a conference of two hours with him in the night before he left Paris. He acknowledges his errors; he is ready to devote himself for liberty, but at the same time for the monarchy; he is willing to sacrifice himself, if need be, for his country and for his King, whom he no longer separates; he is attached, in short, to the principles which I have expounded in this note; he is attached to them completely, with candour, conviction, sensibility, fidelity to the King, disregard of himself—I answer for him on my integrity.

I forgot to say that he begs that nothing may be said on this subject to such of the officers as may be in the capital at this moment. All may suspect that some plans are in agitation; but none of them is apprized of that which he proposes. It is sufficient for them to know

it on the morning for acting; he is afraid of indiscretion if it should be mentioned to them beforehand, and none of them is excepted from this observation.

P.S.—May I venture to say that in my opinion this note should be perused by him only who on an ever-memorable day vanquished by his heroic courage a whole host of assassins; by him who the day after that unexampled triumph himself dictated a proclamation as sublime as his actions had been on the preceding day, and not by the counsels which drew up the letter written in his name to the Legislative Body, intimating that he should attend the ceremony of the 14th; not by the counsels which obtained the sanction of the decree respecting feudal rights, a decree equivalent to a robbery committed upon the highway?

M. Lafayette does not admit the idea that the King, when once out of the capital, has any other direction to follow but that of his conscience and his free will. He conceives that the first operation of his Majesty ought to be to create a guard for himself; he conceives also that his plan is capable of being modified in twenty different ways; he prefers a retreat to the North to a retreat to the South, as being nearer at hand to render assistance on that side, and dreading the southern faction. In these words, *the liberty of the King, and the destruction of the factions*, is comprehended his aim in all the sincerity of his heart. What is to follow will follow.

Copy of a Letter from Lafayette.

July 8, 1792.

I had disposed my army in such a manner that the best squadrons, the grenadiers, and the horse artillery were under the command of M——, in the fourth division; and had my proposal been accepted, I should have brought in two days to Compiègne fifteen squadrons and eight pieces of cannon, the rest of the army being placed in échelons, at the distance of one march; and any regiment which would not have taken the first step would have come to my assistance if my comrades and myself had been engaged.

I had overcome Luckner so far as to obtain a promise from him to march with me to the capital if the safety of the King had required it, and he had issued orders to that effect; and I have five squadrons of that army at my absolute disposal, Languedoc and ——; the commandant of the horse artillery is also exclusively devoted to me. I reckoned that these would also march to Compiègne.

The King has given a promise to attend the federal festival. I am sorry that my plan has not been adopted; but the most must be made of that which has been preferred.

The steps which I have taken, the adhesion of many departments and communes, that of M. Luckner, my influence with my army and even with the other troops, my popularity in the kingdom, which has rather increased than diminished, though very limited in the capital—all these circumstances, added to several others, have, by awakening honest men, furnished a subject of reflection for the factious; and I hope that the physical dangers of the 14th of July are greatly diminished. I think myself that they are nothing if the King is accompanied by Luckner and me, and surrounded by the picked battalions which I am getting ready for him.

But if the King and his family remain in the capital, are they not still in the hands of the factions? We shall lose the first battle; it is impossible to doubt that. The recoil will be felt in the capital. I will go

further and assert that the supposition of a correspondence between the Queen and the enemy will be sufficient to occasion the greatest excesses. At least they will be for carrying off the King to the South; and this idea, which is now revolting, will appear simple when the leagued kings are approaching. I see, therefore, a series of dangers commencing immediately after the 14th.

I again repeat it, the King must leave Paris. I know that were he not sincere this course would be attended with inconveniences; but when the question is about trusting the King, who is an honest man, can one hesitate a moment? I am impressed with the necessity of seeing the King at Compiègne.

Here then are the two objects to which my present plan relates:—

1. If the King has not yet sent for Luckner and myself, he should do so immediately. *We have Luckner.* He ought to be secured more and more. He will say that we are together; I will say the rest. Luckner can come to fetch me, so that we may be in the capital on the evening of the 12th. The 13th and 14th may furnish offensive chances, at any rate the defensive shall be ensured by your presence; and who knows what may be the effect of mine upon the national guard?

We will accompany the King to the altar of the country. The two generals, representing two armies, which are known to be strongly attached to them, will prevent any insults that there may be a disposition to offer to the dignity of the King. As for me, I may find again the habit which some have so long had of obeying my voice; the terror which I have always struck into others as soon as they became factious, and perhaps some personal means of turning a crisis to advantage may render me serviceable, at least for obviating dangers. My application is the more disinterested, since my situation will be disagreeable in comparison with the grand Federation; but I consider it as a sacred duty to be near the King on this occasion, and my mind is so bent on this point that *I absolutely require* the minister at war to send for me, and that this first part of my proposal be adopted; and I beg you to communicate it through mutual friends to the King, to his family, and to his council.

2. As for my second proposition, I deem it equally indispensable, and this is the way in which I understand it. The King's oath and ours will have tranquillized those persons who are only weak; consequently the scoundrels will be for some days deprived of that support. I would have the King write secretly to M. Luckner and myself one letter jointly to us both, which should find us on the road on the evening of the 11th or the morning of the 12th. The King should there say, 'that after taking our oath it was expedient to think of proving his sincerity to foreigners; that the best way would be for him to pass some days at Compiègne; that he directed us to have in readiness there some squadrons to join the national guard of that place, and a detachment from the capital; that we shall accompany him to Compiègne, whence we shall proceed to rejoin our respective armies; that he desires us to select such squadrons the chiefs of which are known for their attachment to the constitution, and a general officer who cannot leave any doubt on that head.'

Agreeably to this letter, Luckner and I will appoint M—— to the command of this expedition; he shall take with him four pieces of horse artillery; eight, if preferred; but the King ought not to allude to this subject, because the odium of cannon ought to fall upon us. On the 15th, at ten in the morning, the King should go to the Assembly, accompanied by Luckner and myself; and whether we had a battalion, or

whether we had but fifty horse, consisting of men devoted to the King, or friends of mine, we should see if the King, the royal family, Luckner, and myself should be stopped.

Let us suppose that we were. Luckner and I would return to the Assembly, to complain and to threaten it with our armies. When the King should have returned, his situation would not be worse, for he would not have transgressed the constitution; he would have against him none but the enemies of that constitution, and Luckner and I should easily bring forward detachments from Compiègne. Take notice that this does not compromise the King so much as he must necessarily be compromised by the events which are preparing.

The funds which the King has at his disposal have been so squandered in aristocratic fooleries that he cannot have much money left. There is no doubt that he can borrow, if necessary, to make himself master of the three days of the Federation.

There is still one case to be provided against: the Assembly may decree that the generals shall not come to the capital. It will be sufficient for the King to refuse his sanction immediately.

If, by an inconceivable fatality, the King should have already given his sanction, let him appoint to meet us at Compiègne, even though he should be stopped at setting out. We will open to him the means of coming thither *free and triumphant*. It is superfluous to observe that in any case on his arrival at Compiègne he will there form his personal guard on the footing allowed him by the constitution.

In truth, when I find myself surrounded by inhabitants of the country, who come ten leagues and more to see me, and to swear that they have confidence in none but me, and that my enemies are theirs; when I find myself beloved by my army, on which the Jacobin efforts have no influence; when I see testimonies of adherence to my opinions arriving from all parts of the kingdom—I cannot believe that all is lost, and that I have no means of being serviceable.

Reply of Louis XVI. to Lafayette.

The following is the answer of Louis XVI. to the letter of Lafayette.

[In the handwriting of the King.]

You must answer him that I am infinitely sensible to the attachment which would induce him to put himself thus in the front, but that the manner appears to me impracticable. It is not out of personal fear; but everything would be staked at once, and whatever he may say of it, the failure of this plan would plunge all into a worse state than ever, and reduce it more and more under the sway of the factions. Fontainebleau is but a cul-de-sac, it would be a bad retreat, and towards the South; towards the North, it would have the appearance of going to meet the Austrians. Respecting the summons for him, an answer will be returned from another quarter, so I have nothing to say here on that subject. The presence of the generals at the Federation might be useful; it might, besides, have for its motive to see the new minister and to confer with him on the wants of the army. The best advice which can be given to M. Lafayette is to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factions by the able performance of his duty as a general. He will thereby secure more and more the confidence of his army, and be enabled to employ it as he pleases in case of emergency.

BBBB.

[Page 281.]

THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1792.

Particulars of the Events of the 10th of August.—These particulars are extracted from a paper inserted in the *Annales Politiques*, signed Carra, and entitled, *Historical Sketch of the Origin and real Authors of the celebrated Insurrection of the 10th of August, which has saved the Republic*. The author asserts that the mayor had no hand whatever in the success, but that he happened to be in place, on this occasion, like a real Providence for the patriots.

“Those men, says Jerome Petion in his excellent speech on the proceedings instituted against Maximilien Robespierre, who have attributed to themselves the glory of that day, are those to whom it least belongs. It is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperative nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists and to their secret directory which had long concerted the plan of the insurrection; it is due, in short, to the guardian genius which has constantly governed the destinies of France ever since the first meeting of its representatives.

“It is of this secret directory which Jerome Petion speaks, and of which I shall speak in my turn, both as a member of that directory and as an actor in all its operations. This secret directory was formed by the central committee of federalists, which met in the correspondence room at the Jacobins, St. Honoré. It was out of the forty-three members, who daily assembled since the commencement of July in that room, that five were selected for the insurrectional directory. These five members were Vaugeois, grand-vicar of the Bishop of Blois; Debessé, of the department of La Drôme; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, journalist of Strasburg; and Galisot, of Langres. I was added to these five members at the very moment of the formation of the directory; and a few days afterwards, Fournier the American; Westermann; Kienlin, of Strasburg; Santerre; Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marceau; Antoine, of Metz, the ex-constituent; Legrey; and Garin, elector in 1789, were invited to join it.

“The first meeting of this directory was held in a small public-house, the Soleil d’Or, Rue St. Antoine, near the Bastille, in the night between Thursday and Friday the 26th of July, after the civic entertainment given to the federalists on the site of the Bastille. Gorsas, the patriot, attended at the public-house, which we left at two in the morning, when we repaired to the column of liberty, on the site of the Bastille, to die there, in case of need, for the country. It was to this public-house, the Soleil d’Or, that Fournier the American brought us the red flag, the invention of which I had proposed, and upon which I had got inscribed these words: *Martial Law of the Sovereign People against the Rebellion of the Executive Power*. It was also to the same house that I took five hundred copies of a posting-bill containing these words: *Those who fire on the columns of the people shall instantly be put to death*. This bill, printed in the office of Buisson, the publisher, had been carried to Santerre’s, whither I went at midnight to fetch it. Our plan failed this time through the prudence of the mayor, who pro-

bably conceived that we were not sufficiently guarded at the moment; and the second active meeting of the directory was adjourned to the 4th of August following.

"Nearly the same persons attended this meeting, and in addition to them, Camille Desmoulins. It was held at the Cadran Bleu, on the boulevard; and about eight in the evening it removed to the lodgings of Antoine, ex-constituent, Rue St. Honoré, opposite to the Assumption, in the very same house where Robespierre lives. His landlady was so alarmed at this meeting that she came, about eleven o'clock at night, to ask Antoine if he was going to get Robespierre murdered. 'If any one is to be murdered,' replied Antoine, 'no doubt it will be ourselves; Robespierre has nothing to fear from us; let him but conceal himself.'

"It was in this second active meeting that I wrote with my own hand the whole plan of the insurrection, of the march of the columns, and of the attack of the palace. Simon made a copy of this plan, and we sent it to Santerre and Alexandre about midnight; but a second time our scheme miscarried, because Alexandre and Santerre were not yet sufficiently prepared, and several wished to wait for the discussion fixed for the 10th of August on the suspension of the King.

"At length, the third active meeting of this directory was held in the night between the 9th and 10th of August last, at the moment when the tocsin rang, and in three different places at the same time; namely, Fournier the American, with some others, at the Faubourg St. Marceau; Westermann, Santerre, and two others, at the Faubourg St. Antoine; Garin, journalist of Strasburg, and myself, in the barracks of the Marseillais, and in the very chamber of the commandant, where we were seen by the whole battalion.

"In this sketch, which contains nothing but what is strictly true, and the minutest details of which I defy any person whatever to contradict, it is seen that nothing is said of Marat or of Robespierre, or of so many others who desire to pass for actors in that affair; and that those who may directly ascribe to themselves the glory of the famous day of the 10th are the persons whom I have named, and who formed the secret directory of the federalists."

CCCC.

[Page 281.]

F. CHABOT.

"F. Chabot, a Capuchin, born in the department of Aveyron, eagerly profited by the opportunity of breaking his vows, which the decrees of the Constituent Assembly offered him. In 1792 he was appointed deputy of Loire et Cher to the Legislature. In the same year he went so far as to cause himself to be slightly wounded by six confidential men, in order that he might accuse the King of being the author of this assassination. It is asserted that he even pressed Merlin and Bazire to murder him, and then to carry his bloody corpse into the faubourg, to hasten the insurrection of the people, and the destruction

of the monarch. Chabot was one of the chief instigators of the events of the 10th of August, and voted afterwards for the death of the King. He was condemned to death by Robespierre as a partisan of the Dantonist faction. When he knew what his fate was to be, he poisoned himself with corrosive sublimate of mercury; but the dreadful pain he suffered having extorted shrieks from him, he was conveyed to the infirmary, and his life prolonged till April 1794, when he was guillotined. Chabot died with firmness at the age of thirty-five."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 285.]

ROBESPIERRE.

"Robespierre felt rebuked and humiliated among the first chiefs of the Revolution; he vowed within himself to be one day without a rival, and started for the goal with an undeviating, passionless, pitiless fixedness of purpose, which seems more than human. He is a proof what mediocre talents suffice to make a tyrant. His views were ordinary—his thoughts were low—his oratory was wretched. But he was a man of a single ruling idea, and of indefatigable perseverance. His devouring ambition was not to be confounded with that of a common usurper aspiring at political tyranny. It was rather that of the founder of a sect, and even a fanatic in his way. He seems to have formed for himself a system out of the boldest and wildest visions of Rousseau, domestic, social, and political. But he had not a particle of the fervour, eloquence, or enthusiasm of that philosopher. To propagate the new creed by persuasion was therefore not thought of by him; but he had craft, hypocrisy, impenetrable reserve, singleness of purpose, and apathetic cruelty; and accordingly he resolved to effect his vast scheme of reform by immolating a whole generation. Robespierre was severe, frugal and insensible to the pomps, vanities, seductions, and allurements which corrupt or influence the great mass of the world."—*British and Foreign Review*.

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[Page 286.]

BRISOT.

The following is the opinion entertained of Brissot by Lafayette, who knew him well: "It is impossible not to be struck with various contrasts in the life of Brissot; a clever man, undoubtedly, and a skilful journalist, but whose talents and influence have been greatly overrated both by friends and enemies. In other times, before he became a republican, he had made the whole régime a subject of eulogy. It seems pretty well proved that a few days before the 10th of August

he and some agitators of his party had been intriguing with the valets-de-chambre of the Tuileries; even after this insurrection their only desire was to govern in the name of the Prince-Royal. Brissot, on the very eve of denouncing Lafayette, told the Abbé Duvernet, then member of the society of Jacobins, that the person he was going to accuse was the man of all others whom he esteemed and revered the most. Even while continuing to calumniate Lafayette, he testified in private for him the same esteem to various persons—Lord Lauderdale, among others—a witness whose evidence will hardly be refused, and who often spoke of it in London.”—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

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[Page 291.]

CHARACTER OF LOUIS XVI.

“The errors of Louis XVI. may truly be said to have originated in a virtuous principle. As to his weaknesses, I shall not endeavour to conceal them. I have more than once had occasion to lament the indecision of this unfortunate Prince; his repugnance to adopt the bold measures which might have saved him; and his want of that energy of character and self-confidence which impose on the multitude, who are ever prone to believe that he who commands with firmness and an air of authority possesses the means of enforcing obedience. But I will venture to say, that the very faults above enumerated did not belong to his natural character, but were engrafted on it by the selfish indolence of M. de Maurepas.”—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molléville*.

“Louis XVI. was the grandson of Louis XV., and the second son of the Dauphin by his second wife, Marie Josephine, daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. Louis was born in 1754, and in 1770 married Marie Antoinette of Austria. With the best intentions, but utterly inexperienced in government, he ascended the throne in 1774, when he was hardly twenty years of age. In his countenance, which was not destitute of dignity, were delineated the prominent features of his character—integrity, indecision, and weakness. He was somewhat stiff in demeanour; and his manners had none of the grace possessed by almost all the princes of the blood. He was fond of reading, and endowed with a most retentive memory. He translated some parts of Gibbon's History. It was the fault of this unfortunate monarch to yield too easily to the extravagant tastes of the Queen and the Court. The latter years of his reign were one continued scene of tumult and confusion; and he was guillotined in 1793, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in the Magdalen churchyard, Paris, between the graves of those who were crushed to death in the crowd at the Louvre, on the anniversary of his marriage in 1774, and of the Swiss who fell on the 10th of August 1792.”—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

“The Revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to Louis by his ancestors. He was more fitted than any of those who preceded him to

prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or of being a constitutional monarch after it. He is perhaps the only prince who, destitute of passions, had not even that of power. With a little more strength of mind Louis would have been a model of a king."—*Mignet*.

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[Page 293.]

COPY OF THE LETTER WRITTEN TO CITIZEN BOZE, BY GUADET,
VERGNIAUD, AND GENSONNÉ.

You ask us, Sir, what is our opinion respecting the present situation of France, and the choice of the measures that are capable of protecting the public weal from the urgent dangers with which it is threatened: this is a subject of uneasiness to good citizens, and the object of their profoundest meditations.

Since you question us upon such important interests, we shall not hesitate to explain our sentiments with frankness.

It can no longer be denied that the conduct of the executive power is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict France, and of the dangers that surround the throne. They only deceive the King who strive to persuade him that exaggerated opinions, the effervescence of the clubs, the manœuvres of certain agitators and powerful factions, have occasioned and keep up those commotions, the violence of which each day is liable to increase, and the consequences of which it will perhaps be no longer possible to calculate; this is placing the cause of the disorder in its symptoms.

If the people were easy respecting the success of a Revolution so dearly bought, if the public liberty were no longer in danger, if the conduct of the King excited no distrust, opinions would find their level of themselves; the great mass of the citizens would only think of enjoying the benefits ensured to them by the constitution: and if in this state of things factions should still exist, they would cease to be dangerous—they would no longer have either pretext or object.

But so long as the public liberty shall be in danger, so long as the alarms of the citizens shall be kept up by the conduct of the executive power, and conspiracies hatched within and without the realm shall appear to be more or less openly encouraged by the King, this state of things necessarily produces disturbances, disorder, and factions. In the best constituted States, States that have been constituted for ages, revolutions have no other principle; and with us the effect must be the more prompt, inasmuch as there has been no interval between the movements which led to the first and those which seem at this day to indicate a second revolution.

It is therefore but too evident that the present state of things must lead to a crisis, almost all the chances of which will be against royalty. In fact the interests of the King are separated from those of the nation: the first public functionary of a free nation is made a party-leader, and

by this horrible policy the odium of all the evils that afflict France is thrown upon him.

Ah! what can be the success of the foreign powers, even though, by means of their intervention, the authority of the King should be enlarged, and a new form given to the government! Is it not evident that those who have entertained the idea of this congress have sacrificed to their prejudices, to their private interest, the very interest of the monarch; that the success of these manœuvres would impart a character of usurpation to powers which the nation alone delegates, and which nothing but its confidence can uphold? Why have they not perceived that the force which should bring about this change would long be necessary for its conservation; and that there would thus be sown in the bosom of the kingdom the seed of dissensions and discord, which the lapse of several ages could alone stifle?

Alike sincerely and invariably attached to the interests of the nation, from which we never shall separate those of the King so long as he does not separate them himself, we think that the only way of preventing the evils with which the empire is threatened, and to restore tranquillity, would be for the King by his conduct to put an end to all cause for alarm, to speak out by facts in the most frank and unequivocal manner, and to surround himself, in short, with the confidence of the people, which alone constitutes his strength, and can alone constitute his happiness.

It is not at this time of day that he can accomplish this by new protestations; they would be derisory, and in the present circumstances they would assume a character of irony, which, so far from dispelling alarm, would only increase the danger.

There is only one from which any effect could be expected, namely, a most solemn declaration that in no case would the King accept any augmentation of power that was not voluntarily granted by the French people, without the concurrence and intervention of any foreign power, and freely discussed according to the constitutional forms.

On this head it is even remarked that several members of the National Assembly know that such a declaration was proposed to the King when he submitted the proposition for war against the King of Hungary, and that he did not think fit to make it.

But it might perhaps suffice to re-establish confidence, if the King were to prevail on the coalesced powers to acknowledge the independence of the French nation, to put an end to all hostilities, and to withdraw the cordons of troops which threaten the frontiers.

It is impossible for a very great part of the nation to help feeling convinced that the King has it in his power to dissolve this coalition; and so long as it shall endanger the public liberty, we must not flatter ourselves that confidence can revive.

If the efforts of the King for this purpose were unavailing, he ought at least to assist the nation, by all the means in his power, to repel the external attack, and not neglect anything to remove from himself the suspicion of encouraging it.

In this supposition it is easy to conceive that suspicion and distrust originate in unfortunate circumstances, which it is impossible to change.

To make a crime of these when the danger is real and cannot be mistaken, is the readiest way to increase suspicion: to complain of exaggeration, to attack the clubs, to inveigh against agitators, when the

effervescence and agitation are the natural effect of circumstances, is to give them new strength, to augment the perturbation of the people by the very means that are employed to calm it.

Whilst there shall be a subsisting and known action against liberty, reaction is inevitable, and the development of both will be equally progressive.

In so arduous a situation, tranquillity can be restored only by the absence of all danger; and until this happy period shall arrive, it is of the utmost importance to the nation and to the King that these unhappy circumstances be not embittered by conduct, at least equivocal, on the part of the agents of the executive power.

1. Why does not the King choose his ministers from among those who are most decided in favour of the Revolution? Why in the most critical moments is he surrounded only by men who are unknown or suspected? If it could be advantageous to the King to increase the distrust, and to excite the people to commotions, could he pursue a more likely course to foment them?

The selection of ministers has been at all times one of the most important prerogatives of the power with which the King is invested; it is the thermometer according to which the public opinion has always judged of the dispositions of the Court; and it is easy to conceive what might be at this day the effect of that choice, which in very different times would have excited the most violent murmurs.

A thoroughly patriotic ministry would therefore be one of the best means that the King could employ to restore confidence. But he would egregiously deceive himself who should suppose that by a single step of this kind it could be easily recovered. It is only in the course of time, and by continued efforts, that one can flatter oneself with the prospect of erasing impressions too deeply engraven to be removed at the instant to the very slightest vestige.

2. At a moment when all the means of defence ought to be employed, when France cannot arm all her defenders, why has not the King offered the muskets and the horses of his guard?

3. Why does not the King himself solicit a law for subjecting the civil list to a form of accountability, which can assure the nation that it is not diverted from its legitimate purpose and applied to other uses?

4. One of the best means of making the people easy respecting the personal dispositions of the King would be for him to solicit himself a law relative to the education of the Prince-Royal, and thus hasten the moment when the care of that young Prince shall be consigned to a governor possessing the confidence of the nation.

5. Complaints are still made that the decree for disbanding the staff of the national guard is not sanctioned. These numerous refusals of sanction to legislative measures which public opinion earnestly demands, and the urgency of which cannot be mistaken, provoke the examination of the constitutional question respecting the application of the veto to laws of circumstance, and are not of such a nature as to dispel alarm and discontent.

6. It is of great importance that the King should withdraw the command of the army from M. Lafayette. It is at least evident that he cannot usefully serve the public cause there any longer.

We shall conclude this slight sketch with a general observation: it is this, that whatever can remove suspicion and revive confidence cannot

and ought not to be neglected. The constitution is saved if the King takes this resolution with courage, and if he persists in it with firmness.

We are, &c.

HHHH.

[Page 303.]

MEETING IN THE GARDEN OF M. DE MONTMORIN.

The following paper is one of those quoted by M. de Lally-Tollendal in his letter to the King of Prussia:—

Copy of the Minute of a Sitting held on the 4th of August 1792, in the handwriting of Lally-Tollendal.

August 4.

M. de Montmorin, late minister of foreign affairs—M. Bertrand, late minister of the marine—M. de Clermont-Tonnerre—M. de Lally-Tollendal—M. Malouet—M. de Gouvenet—M. de Gilliers.

Three hours' deliberation in a sequestered spot in M. de Montmorin's garden. Each reported what he had discovered. I had received an anonymous letter, in which the writer informed me of a conversation at Santerre's, announcing the plan of marching to the Tuileries, killing the King in the fray, and seizing the Prince-Royal, to do with him whatever circumstances should require; or, if the King was not killed, to make all the royal family prisoners. We all resolved that the King should leave Paris, at whatever risk, escorted by the Swiss, and by ourselves and our friends, who were pretty numerous. We reckoned upon M. de Liancourt, who had offered to come to Rouen to meet the King, and also upon M. de Lafayette. As we were finishing our deliberations M. de Malesherbes arrived; he came to urge Madame de Montmorin and her daughter, Madame de Beaumont, to depart, saying that the crisis was at hand, and that Paris was no longer a fit place for women. In consequence of the news brought us by M. de Malesherbes, we agreed that M. de Montmorin should go immediately to the palace to inform the King of what we had learned and resolved. The King seemed to assent in the evening, and told M. de Montmorin to confer with M. de Sainte-Croix, who, with M. de Montciel, was also engaged in devising a plan for the King's departure. We went next day to the palace; I had a long conversation with the Duc de Choiseul, who was entirely of our opinion, and anxious that the King should depart at any risk whatever, as he would rather *expose himself to every danger than commence a civil war*. We were informed that the deposition would be pronounced on the Thursday following. I knew of no other resource than the army of M. de Lafayette. I sent off on the 8th the rough draft of a letter, which I advised him to write to the Duke of Brunswick as soon as he should receive the first news of the deposition, &c.

III.

[Page 312.]

BEHAVIOUR OF THE KING AND QUEEN ON THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1792.

"The behaviour of Marie Antoinette was magnanimous in the highest degree. Her majestic air, her Austrian lip, and aquiline nose, gave her an air of dignity which can only be conceived by those who beheld her in that trying hour."—*Peltier*.

"The King ought then to have put himself at the head of his troops, and opposed his enemies. The Queen was of this opinion, and the courageous counsel she gave on this occasion does honour to her memory."—*Madame de Staël*.

"This invasion of the 10th of August was another of those striking occasions on which the King, by suddenly changing his character and assuming firmness, might have recovered his throne. Had he ordered the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers to be shut up, dissolved the Assembly, and seized on the factions, that day had restored his authority. But this weak Prince chose rather to expose himself to certain death than give orders for his defence."—*Dumont*.

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[Page 312.]

MARIE ANTOINETTE.

"Marie Antoinette Josephine Jeanne Antoinette, of Lorraine, Archduchess of Austria, and Queen of France, born at Vienna, in the year 1755, was daughter of the Emperor Francis I. and Maria Theresa. She received a careful education, and nature had bestowed on her an uncommon share of grace and beauty. Her marriage with the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) at Versailles, in 1770, had all the appearance of a triumph. It was subsequently remarked that immediately after the ceremony a fearful thunder-storm, such as had scarcely ever before been witnessed, took place at Versailles. Anxious minds indulged in yet more fearful forebodings when at the festivity which the city of Paris prepared in celebration of the royal nuptials, through the want of judicious arrangements, a great number of people in the Rue Royale were trodden down in the crowd. Fifty-three persons were found dead, and about three hundred dangerously wounded. In 1788, Marie Antoinette drew upon herself the hatred of the Court party, who used every means to make her odious to the nation. Her lively imagination often gave her the appearance of levity, and sometimes of intrigue and dissimulation. A natural restlessness, too, led her on a constant search after novelty, which involved her in heavy expenses. It was still more to her disadvantage that she injured her dignity by neglecting the strict formality of Court manners. About this time her enemies spread a report about that she was still an Austrian at heart, and an extraordinary occurrence added fuel to the flame of calumny, and subjected

the Queen to a disgraceful lawsuit. Two jewellers demanded the payment of an immense price for a necklace which had been purchased in the name of the Queen. In the examination, which she demanded, it was proved that she never authorized the purchase. A lady of her size and complexion had impudently passed herself off for the Queen, and at midnight had a meeting with a cardinal in the park of Versailles. Notwithstanding, her enemies succeeded in throwing a dark shade over her conduct. When Louis XVI. informed her of his condemnation to death, she congratulated him on the approaching termination of an existence so painful. After his execution she asked nothing of the Convention but a mourning dress, which she wore for the remainder of her days. Her behaviour during the whole term of her imprisonment was exemplary in the highest degree. On the 3rd of October 1793 she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and replied to all the questions of her judges satisfactorily and with decision. When Hebert accused her of having seduced her own son, she answered, with a noble burst of indignation, 'I appeal to every mother here whether such a crime be possible!' She heard her sentence with perfect calmness, and the next day ascended the scaffold. The beauty for which she was once so celebrated was gone; grief had distorted her features, and in the damp, unhealthy prison she had almost lost one of her eyes. When she reached the place of execution she cast back one fond, lingering look at the Tuileries, and then mounted the scaffold. When she came to the top she flung herself on her knees, and exclaimed, 'Farewell, my dear children, for ever—I go to your father!' Thus died the Queen of France, October 16, 1793, towards the close of the thirty-eighth year of her age."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

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[Page 318.]

THE MASSACRE IN THE PALACE.

"The populace had no sooner become masters of the palace than they exerted their fury against every soul in it without distinction. The gentlemen ushers of the chambers, the pages of the back-stairs, the doorkeepers, even persons in the lowest and most servile employments, were all alike butchered. Streams of blood flowed everywhere from the roofs to the cellars. It was impossible to set foot on a single spot without treading upon a dead body. Stripped, many of them, as soon as they were murdered, their lifeless bodies presented, in addition to the ghastliness of death, the shocking spectacle of a mutilation which the mind may conceive, but which modesty forbids me to describe. And among the perpetrators of these atrocious deeds were found women! Seven hundred and fifty Swiss perished on that dreadful day! Nine officers survived, only to be butchered a few days after in a more cruel manner. The instant the mob rushed into the palace they forced their way into, and plundered every corner. Bureaus were burst open; furniture was broken to pieces, and flung out of window; even the cellars were ransacked; in short, the whole presented nothing but scenes of devastation and death. The mob spared only the paintings in the

State-room. The butchery did not cease for hours; but the aristocrats were no longer the only victims. Some of the rioters were massacred by other rioters. Rapine, drunkenness, and impunity increased the numbers of the populace; the day seemed to be made the revel of carnage; and the mangled bodies of the Swiss were covered with fresh heaps of the self-destroyed rabble!"—*Peltier*.

"In about half an hour after the royal family had gone to the Assembly I saw four heads carried on pikes along the terrace of Feuillans towards the building where the Legislative Body was sitting; which was, I believe, the signal for attacking the palace; for at the same instant there began a dreadful fire of cannon and musketry. The palace was everywhere pierced with balls and bullets. I ran from place to place, and finding the apartments and staircases already strewn with dead bodies, I took the resolution of leaping from one of the windows in the Queen's room down upon the terrace. I continued my road till I came to the Dauphin's garden-gate, where some Marseillais, who had just butchered several of the Swiss, were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying, 'How, citizen, without arms! Here, take this sword, and help us to kill!' However, luckily another Marseillais seized it, and being dressed in a plain frock, I succeeded in making my escape. Some of the Swiss who were pursued took refuge in an adjoining stable. I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. On hearing their cries the master of the house ran up, and I seized that opportunity of going in, where, without knowing me, M. le Dreux and his wife invited me to stay till the danger was over. Presently a body of armed men came in to see if any of the Swiss were concealed there. After a fruitless search, these fellows, their hands dyed with blood, stopped and coolly related the murders of which they had been guilty. I remained in this asylum from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, having before my eyes a view of all the horrors that were perpetrated at the Place de Louis Quinze. Of the men, some were still continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies, from which they tore pieces of flesh, and carried them off in triumph. Towards evening I took the road to Versailles, and crossed the Pont Louis Seize, which was covered with the naked carcasses of men already in a state of putrefaction from the great heat of the weather."—*Cléry*.

"The 10th of August was a day I shall never forget. It was the day of my fête, and hitherto I had always spent it happily. It was now a day of mourning. In the streets the cries of the people mingled with the thundering of artillery and the groans of the wounded. About noon my brother entered with one of his companions in arms, who was wrapped in a great-coat. The young royalist had tasted nothing for forty hours, and he had just escaped from the pursuit of those who would have massacred him if they could have found him. The young gentleman was carefully concealed in my little apartment. My father was out, and my brother went frequently to the gate to look for him. The storm seemed to be subsiding, but the firing of musketry was still heard at intervals. Night was drawing on, and my father had not yet returned. My brother again went to the gate to look for him, and he saw a man quickly turn the corner of our hotel. He immediately recognized my father, who desired him to leave the door open, observing that he was merely going round the corner to fetch a person who was

in the arcade of the mint. He returned, bringing with him a gentleman who was scarcely able to walk. He was leaning on the arm of my father, who conducted him silently to a bedchamber. It was M. de Bevy. He was pale and faint, and the blood was flowing copiously from his wounds. The horrors of that awful day are never to be forgotten!" —*Duchesse d'Abrantès.*

LLLL.

[Page 319.]

IMPRISONMENT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

"For fifteen hours the royal family were shut up in the shorthand-writers' box. At length at one in the morning they were transferred to the Feuillans. When left alone, Louis prostrated himself in prayer." —*Lacretelle.*

"The royal family remained three days at the Feuillans. They occupied a small suite of apartments consisting of four cells. In the first were the gentlemen who had accompanied the King. In the second we found the King; he was having his hair dressed; he took two locks of it, and gave one to my sister, and one to me. In the third was the Queen, in bed, and in an indescribable state of affliction. We found her attended only by a bulky woman, who seemed tolerably civil; she waited upon the Queen, who as yet had none of her own people about her. I asked her Majesty what the ambassadors of foreign powers had done under existing circumstances. She told me they could do nothing, but that the lady of the English ambassador had just given her a proof of the private interest she took in her welfare by sending her linen for her son." —*Madame Campan.*

"At this frightful period Lady Sutherland (afterwards Duchess of Sutherland), then English ambassadress at Paris, showed the most devoted attention to the royal family." —*Madame de Staël.*

"It was in this prison (the reporters' box), six feet square and eight feet high, the white walls of which reflected the rays of the sun, and increased their ardour, that the King and his family spent fourteen hours together in the course of a day that was burning hot. As the mob kept tumultuously crowding round the hall, it was found advisable to destroy an iron railing that separated this lodge from the National Assembly, that the King might be able to get into the Assembly in case the lodge should be attacked. Four of the ministers and the King himself were obliged to pull down this iron railing without any instrument but the strength of their hands and arms. The King then sat down and remained in his chair, with his hat off, during the debate that followed, keeping his eyes constantly fixed on the Assembly, and taking no refreshment for the whole time but a peach and a glass of water." —*Peltier.*

"One circumstance may serve as a proof of the illusion in which the Queen was, with respect to her situation, even when she was in the reporters' box. When the cannons were firing upon the palace, and in the midst of the violent petitions for dethroning the King, her Majesty, relying upon the president's speech to the King at his entrance, turned to Comte d'Hervilly, who was standing behind her, and said, 'Well,

M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?' 'I wish, with all my heart, madam,' answered the Comte, 'that your Majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence!'"—*Bertrand de Molleville.*

"For many long hours the King and his family were shut up in the reporters' box. Exhausted by fatigue, the infant Dauphin at length dropped off into a profound sleep in his mother's arms; the Princess-Royal and Madame Elizabeth, with their eyes streaming with tears, sat on each side of her. At last they were transferred to the building of the Feuillans. Already the august captives felt the pangs of indigence; all their dresses and effects had been pillaged or destroyed; the Dauphin was indebted for a change of linen to the wife of the English ambassador; and the Queen was obliged to borrow twenty-five louis from Madame Anguie, one of the ladies of the bedchamber."—*Alison.*

END OF VOL. I.

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