

nion, that an equal division of property should take place among the children or relations of persons dying intestate, seemed to meet with unanimous approbation, and was some time after the discussion decreed. On the other topic, there was a greater diversity of sentiment. "In defence of the unlimited power of testators, recourse was had to the sacred right in which property ought always to be regarded; to the discouragement which would be held forth to industry, if a man was not permitted to dispose of his property agreeably to his inclination. The power of parents over their children was another forcible argument which was resorted to on this topic. To make children independent of their parents, it was said, would be the annihilation of good morals. Youth, it was added, is the torrid zone of human life, and must fall the unresisting prey of temptation, of debauchery, of usury, of every existing corruption and depravity, if possessed of an independent patrimony. The character of a father was represented as the most sacred of titles; it was that which the Deity himself assumes. The equal partition of estates, which was the principal argument employed by the other side, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangement which left the disposal of his property to the will of the testator. In the increase of population, it was said, the landed property of individuals would be subdivided into atoms, and the portions would be so extremely small as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the land-tax."

The arguments on the other side were not less forcible and ingenious. It was said, "that the question in this case was simply, whether the will of the law, or the will of the individual, should be obeyed?" The will or determination of the law ought to be preferred, because it was totally exempt from the influence of the passions; whereas the will of the individual was always under their direction. If the law had determined, therefore, that an equal division of property was for the good of the state, the will of the individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. The arbitrary disposition of parents not only obstructed the public prosperity, by contributing to the inequality of fortune among the citizens; but frequently produced the most cruel outrages, by disinheriting their children from passion or misrepresentation.—It was not however contended that the restriction should be so absolute that a parent should have nothing left to distribute as a recompense to a deserving child, nothing to withhold as a check upon one less worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the disposal of the testator, and to distribute a part in such proportions as should seem most likely to promote the prosperity of the common-wealth.

Of this latter opinion was Mirabeau; but he spoke no longer from the tribune, which had so often resounded with the thunders of his eloquence, but from the dark and silent regions of the dead. In the beginning of his disorder, his hope of recovery was great, and his courage in the subsequent stages of it was not less. He deliberately made his will; and recollecting that a law relating to testaments was then before the Assembly, he

said to the abbé Taleyrand, "The National Assembly is now engaged upon a law relating to testaments, and they will not think it unsuitable, that a man who has just made one should offer them his opinion on the question, as his last homage. I entrust this paper to your care, to be read to the Assembly." At the early age of forty-two, he departed this life, leaving many of his intended plans unfinished; his character was of that complex sort which cannot be hastily or concisely developed, and which we shall not attempt to delineate: one truth may perhaps be shortly told, as to the worth of his intentions; that the principles were *bad*, and that the *good* which he did was accidental, or done only because he happened to believe it the most expedient. We say *happened*; for, notwithstanding his talents, he very rarely saw the homely but irresistible truth, "*that honesty is the best policy.*"

The noblesse assembled on the borders of Alsace, for the purpose of re-conquering their titles, began now to create some alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince of Condé: their uniform was black, faced with yellow, with a death's head surrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a sword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die!" The emigrants also, it was added, were well received by most of the German princes, and every thing appeared hostile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in seducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed against him and some other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumstance several others occurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular suspicion. The king, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predilection, or through mere compassion, was surrounded with non-juring priests, and other persons of a dubious character; and the people had not forgotten the singular transaction of the Tuilleries, on the twenty-eighth of February, which, in all probability, was frequently exaggerated and misrepresented to them. However, therefore, we may condemn, we cannot be surprized at the tumult which took place on the eighteenth of April, while the royal family were preparing to set out for Saint Cloud, where they intended to pass the Easter holidays. The populace, who considered this as only foreboding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorously surrounded the carriage, and insisted on their majesties' return. It was in vain that M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette opposed this phrenzy; in vain they exerted themselves to procure a free passage for the carriage. A set of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed, "If the king escapes, there will be a civil war, and the streets of Paris will be deluged with the blood of the citizens." The national guard refused to act—"We know"—said the grenadiers—"that we are violating the law; but the safety of the country is the first of laws."



The royal family, in short, were obliged to return. The king, on the following day, repaired to the Assembly, where, with becoming firmness and dignity, he complained of the insult, and declared his intention of persevering in his resolution. He was answered in a respectful speech by the president; and he proceeded on his journey. At the same time, his majesty embraced this opportunity of notifying to all the foreign courts his acceptance of the constitution; and, in compliance with a request from the municipality of Paris, dismissed from about his person those obnoxious persons who had been the principal cause of the suspicion. New assurances of fidelity to the constitution, and of loyalty to the king, passed between the sovereign and the National Assembly, and all was quiet.

During these transactions in the capital, the provinces could not even yet be pronounced in a perfect state of tranquillity. At Toulouse, in particular, several citizens were assassinated on the night of the seventeenth of March. The murder was attributed to the officers or soldiers of the regiment of Saint Barthelemi. The people immediately took arms, but happily the tumult ended in burning the colours of the regiment. The real authors of the assassinations, however, escaped into Spain.

In the latter end of June, the city of Paris, and the whole kingdom of France, were thrown into the most violent consternation by the evasion of the king. It was remarked, that for some time weeks previous to this event, the emigrations had greatly increased; and the circulating specie of the kingdom disappeared, as it were by a miracle. The non-juring priests were more active and audacious than ever, and emissaries were employed to corrupt the soldiery of almost every regiment, and especially on the frontiers.

M. de Bouillé was entrusted with the protection of the frontiers; a trust which he exercised more consistently with his own character and views, than with the principles of duty and honour; he either permitted the fortification of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or assisted in their dilapidation. The garrisons were left without provisions or ammunition. The national soldiery were replaced, wherever it was possible, with foreigners, and the utmost pains were taken to spread disunion, and discontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmedi, a fortified town of Luxemburgh; but it was generally supposed that his actual residence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be assembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful succours which were to be furnished by Prussia and Austria; while other diversions were to be made on the side of Spain and Savoy, by the respective monarchs of those countries.

Such is the account which is most generally believed of the motives and plan of this ill-concerted and unfortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, because it destroyed that confidence which the people ought to have in the executive government; and doubly

unfortunate for the monarch, because it for ever lost him the love of a people, who, in the most distressful and tumultuous circumstances of the Revolution, were never before known to waver or abate in the personal regard which they retained for their sovereign. The king's intention was not kept such a profound secret, but that it was known to M. Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and M. de la Fayette: the guard was in consequence doubled, and such precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every possibility of effecting the intention. On the night of the twentieth of June, however, the king, the queen, madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, and the whole of the royal family, disappeared. Monsieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedi.

On the twenty-first of June, at eight o'clock in the morning, when the report of their escape was first propagated through the capital, Paris exhibited a scene of confusion, equalled only on that memorable day when the demolition of the Bastille proclaimed to its inhabitants a revolution in the government. The shops were already opened, and their tenants were about to commence their usual occupations, when their attention was suddenly diverted from the object of their toil, by an ominous whisper that ran through the city, and, like a contagious whirlwind, spread terror and dismay wherever it passed. "The king is fled!" was repeated in a tone of mingled apprehension and incredulity: but, as doubt was converted into certainty, terror gave way to indignation, and the flight of the royal family was speedily and loudly announced throughout the capital, with execrations too horrid to repeat.

In the midst of this consternation the National Assembly met. M. Regnault was the first who spoke: he made a motion, that the minister for the home department should be commanded immediately to dispatch couriers on every road, with orders to the municipalities to arrest all persons who should attempt to leave the kingdom. This motion was carried *nem. con.*

The people, in the mean time, had arrested, on the bridge of Lewis the Sixteenth, two of the marquis de la Fayette's aids-de-camp, who had been sent to announce the news of the king's escape to the different municipalities, and to consult on the proper measures to be pursued in consequence thereof. One of these aids-de-camp had been conducted to the Corps de Garde des Feuillans, from whence he was taken before the National Assembly, where he gave an account of his mission; and desired immediate orders for his comrade and himself, that they might know how to proceed in case of further interruption.

The Assembly decreed, that two of its members should be sent to inform the people, that they ought not to detain the two officers of the national guard whom they had just stopped, since they were entrusted with a commission of essential importance to the welfare of the state.

The



The same spirit of mistrust led the people to insult M. de Cazales, as he was repairing to the Assembly; and it is probable that he would have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged mob, but for the interposition of that body, who deputed Messieurs Petion and Gregoire to rescue him from their hands; and he was accordingly conducted to his seat, under the protection of the national guard.

A proclamation was then decreed, by which the municipality of Paris was ordered to divide itself into several sections; to proclaim, by sound of trumpet, in different parts of the city, that the Assembly would immediately take into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted in the present alarming exigency; and to advise the people to a strict preservation of tranquillity, as the only means of defending the constitution from the evil effects of anarchy and confusion.

The keeper of the seals presented a paper, signed by the king, which he said had been delivered to him by M. de la Porte, intendant of the household, and which expressly forbade him to affix the seal to any act of the legislative body, without his (the king's) particular order. Another paper, of similar import, and bearing a similar address, was also presented.

Messieurs Bailly and La Fayette next appeared: the latter referred the Assembly to major-general Gouvion, who was better informed of the transactions of the preceding night.

M. Gouvion being called to the bar, begged the Assembly would, in the present moment, dispense with his disclosing the names of some persons, on whose conduct he would speak hereafter. He observed, that on Saturday se'nnight, (Whitsun-eve) a commandant of a battalion of the national guard came to inform him, that, by certain movements in the chateau of the Thuilleries, he believed a plan was formed to take away the dauphin and Madame Royale, and that he had his information from the best authority. On M. Gouvion's replying that it was too serious an affair to admit of a third person, he told the commandant from whom he had received the intelligence. He had an interview with that very person; and having acquainted the commandant-general of the fact, he recommended double vigilance. M. Gouvion kept, at his house, in the night, several officers of the national guard, whom he ordered constantly to parade the Thuilleries. The next day he got a more particular account: and at night he retained a number of officers, as before, to watch the event.

On Saturday evening a volunteer grenadier came to the house of M. Gouvion, and told him, that he had just come from the Committee of Research, and had made a similar declaration to M. Sillery.

His inquietude encreasing, he went to the mayor, who assembled the officers of the tribunal of the police, and sent two commissioners to the office of the Committee of Research, but no persons were there. In the evening he dispatched a commandant of a battalion to acquaint the mayor, and the commandant-general, who, in consequence, came to the Thuilleries. Orders were then given for all the gates to be shut; many officers were on the watch all night; and, notwithstanding, in the morning, he received the news of the king's departure, through the same channel by which he had previously been informed of the project. This person pointed out the gate or door by which his majesty passed; though he, for his own part, did not think it possible that he could have effected it, because himself and five other officers had not quitted the spot the whole night.

A resolution of the department of Paris was submitted to the Assembly, by a deputation from that body, and unanimously adopted: it ordained, that seals should be immediately placed on all the apartments of the palace; that all persons holding any office in the household, or otherwise employed about the palace, should be put under arrest; and that guards should be stationed at the different gates of the city, with orders to prevent any person from leaving Paris without a passport from the municipality.

To favour their escape, the royal family had obtained a passport through the medium of the Russian ambassador, in the name of a baroness de Koiff, with her suite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the most private manner, till they found themselves at a considerable distance from the capital, when they were furnished by M. de Bouillé with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding some treasure for the pay of the foldiers. They proceeded without interruption for an hundred and fifty-six miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arrested. M. Drouet, the post-master at Saint Menchoud, gave the following account of the transaction to the National Assembly.

“ I am the post-master of Saint Menchoud, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé. My comrade, William, was formerly a dragoon of the queen's regiment.

“ On the twenty-first of June, at half past seven o'clock in the evening, two carriages and eleven horses baited at my house. I thought I recognized the queen; and perceiving a man at the back part of the carriage, on the left, I was struck with the resemblance of his countenance to the king's effigy on an assignat of fifty livres.

“ These carriages were conducted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under pretence of protecting a treasure. This escort confirmed me in my suspicions; particularly when I saw the commander of the detachment speak with great animation to one of the couriers. However, fearing to excite false alarms, being alone, and having no opportunity of consulting any one, I suffered the  
“ carriages



"carriages to depart; but seeing immediately the dragoons making preparations to follow them, and observing, that, after having asked horses for Verdun, the carriages took the road to Varennes, I went to my comrade and told him what I had seen, and that I proposed to follow them, he readily offering to accompany me, we instantly mounted our horses and taking a cross road, arrived before them at Varennes. It was eleven o'clock at night, very dark, and every one gone to bed. The carriages were stopt in the street, by a dispute which had taken place between the postillions and the post-master of the town. The post-master was desirous that they would stop and refresh their horses according to custom; the king, on the contrary, wished to hasten his departure.

"We stopped at the sign of the Golden Arm, and calling for the landlord, M. le Blanc, I took him aside, and said to him—"Are you a staunch patriot?"—"Don't doubt it," replied he. "Well," said I—"the king is at Varennes; he must be stopped."—We then alighted, and reflected, that in order to secure success to our plan, it was necessary to barricade the street and the bridge by which the king was to pass.

"My companion and I then went to the bridge of Varennes—fortunately we found a carriage there, loaded with furniture; we overturned it, so as to render the road impassable; in the mean time le Blanc had been to the procureur de la commune, the mayor, the commandant of the national guard, and, in a few minutes our number increased to eight men, who were all hearty in the cause.

"The commander of the national guard, accompanied by the procureur, approached the carriage, asked the travellers who they were, and where they were going. The queen petulantly answered they were in a hurry. A sight of the passport was then demanded. She at length gave her passport<sup>16</sup> to one of the guards, who alighted, and came to the inn.

"When

<sup>16</sup> The passport was conceived in the following terms:

"By the King.

"To all officers, civil and military, entrusted with the preservation of the public welfare, in the different departments of the kingdom, and all others whom it may concern, greeting.

"You are hereby ordered and directed to permit the bearer, the baroness de Korff, with two children, a female attendant, one valet de chambre, and three domestics, to pass freely on her journey to Frankfort, without any let or molestation whatever. The present passport remains in force for the space of one month only."

Given at Paris, June the 5th, 1791.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counter-signed) MONTMORIN.

This passport occasioned, in the minds of the people, and of the Assembly, the most violent suspicions against the minister who had signed it, and he was immediately ordered to appear at the bar. He arrived at the Assembly, preceded by an immense crowd, who, with the utmost impatience, anxiously awaited his condemnation. After a short interrogation, which he answered with all the calmness of conscious innocence, Rœderer, Gourdan, Camus, and Miguel, were appointed commissioners by the Assembly, to examine the registers of the office for foreign affairs, and

“ When the passport was read, some said it was sufficient; we combated this opinion, because it was not signed by the president of the National Assembly, as it should have been. If you are a foreigner, said we to the queen, how came you to have sufficient influence to have a detachment follow you? How came you, when you passed through Clermont, to have sufficient influence to be followed by a first detachment?

“ In consequence of these reflections, and our perseverance, it was determined that the travellers *should not proceed* till the following day. They alighted at the house of the procureur. The procureur then produced a picture of the king, and asked him if that was not his portrait: his majesty then throwing off his disguise, replied—“ My friends, I am indeed your king—I have fled from Paris, from poniards, and from bayonets; I have determined to take refuge in the provinces, where I hope to find loyalty and respect; my route is for Montmidi; I have no intention of leaving the kingdom; I entreat you not to impede my journey:—These are my wife and children! we conjure you to treat us with that respect which the French have ever shewn their kings.”

“ The national guards immediately came in crowds, and, at the same time, the hussars arrived sword in hand; they endeavoured to approach the house where the king was, but we let them know, that if they persisted in taking him away, they should not tear him from us alive.

“ The commander of the national guards had the precaution to bring up two small field-pieces, which he planted at the upper end of the street, and two others at the lower end, so that the hussars were between two fires. They were summoned to dismount. M. Jouglas refused; he said, that he and his troop would guard the king; he was answered, that the national guards would protect him without his assistance.

and to develop the motive which was assigned for granting the passport. The commissioners, after having investigated the necessary documents, gave in the following report:

“ In the records of the office for foreign affairs we found a minute of a passport issued on the fifth of June for a baroness de Korff; and, in a column of the same register, we find it was granted at the requisition of M. de Simolin the Russian ambassador. Annexed to the register, is the letter soliciting the passport; also a letter from de Simolin, inclosing a second letter from the baroness de Korff, addressed to a third person—this letter has no direction. The baroness acquaints the third person, that her mother was ill, and that, preparatory to her departure, she, in burning a variety of useless papers, had unfortunately committed the passport to the flames. “ I beg,” says she—“ you will excuse my importunity, my journey being indispensable; I must, therefore, conjure you to obtain me another passport, through the means of M. Simolin.” This letter was enclosed in a second note, addressed by M. Simolin to M. Montmorin, and, in consequence, the minister for foreign affairs delivered the second passport. Thus madame Korff procured a passport for herself, and a second, under the same name, for the king. It is certain that M. Simolin was grossly imposed on, and that the minister could not refuse a passport on the requisition of an ambassador.”—The Assembly, thoroughly convinced that the suspicions against M. de Montmorin were unfounded, published a decree, wherein they declared that the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs was irreproachable.

“ He



“ He persisted in his resolution; upon which the commander of the national guards  
 “ gave orders to the gunners to form their ranks, and to fire. They took the matches  
 “ in their hands;—but I have the honour to observe to you, that the cannons were not  
 “ then loaded. In a word, the commander of the national guards, and the troops under  
 “ him, acted so judiciously, that they contrived to disarm the hussars. The king was  
 “ then made a prisoner.

“ Having thus fulfilled our duty, we returned home, amidst the applauses of our fel-  
 “ low-citizens; and are come to lay before the National Assembly the homage of  
 “ our services.”

The news of these transactions was received by the Assembly with inexpressible satisfaction. Bouillé was suspended from his functions; and orders were given for arresting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king: but Bouillé evaded the pursuit of his enemies by flying the kingdom. The Assembly next appointed two commissioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commissioners, Messrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Duport, were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family were escorted to Paris by a considerable body of the national guard, who increased in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Messrs. Barnave, Petion, and Latour Maubourg had been dispatched to Varennes for the purpose of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was so well preserved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the twenty-fifth without any disturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey.

On the twenty-seventh, the commissioners waited on the king and the queen to receive their declaration; the following is their account: “ In the evening at seven o'clock, we  
 “ found the king alone in his bedchamber; and, after reading to him our commission,  
 “ he declared as follows:

“ I think it necessary, respecting the mission with which you are charged, to observe  
 “ to you, that I do not understand *submitting* to interrogatories; but I will willingly,  
 “ since the National Assembly requires it, make public the motives which induced me  
 “ to quit Paris. They were the threats and the outrages committed against my family  
 “ and myself, and which have been circulated in different publications; and all these in-  
 “ sults have remained unpunished. I thence thought that it was neither safe nor proper for  
 “ me to remain any longer in Paris; but, in quitting the capital, I never had an intention  
 “ of going out of the kingdom. I never made on this subject any agreement, either  
 “ with the neighbouring powers, with my family, or with the French malcontents in  
 “ foreign countries. My plan was, to retire to Montmidi; for which purpose I had,  
 “ previously, ordered apartments to be prepared for me. As that town is well forti-  
 “ fied, I thought I could not chuse a better place for the safety of my family. Being near  
 “ the frontiers, I should have been more conveniently at hand to oppose every invasion of

“ France which might be attempted. I should besides have been able to go, with more  
 “ facility to those places where my presence might be necessary. Another powerful mo-  
 “ tive for my retreat was, to put an end to the assertion of my not being at liberty. If  
 “ my intention had been to go into a foreign country, I should not have published my  
 “ Memorial before my departure—I would have done it after I passed the frontiers. Be-  
 “ sides, should a knowledge of our intentions be desired in *that* particular, let the same  
 “ Memorial be consulted; at the end of which will be seen with how much pleasure I  
 “ promise to the Parisians to join them again.

“ As a further corroboration of this, I had in my carriage only thirteen thousand two  
 “ hundred livres in gold, and five hundred and sixty thousand livres in assignats. I de-  
 “ clare solemnly, that I was not advised to this step by any one, and that I alone pro-  
 “ jected and executed it. I informed Monsieur of it only on the evening of my de-  
 “ parture; and it was agreed between us, that we should not pursue the same route. I  
 “ gave orders to the three persons who were found with me, to follow me. The same  
 “ evening one of them received my orders. The passport which I had with me was ne-  
 “ cessary to facilitate my journey, and the route for Frankfort was not even kept. I have  
 “ made no other protestation than the Memorial which I left behind me, and which has  
 “ been published, in which there is no attack against the principles of the constitution,  
 “ but only against the form—the decrees not having been passed together, I could not  
 “ so well judge of their propriety. I experienced in my journey, that the public opinion  
 “ was decidedly in favour of the constitution. I did not believe that I could with cer-  
 “ tainty come at a knowledge of this fact at Paris. Convinced how much it was neces-  
 “ sary to give force to the established powers, as soon as I knew the general will, I did not  
 “ hesitate to make those sacrifices, which the welfare of the people, always the object of  
 “ my wishes, required of me. (Signed) LOUIS.”

This declaration was dictated by the king, and committed to writing by one of the commissioners. After the king had read it, and before signing it, he recollected having omitted to say, “ That the governess of his children was not informed of the journey till the moment of their departure.”

The commissioners informed the Assembly, that they then proceeded to the apartments of the queen, where they found the king and madame Elizabeth sitting down to table; and were informed, by order of the queen, that she was in the bath, and could not then see them. Her declaration in consequence was not received by the commissioners till the next morning; which was as follows:

“ I declare, that the king, being desirous of quitting Paris with his children, nothing  
 “ in nature could have dissuaded me from following him; for, that I will never consent  
 “ to quit him. my whole conduct for these two years past has given sufficient proofs. I  
 “ was confirmed in my determination to follow him, from the confidence and persuasion  
 “ which I had, that he would never quit the kingdom. Had he been even so inclined,  
 “ all



“ all my influence would have been exerted to prevent him. The governess of my daughter, who had been indisposed for five weeks, did not receive orders for departure till the evening preceding—she had not even taken any cloaths with her, I was obliged to lend her some—she was absolutely ignorant of our destination. The three couriers neither knew the destination nor the object of the journey; they were supplied, from time to time, with money upon the road, and received our orders as we proceeded. The two femmes-de-chambre did not receive orders till the moment of our departure; one of them, whose husband was in the palace, had not an opportunity of seeing him. Monsieur and Madame separated from us, and took the road to Mons, only to avoid embarrassment, and to prevent delay from the want of horses upon the road; they were to join us in France. We went out of the palace, by passing through the apartment of M. Villequier; and, that we might not be perceived, we went separately, and at some distance of time from each other. (Signed) MARIE ANTOINETTE.”

M. Tronchet acquainted the Assembly that the commissioners had received a note from his majesty, requesting them to attend him, he having something further to communicate. They were then authorized to wait on the king; and, on their return, reported, that his majesty desired to have the following subjoined to his declaration.

“ I gave M. de Bouillé peremptory orders to escort me, in order to facilitate my journey to St. Midi: I also gave orders, some days before my departure, to the three persons who accompanied me, to have couriers’ liveries made, as I should have occasion to send them with dispatches. It was not till the night of my departure that one of them received my verbal orders. I always entertained the sincerest intentions of returning to my capital, and it was in that sense I meant the last sentence in my Memorial should be understood.”

When the declarations of the king and queen, were read to the Assembly, the greatest attention and silence was observed; and M. Chabroud moved, that they should be taken into consideration by the Committee of Enquiry.

Monsieur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more successful in effecting their escape, and arrived safe at Brussels on the twenty-third.

The necessity of completing the fabric of the constitution became now more than ever apparent, and the Assembly laboured incessantly on the municipal code, and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preserve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was passed, the substance of which was, that such of the emigrants as did not return within two months should be subjected to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the constitution, was however interrupted by a short, but disgraceful, riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill-disposed persons, supposed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hostile princes, to disturb the public tranquillity, by circulating lists of members of the Assembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their trust, and other insidious manœuvres. These efforts, however, all proved abortive till the morning of the seventeenth of June, when the magistrates were alarmed by the report, that a large body of seditious persons were about to assemble in the Champ de Mars. Two of the magistrates were sent to the suburb of Saint Antoine, where they had the satisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock, however, intelligence was brought, that in the quarter of Gros-Caillou two persons had been murdered: three municipal officers were therefore dispatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to seize the murderers, and disperse the insurgents. At the same moment information was received of an alarming tumult in the Champ de Confederation. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himself. The man was seized; but M. la Fayette, with a false generosity, suffered him to escape. The red flag was now displayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not disperse till about twelve were killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. It was asserted, with what truth it is difficult to say, that foreign emissaries were discovered among the populace, distributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached when the constituent assembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for some time employed in compiling and digesting into a code the constitutional decrees; and, on the fourth of August, it was read to the Assembly by M. Thouret, and debated, article by article<sup>26</sup>, on the following days. On the third of September it was presented to the king. He signified his acceptance of it in writing on the thirteenth; and the following day he appeared at the Assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath, "To be faithful to the nation, and to the law; and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the constitutional act was in agitation, an additional decree was passed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exercise any employment in the gift of the people; and on the thirteenth of September the Constituent National Assembly terminated an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, and spontaneously dissolved itself.

<sup>26</sup> For a copy of the Constitution, and other essential documents, see the Appendix.





*Jones Pinx.*

M. THOURET,

*Published as the Autograph by G. L. Swindon, No 66, Doury Lane, April 26, 1794.*



Previous to the dissolution of the constituent assembly, measures ought to have been taken for assembling the new legislature, in some place where its deliberations would have been more free and independent than they could be in the factious metropolis; and they should have corrected the error into which their own vanity had betrayed them, of admitting a numerous and insolent audience to seat themselves in the galleries, as judges of the debate, which they frequently disturbed by their insolent testimonies of applause or disapprobation.

The new Assembly consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, whose inexperience in political affairs rendered them incompetent to act for themselves, and made them the passive dupes of a party, which, though not numerous, compensated for this defect by its activity and boldness. This faction consisted of men of letters, but not of the highest rank in literature. The editors of newspapers, and the publishers of periodical libels, were, by the singular change in the affairs of France, elevated to the rank of senators, and soon assumed to themselves the authority of sovereigns. Even of this faction, however, it would be uncandid in the extreme, to consider all the members as equally unprincipled. The great majority of them were decided republicans; but some were mere enthusiasts in this system, while the object of others was undoubtedly to gratify their private ambition, or to satiate their private revenge. In this point, however, they were all agreed, that no government but a pure democracy was adapted to the condition of free men; and that France could never be happy and flourishing till every vestige of monarchy was finally obliterated. This point they determined to enforce; and few of them, we fear, hesitated with respect to the means by which it was to be accomplished.

There is something in true religion which softens the ferocious passions of man: it can arrest the hand of the assassin, it can whisper peace to the perturbed spirit; it rejects the attainment of its end by unlawful means, and follows rather the dictates of conscience, and immediate duty, than the most splendid visions which the imagination may form of distant perfection. This only safeguard of moral principle, the republican philosophers of France unfortunately wanted; they were even bigots in infidelity; the throne and the altar were equally obnoxious to them; and many of the excesses into which they plunged, may be more properly attributed to their irreligious prejudices than to any other cause.

The Assembly met on the first of October, and the following day proceeded to the verification of their powers. On the third M. Pastoret was elected president, and M. M. Francois, Garron de Coulon, Cerutti, Lacedede, and Guyton-Morveau, were proclaimed secretaries. On the fourth, all the members of the Assembly solemnly took the constitutional oath, in the following terms:



“ I swear to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituent National Assembly, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and neither to propose nor consent to any thing, during the continuance of this legislature, which may be injurious or contrary to it; and to be in every thing faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.”

A deputation of the members was at the same time appointed to wait upon the king, to acquaint his majesty that the Assembly was finally constituted. On the return of the deputation to the Assembly, on the fifth, the reporter having stated that the king had informed them, by the minister of justice, that he would receive the deputation at nine o'clock, one of the republican members adverted to a decree in the month of July 1789, which enacted that the Assembly and its deputations should correspond directly with the king, and not through the medium of the ministers: that decree was therefore re-enacted, and enforced with peculiar rigour.

The king having announced that he would repair to the Assembly on Friday the seventh, it was next debated in what manner he should be received. In the decree that followed this debate, the mean and trifling spirit by which the Assembly was afterwards to be actuated, was clearly evinced. The moment the king entered the Assembly, the members were to rise and be uncovered; but as soon as he arrived at the bar, they were to sit down and cover themselves. The king was to be seated on the *left* of the president, not on an elevated throne, but on a similar seat to that of the president. These petty indignities were as impolitic as they were undeserved, and were inconsistent with magnanimity, and utterly unbecoming a great nation.

Previous to the arrival of his majesty, several deputations appeared at the bar of the Assembly; among the rest, one from the commons of Paris, which renewed their protestations to maintain the constitution inviolate; the king, also, sent a written notice, that he had appointed M. Bertrand to be the naval minister, in the room of M. Thevenard.

Notwithstanding the jealousy which had been manifested by the Assembly on the fifth, and the desire which they had since shewn of degrading the regal dignity, yet the first meeting between the king and the legislature was cordial. The urbanity of Lewis did not permit him to retain his resentment; and the courtesy and affability with which he entered the hall, commanded respect from the most inveterate republicans. The king addressed the Assembly in a judicious and patriotic oration. He pointed out briefly to them the nature of the duties they had undertaken to perform, and recommended some objects as requiring instant attention. The state of the finances, he observed, was such as required strong and speedy exertion to establish an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; to accelerate the assessment and collection of taxes, and to introduce an invariable order into all the departments of this immense administration.

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The revision of the civil code was also an object which he recommended to their care; and the simplifying the mode of proceeding, so as to render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

He proceeded to enlarge on the necessity of a system of national education; on the organization of the army, and the propriety of restoring order and discipline. He reserved himself to a future occasion for the communication of his sentiments concerning the navy. He stated his hopes that the nation would not be troubled by any attack from abroad; recommended, in a style of paternal regard, unanimity and unalterable confidence between the two great branches of government, the legislative and executive powers, as, he pointedly remarked, the enemies to the prosperity of the country were continually labouring to disunite them.

The speech of the king was received with unbounded applauses, and the president replied in terms of confidence and respect. He complimented the king on his appearance among the representatives of the nation, which he termed a new engagement with the country. He observed that the constitution, so far from diminishing the real power of the king, had only placed it on the firmest foundation; it had converted those into friends, who had formerly been termed subjects; and had made him the first monarch in the world. He concluded with expressing the wish of the Assembly to co-operate with the benevolent views of the king; to purify the business of legislation; to re-animate public credit; to repress anarchy. "Such, sire,"—said he—"is our duty, such are our earnest wishes, such are yours; such are our hopes—the gratitude and blessings of the people will be our reward."

It would have been a circumstance truly fortunate for France if this harmony had continued unbroken; but it was not merely the republican ardour of the new legislators, which revived the jealousy between the executive and legislative powers; a still more potent cause existed externally, to which we have already, though but slightly, alluded. The hostile preparations of the emperor and the continental powers; the veil of secrecy which they cast over their proceedings; the vague and obscure terms in which they expressed themselves, compared with the open boasts, and the imprudent and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, contributed to excite in the minds of the people a variety of suspicions, in which all the persons connected with the court were occasionally involved.

To unravel more explicitly the cause of these fatal jealousies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumstances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and distracted country, it will be necessary to have a retrospect to a transaction which occurred some months previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was then faintly known by the vague insinuations of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of some whose



information appears to have been rather founded upon conjecture than upon competent evidence.

In the month of July, an extraordinary convention took place at Pilnitz, in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the present king of Prussia, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was the hostile invasion of France, and the new-modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia, of the sixth of July, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in resistance to those principles so obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France, as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable part of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new-modelling of the Germanic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this compact was founded<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> The following paper, which has since been made public, will serve to unveil this mystery:

Partition Treaty between the courts in concert; concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July 1791.

" His majesty the emperor will retake all that Lewis the Fourteenth conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

" His majesty the emperor will preserve, for ever, the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

" Her serene highness the archduchess Maria-Christina shall be, conjointly with his serene highness, her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

" Alsace shall be restored to the empire; and the bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges; and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

" If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishoprick of Porrentrui, the desiles of Franche-Comté, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Versoy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

" Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, le Pugey, and the Pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

" In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny, to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient dauphins.

" His majesty the king of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bearn, with the island of Corsica; and he shall take possession of the French part of Saint Domingo.

" Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and, at the same time, retain Kamienieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

" His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small ferts of Servia, and those on the river Larna.

The convention of Pilnitz was not unknown in France, though the full extent of the terms and conditions of the treaty was but imperfectly understood. It was impossible then, in the nature of things, that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the express purpose of invading the country, of overturning the constitution, of re-establishing despotic authority, and that the minds of the people should not be agitated with fears and with suspicions. It was next to impossible, that a part of these suspicions should not fall upon the court. The queen, in particular, had never been popular, and, even since the Revolution, candour obliges us to confess, that, upon the best enquiry, we do not find her conduct to have been guarded with that strictness of prudence and reserve which the circumstances of the times required. The fatal flight of the king could not be eradicated from the minds of the people. The republican party, and the enemies of order and government, eagerly took advantage of these circumstances; the atrocity of the monarchical combination was magnified, and the whole was laid to the charge of the court and of the king.

The distracted state of the public mind was manifested in the Assembly even so early as in the evening session of the eighth of October, when the ministers were introduced into the Assembly to render an account of their proceedings. On M. Montmorin being questioned with respect to the intercourse maintained with foreign powers, he replied, that the intercourse with other nations had ceased during the suspension of the royal authority, and had only re-commenced with the king's acceptance of the constitution. "I move,"—said M. Lacroix, with that impetuosity which distinguishes the nation—"that the minister for foreign affairs be obliged to answer more pointedly. However the royal functions may have been suspended, have we ceased to maintain ambassadors at these courts? These ambassadors must have been acquainted with whatever occurs at their respective courts, and they ought to have informed the minister.—"It is this correspondence"—added he—"which I wish to be laid open." After some altercation, a series of interrogatories was put to M. Montmorin, and the substance of his re-

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plies went to establish his former proposition, that the intercourse with foreign courts having ceased for a time, he had nothing official or satisfactory to produce on that subject; that the correspondence alluded to contained nothing but vague and unsupported rumours, which it would be even dangerous to reveal; and that when any thing of certainty occurred, he would not fail to communicate it.

The subject was renewed on the succeeding day; and a decree was passed, ordering that the ministers should be obliged to inform the Assembly concerning the state and arms of the national guards destined for the frontiers; concerning the motives for retarding the national Gendarmerie; concerning the neglect in replacing those officers in the troops of the line who had deserted their corps; concerning the delay in sending arms to the departments of the Haut-Loire, the Haut-Vienne, the Haut-Rhin, &c.; concerning the slowness of the recruiting service, the want of provisions in the frontier places, and the neglect in providing arms, &c. On the eleventh, the minister at war read a long *memoire* on the actual state of his department; and he cleared up the doubtful points so much to the satisfaction of the Assembly, that his *memoire* was ordered to be printed.

The emigrants still continued to assemble in considerable bodies upon the frontiers, and the brothers of the king to issue hostile proclamations. It became necessary, therefore, to pursue more vigorous measures, and to take some immediate steps to repel the approaching danger. The first measure which the Assembly thought proper to employ on this occasion respected the right of Monsieur to the regency, in case of the death of the king; and, after some deliberation, the Assembly passed a decree nearly in the following terms:

“ The National Assembly, considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being the next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom—In virtue of an article in the second section of the French constitution, decrees, that the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the space of two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

“ In case the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, shall fail to return to the kingdom within the period above signified, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The Assembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the thirtieth of this month (October), a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published, within three days, in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the Assembly within the three following days.”





*J. Jones del.*  
(Louis XVIII)

MONSIEUR,

*Brother to Louis the Sixteenth*



On the ninth of November, a decree was passed, stating,—“ That the French who  
“ were assembled in a hostile manner beyond the frontiers, were suspected of a conspiracy  
“ against their country.—That if, after the first of January, they should be found in  
“ that situation, they should be declared actually guilty of a conspiracy, and punishable  
“ with death.—That all the French princes and public functionaries, who should not  
“ return before the first of January, should be adjudged guilty of the same crime.—  
“ That the high national court should immediately after that period be called to pronounce  
“ judgment on such offenders.—That such as should be convicted during their absence,  
“ should forfeit their estates and property during their own lives, but not to the preju-  
“ dice of their children.—That all such persons, holding offices, &c. should be adjudged  
“ to have forfeited the same; and all such, being officers in the army or navy, should be  
“ considered as deserters.—All Frenchmen who enlisted men to attack the frontiers were  
“ to be adjudged guilty of high treason.—No arms or military stores were to be trans-  
“ ported out of the kingdom.”

On the day on which this decree was passed, the public mind was greatly relieved by the report of M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs.—It stated, at large, the reasons which induced him to hope for a continuance of the general tranquillity, and contained the answers of the several courts to the general notification from the king, of his acceptance of the new constitution. The replies from even the most hostile of the combined powers were in flattering terms; the emperor and the king of Prussia in particular gave the most lavish assurances of their amicable intentions; and the elector of Mentz alone had the honesty to avow his disapprobation of the state of affairs in France.

The minister next stated the measures taken by the king, with respect to the countenance given to the emigrants by foreign powers. The Austrian Netherlands principally attracted attention; and, on application to the emperor, the most peremptory orders, he said, had been given, to prevent them from collecting in too great numbers in any one place, from appearing in military array, or being supplied with any of the implements of war.

This decree was immediately followed by another, ordering the vacancies in the army to be filled up without farther loss of time. Supplies were voted for putting the kingdom in a respectable posture of defence; and some regulations were adopted concerning the military schools, and the organization of the army. The party disaffected to the new constitution were furnished with fresh matter for murmur and complaint by the refusal of the king to sanction the decree of the ninth of November against the emigrants. The moderate party exulted in this testimony of constitutional freedom exhibited by the monarch, and considered it as a proof that he intended to govern strictly agreeably to the principles of the constitution. A king, they observed, who was not sincere in his attachment to the new order of things, would have borne the mask of dissimulation through

through the whole of his conduct ; such a one would not have hazarded an unpopular step, but would have ostensibly joined in the most violent measures, in the hope that they could not long endure, and that the machinations of the enemies of freedom would soon restore the ancient form of government.

Independent of the factions which distracted the councils and divided the sentiments of the nation, the internal state of France was far from prosperous at the close of the year 1791. The public treasury was exhausted, and the revenue was still inadequate to the expenditure. The assignats still circulated under a considerable discount. Poverty pervaded the country ; and the neglect of agriculture threatened an impending famine. Distressing as was this state of affairs in the mother country, that of the colonies was still worse. The island of Saint Domingo in particular was still convulsed by the dreadful contest, in which the inflexibility of the white inhabitants, in refusing the just demands of the people of colour, had involved the island. The negro slaves, taking advantage of the anarchy which ensued from this unfortunate conflict, embraced eagerly the opportunity to emancipate themselves. In the northern district, not less than *one hundred thousand* revolted. More than two hundred plantations were entirely burnt ; the masters were massacred ; and if the women were spared, it was to endure a captivity worse than death. The ships that were anchored off the island afforded the only asylum to which the unhappy fugitives could resort, while fire and devastation every where marked the path of the victorious rebels. Such was the representation of the colonial assembly : on the thirtieth of October the minister of marine announced to the National Assembly, that two thousand three hundred troops of the line had been sent thither, and this embarkation was immediately followed by that of six hundred more. Ten millions three hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and twelve livres were voted as a supply for these expeditions ; and these public efforts were nobly seconded by the patriotic offers of an individual. M. Mosneron of Nantz, on the third of November, made a spontaneous proposal to the National Assembly to equip a vessel entirely new, and to transport, at his own expence, a body of four hundred men to assist in restoring peace to the distracted colonies. The Assembly, at the time they accepted the offer of M. Mosneron, passed a decree of thanks to the king of Great Britain, to the English nation, and to lord Effingham, the governor of Jamaica, for his generous conduct in relieving the planters of Saint Domingo from the horrors of famine, and in furnishing them with arms and military stores against the rebel negroes.

No measure has drawn more odium upon the legislative assembly, and none has excited more the indignation of other nations, than that severe decree which banished for ever from their country, on pain of death, the non-juring clergy. Much as we deplore the harshness of the measure ; much as we sympathize in the sufferings of that body ; innocent and respectable as we believe a considerable portion of them to have been ; still justice obliges us to confess, that this measure, harsh as it was, appeared only a necessary consequence of those which had preceded it. It was the rash and impolitic proceeding of the  
constituent



constituent assembly, in hastily confiscating the property of the church, that unfortunately implanted the seeds of discord between the religion and the legislature of the country. The enlightened part of the community might see the error with regret, but they saw it only when it was too late to rectify it.

The first step of the legislative assembly against the refractory priests, was however less violent in appearance, though in reality it was fraught with severity. On the eighteenth of November a series of resolutions were passed, by which it was enacted, that the pensions of the ejected clergy, which had been allowed by the constituent assembly, should be withdrawn from all such as still refused the civic oath. That wherever any troubles were found to exist, of which religion was the cause or the pretext, the municipal officers should have liberty to remove from the neighbourhood such of the non-juring clergy as might be suspected of fomenting or favouring such seditions, that in case of disobedience to the directory of the department, they might be prosecuted before the tribunals, and imprisoned; and that those who shall be convicted of actual sedition should be liable to two years imprisonment. To these decrees, after some delay, the king, from the most humane and conscientious motives, opposed his *veto*, and thus unfortunately increased the clamour which was insidiously excited against him in every part of the kingdom.

The emigrants continuing their enrolments in the circles of the upper and lower Rhine with the utmost diligence, the Assembly decreed, on the twenty-ninth of November, that a deputation of twenty-four of its members should wait upon the king, to communicate to him, on the part of the Assembly, its solicitude concerning the dangers which menaced the country from the perfidious combinations of armed emigrants, assembled without the kingdom, and the fatal internal conspiracies which they apprehended might threaten its domestic peace; to entreat him to require the elector of Treves, of Mayence, and the other princes of the empire, to issue a prohibition to those hostile preparations and enrolments, which were openly carried on by the emigrants on the frontiers; and to request that he would embody a force sufficient to compel them, in case of a refusal.

On the fourteenth of December the king repaired in person to the National Assembly; he acquainted them, that he had taken their message into deep consideration, and that on so important an occasion he thought it his duty to be himself the bearer of the answer. He observed, that he had long been of opinion, that the circumstances of the nation required great circumspection. He assured them that he had done every thing to recall the emigrants to the bosom of their country, and to persuade them to submit to the new laws. He had employed both amicable intimations, and caused formal requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support, calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash designs.

He observed, that the emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states. His measures at other courts, he said, had not been equally successful, and unaccommodating answers had been given to his just requisitions. These unjust refusals, he observed, called for resolutions of another kind. As the representative of the people, he felt for their injuries.—In consequence, he had caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if before the fifteenth of January he did not put a stop within his states to all hostile dispositions on the part of the emigrants, he should be obliged to consider him as the enemy of France. The king added, that he should order similar declarations to all who favoured assemblages which might menace the peace of the kingdom. To enable the nation, however, to prepare for that war in which they might find it necessary, after all these precautions, reluctantly to engage, the king advised an attention to the finances of the country, and the strict observance of peace and unanimity.—He modestly alluded to the violence of those who endeavoured to surround with disgusts the exercise of that authority which was entrusted to him—pledged himself faithfully to preserve the deposit of the constitution, and to shew to all mankind that he felt how truly glorious it was to be the king of a free people.

But however sincere the king might be in his declarations, he was not fortunate enough to silence the voice of faction. The republican party in particular did not fail to take every advantage which the fears and suspicions of the people afforded, to excite their detestation of the court, and of the little remains of the aristocratic faction which existed in the kingdom. The negative which the king had unfortunately affixed to the decree against the emigrants, and his tardiness in sanctioning that respecting the non-juring clergy, afforded the disaffected and designing a pretext to work on the passions of the multitude. Addresses crowded in from every part of the kingdom, abounding in commendations of the National Assembly, and indicating their dissatisfaction as to the conduct of the king and his ministers. Most of these addresses were entered on the journals of the Assembly, and were seconded by inflammatory speeches from the more violent members. M. Montmorin, unable to withstand the storm of popular violence, resigned; M. Delessart was nominated to the department of foreign affairs; and M. Cahier de Gerville to that of the interior. In the beginning of December, also, M. du Portail was dismissed from his office as minister of war, and M. Narbonne appointed in his room. The hasty dismissal and impeachment of ministers, in consequence of inflammatory harangues from popular orators, and without any hearing or investigation, may be accounted among the principal causes of the calamities of France. The rapid succession of ministers allowed them no time to remedy abuses, or to make the necessary arrangements for the defence of the kingdom; the fear of impeachment rendered them cautious and timid, and directed their attention rather to the arts of acquiring popularity, than to the performance of their duty; rather to intriguing with the despicable journalists, who governed the mob of Paris, than to the actual service of their king and country.



The mayoralty of M. Bailly terminated in the month of November—La Fayette appeared as a candidate to succeed him:—he was, however, opposed by a violent Jacobin and a declared republican, M. Petion. It is almost unnecessary to state the issue of the contest, and to add that M. Petion was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority. Experience had evinced the increasing credit and power of the Jacobins; and it was evident that, by gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the populace, that society was enabled to controul even the Assembly itself; as the only means of averting the dreadful consequences with which the nation was threatened by the disorganizing principles avowed by the leaders of that club<sup>18</sup>: the friends of the constitution and of the monarch endeavoured to counteract its influence, by a new institution of a similar kind<sup>19</sup>, but professing principles more moderate, and consequently more calculated to preserve the tranquillity and happiness of the nation.

The republican party and the Jacobins could not behold this new association without secret disquiet. It was evidently formed to disconcert their conspiracies, and to open the eyes of the public to their true interest. As they despaired of vanquishing it by the force of reason and truth, they determined to employ that blind and desperate instrument, the sole guidance of which they had long been labouring to acquire. The first alarm was on the twenty-first of December, when a large body of ruffians, armed with clubs,

<sup>18</sup> The Jacobin club originated from a small and secret association of about forty gentlemen and men of letters, who united themselves, long previous to the meeting of the States-General, for the purpose of diffeminating political knowledge among the mass of the people. It was afterwards blended with the Breton club, at Versailles, during the first sessions of the National Assembly, and the society becoming numerous, on the removal of the king and the Assembly to Paris, it obtained possession of the chapel of the Jacobins, on the dissolution of the monastic orders. The popularity which it acquired soon rendered it exceedingly numerous, and this circumstance pointed it out as a proper engine to work upon the passions of the multitude. From a very early period of its institution, one principal object was to discuss such political questions as were likely to be agitated in the National Assembly, in order that the members might act in concert, according to the decisions of the majority. This plan was reduced to a system, when the club became numerous, and a regular president and secretaries were chosen, and it became a National Assembly in miniature. Besides the members an immense number of auditors were admitted into the galleries, who applauded or condemned the speakers as passion or caprice dictated. Here inflammatory declamations were heard with the most clamorous testimonies of approbation, and every proposition in the least inclining to moderation of sentiment, or wisdom in political conduct, was reprobated and condemned. In a few words, it became ultimately the mere vehicle of faction, where, as is usually the case in such instances, the worst men and the worst measures were commonly triumphant. Fraternal societies (according to the barbarous jargon, which was adopted as the language of anarchy) were instituted in all the considerable towns in the kingdom; and the only object of emulation in these nests of political hornets seemed to be, which should act most unwisely and least for the public benefit.

<sup>19</sup> This society (the Fenillans) received its name, as well as the Jacobin club, from the place of its meeting. It was composed of the most active and most respectable members of the constituent assembly, among whom were M. M. d'André, Barnave, the Lameths, Du Port, Rabaud, Sieyès, Chapelier, Thourét, Labord, Taleyrand, Montesquieu, Beaumetz, &c.; to these may be added two hundred and sixty-six members of the existing Assembly, and about eight hundred and eighty other respectable citizens.

clubs, forced themselves into the hall of the Feuillans; they commenced with direct threats to several of the members, with interrupting all discussion, and, at length, openly acknowledged that they were sent thither to effect the dissolution of the society.

A riot of a still more serious nature was threatened on the twenty-third, and M. Charon, the president, wrote to the mayor, to request that a commissaire de police might be ordered to attend the meeting, for the purpose of preserving the peace; but M. Petion, who was indebted for his own elevation to the Jacobin club, could not be supposed to be extremely interested in favour of its rival, excused himself, by saying that he could not command the attendance of a commissaire, but that he would take every precaution in his power. At the instance of the commander of the national guard, however, M. Petion wrote to the commissaire de police, and requested his attendance. As the members of the society came armed as well as the rioters, a tumult of a very sanguinary nature was expected; but happily, by the interposition of the municipal officer, a massacre was prevented. The rioters imperiously insisted on the dissolution of the club; and this, by the other party, was contemptuously refused. On the exhortation of the peace officer, however, to separate and depart from the scene of altercation, the society afforded the first example of moderation, by quitting its hall, and leaving their property to the discretion of their opponents.

The majority of the Assembly had, from these circumstances, an immediate opportunity of manifesting its disposition towards the new institution. The vicinity of their place of meeting to that of the legislative body, and the various committees, afforded M. Merlin, and others of the Jacobin faction, a ready excuse for insisting on their removal; and a motion being made to that effect, it was unanimously decreed. Thus was victory at once declared in favour of the Jacobins. The constitutional party, indeed, were too late in their adoption of active measures. Their more diligent adversaries had already obtained possession of the public mind, and they entered the field only when the contest was virtually decided.

These transactions afford a tolerable accurate picture of the state of parties in France, at the conclusion of the year 1791. Its situation, with respect to foreign powers, became every day more and more critical. The conduct of Leopold was a singular tissue of inconsistency and deception. He pretended formally to revoke the circular of Pavia, in consequence of the king's acceptance of the constitution, and yet exhorted the powers of Europe not to desist from the measures concerted between them, but to continue vigilant, and to declare that their coalition had still an existence. This declaration was followed by a letter to the king of France, reviving the claims of the Imperial vassals in Alsace and Lorraine; insisting that no compensation could be accepted, but that matters should be restored in every respect to their ancient situation; and acquainting the king, that the emperor conceived himself not only bound to interpose by solemn protestation,



tation, "but also to give to the injured *all the aid* which the dignity of the Imperial court, and the maintenance of the present constitution, required."

While such were the pretences of Leopold, it appeared that the German princes, in general, were more than satisfied with the mode of compensation proposed by the French. The prince of Lowestein readily accepted of an indemnification, and the prince of Hohenloe, and the prince of Salm-Salm, declared themselves equally ready to treat upon the same terms. The dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux Ponts, as well as prince Maximilian, freely negotiated, and only required, what in itself was no more than perfectly reasonable, the reimbursement of their revenues on the feudal rights in question, from the fourth of August 1789.

The designs of Leopold gradually unfolded. The declaration to the European powers, the substance of which is given in a preceding paragraph, was dated the tenth of November, the letter to the king the third of December; and on the twenty-first of the same month the following official notice was delivered to the French minister at Vienna, in answer to the French king's notification to the elector of Treves.

"Prince Kaunitz Rietbergh, the chancellor of the court and state, having presented to the emperor the official communication made by the French ambassador, he has been authorized to express, in return to the said ambassador, an answer with that entire freedom which his Imperial majesty thinks it his duty to observe on all objects relative to the important crisis in which the kingdom of France is. The chancellor has, in consequence, the honour to communicate, on his side, that the elector of Treves has also sent to the emperor a note, which the minister of France was charged to present him at Coblentz, as likewise the answer which the elector gave to the said note; that this prince, at the same time, had made known to his Imperial majesty, that he had adopted, respecting the assembling and arming of the French refugees and emigrants, with regard to the furnishing them with arms and warlike ammunition, the same principles and regulations as had been put in force in the Austrian Low Countries. But that dissensions began to spread between his subjects and those in the environs; that the tranquillity of his frontiers and states were likely to be troubled by incursions and violences, notwithstanding this wise measure; and that the elector claimed the assistance of the emperor, in case the event realized his fears.

"That the emperor is perfectly tranquil on the just and moderate intentions of the Most Christian king, and not less convinced of the great interest which the French government has in preventing foreign sovereign princes from being provoked to act against them by force of arms; but daily experience shews, that there does not appear principles of stability and moderation enough in France, in the subordination of her powers, and especially in the provinces and municipalities, to prevent the apprehensions  
"that

“ that the force of arms must be exercised, in spite of the king’s intentions, and in spite  
“ of the dangers of the consequences.

“ His Imperial majesty, necessitated, as well by his friendship for the elector of Treves,  
“ as by the consideration he owes to the interest of Germany as a co-estate, and to his  
“ own interest as a neighbour, has enjoined marshal de Bender, commandant-general of  
“ the troops in the Pays Bas, to march to the states of his Electoral highness speedy  
“ and efficacious succours, in case he should be attacked with hostile incursions, or even  
“ imminently menaced with such.

“ The emperor is too sincerely attached to his Christian majesty, and takes too great  
“ a part in the well-being of France, and the general repose, not to desire ardently the  
“ prevention of this extremity, and the infallible consequences which it will produce, as  
“ well on the part of the chief and the states of the German empire, as of other sove-  
“ reigns, who have united in concert to maintain the public tranquillity, and for the  
“ safety and honour of crowns; and it is in consequence of this latter that the chancel-  
“ lor prince Kaunitz is ordered to be open and unreserved to the ambassador of France,  
“ to whom he has the honour of repeating his assurances of having the most distinguish-  
“ ed consideration.”

This notice was transmitted by the king to the Assembly, enclosed in the following letter, dated the thirty-first of December.

“ Gentlemen, I have caused the minister for foreign affairs to communicate to you  
“ the official notice which the emperor has caused to be delivered to the ambassador from  
“ France at Vienna. This notice, I must say, has caused me the greatest astonishment.  
“ I had a right to reckon on the sentiments of the emperor, and of his desire of preserv-  
“ ing with France the good intelligence and all the connections that ought to subsist be-  
“ tween two allies. I cannot yet think that his dispositions are changed: I wish to per-  
“ suade myself that he has been deceived respecting the true state of facts; that he has  
“ supposed that the elector of Treves had fulfilled the duties of justice and good neigh-  
“ bourhood; and that, nevertheless, this prince had cause to fear that his states might be  
“ exposed to violences, or particular incursions.

“ In the answer which I have given to the emperor, I repeat to him, that I have de-  
“ manded nothing but what is just from the elector of Treves, and nothing but what the  
“ emperor himself had given an example of. I remind him of the care the French na-  
“ tion took immediately to prevent the assembling of the Brabanters, when they attempt-  
“ ed it in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Pays Bas. Finally, I renew to him the  
“ wish of France for the preservation of peace; but at the same time I declare, that if,  
“ after the epoch which I have fixed, the elector of Treves has not really and effectual-

“ ly



“ ly dispersed the assemblages which exist in his states, nothing shall prevent me from  
 “ proposing to the National Assembly, as I have already announced, to employ force of  
 “ arms to constrain it.

“ If this declaration does not produce the effect which I have a right to hope ; if the  
 “ destiny of France is, to have to fight with her children and her allies ; I shall make  
 “ known to Europe the justness of our cause. The French people will support it by  
 “ their courage ; and the nation will see that I have no interest but her's ; and that I  
 “ shall ever maintain her dignity and her safety as the most essential of my duties.

( Signed )

“ LOUIS.

( Underneath )

“ DELESSART.”

As the intentions of Leopold therefore could be no longer doubted, the preparations for war were renewed with redoubled vigour. By an act of the legislature, the king had previously been requested to confer on M. M. Rochambeau and Luckner the dignity of marshals of France, and M. La Fayette had proceeded to assume an important command on the confines of Germany. The war minister, M. Narbonne, made the circuit of the frontiers, to inspect personally the state of the army there. New levies were immediately ordered, and the whole country assumed the garb of war.

Though the spirit of the nation was not depressed by the prospect of impending hostilities, still, if the state of the finances be considered, war could not be contemplated without the most serious apprehensions. The extraordinary resources had all proved hitherto inadequate to the liquidation of the public debt. On the twenty-ninth of December, twenty millions of livres were voted by the Assembly, which the minister at war informed them, on the succeeding day, must be all appropriated to the deficit of 1791, and not to the expences of 1792. M. Lafond on the same day presented a general estimate<sup>20</sup>, from the particular estimates of the several ministers, of the expences of 1792 : also an estimate of the ordinary ways and means ; consisting of land-tax, tax on personal

	Livres.		Livres.
<sup>20</sup> Appanage of the princes	5,000,000	Brought forward	213,221,000
Army	221,000	Civil list	25,000,000
Foreign affairs	6,000,000	Bridges and roads	4,000,000
Marine and colonies	43,000,000	High national court, and court of appeal	450,000
General administration	5,000,000	Schools and academies	1,000,000
Public worship	81,000,000	Interest of public debt	20,000,000
Pensions to ecclesiastics	68,000,000	Life annuities	160,000,000
National Assembly	5,000,000	Perpetual annuities	300,000,000
Carried forward	213,221,000	Total	663,671,000

property,

property, patents, stamps, &c. taken at 530,000,000. The remaining sum of 133,671,000 was to be provided for from the fund of extraordinaries.

Notwithstanding previous appearances, the year 1792 opened with fair but delusive omens to the peace of Europe and the liberties of France. Leopold again wavered or prevaricated. Unprepared for the attack, or confident that his deep and sinister policy would be successful in amusing the Assembly, his language to the French ministers at Vienna and Brussels was contradictory to his former public declarations; indeed, contrary to his actual conduct, it was pacific and conciliatory: thus, while a cordon of troops was gradually forming on the frontier of the Netherlands, the solemn protestations of the emperor asserted them to be intended merely for the purpose of precaution and defence. M. de Sainte Croix, who had been dispatched as an envoy extraordinary to the elector of Treves, was received by that prince with the most perfect cordiality and respect. The emigrants were prohibited from continuing their military exercises, and the elector pledged himself by the strongest assurances to the French minister, that within eight days the hostile assemblages in his dominions should be entirely dispersed. All military stores, and even horses, for the emigrants were prohibited; and he declared, that in every respect it was his most ardent wish to maintain perpetual peace and amity with France.

The people willingly seconded this disposition. In many towns the emigrants were ignominiously expelled by the populace; and the prince of Condé was compelled by the magistrates of Worms to leave that city for fear of insurrection. While their enemies thus appeared to be crushed or removed, the apprehensions of the French for their own frontier were completely dispelled by the report of the war minister on his return from his tour. The fortresses were represented as being in a most respectable state, and the patriotism of the soldiery exceeded every expectation that the most sanguine friend of his country could form. The credit of the paper currency experienced an immediate rise from these favourable appearances; and manufactures and agriculture began once more to flourish. The accounts from the colonies were less encouraging: the dreadful revolt of the negroes at Cape François had indeed produced a temporary cessation of the dissensions which existed between the white inhabitants of Saint Domingo and the people of colour; and an actual concordat, or agreement, had been entered into by the two parties. The successes of the free inhabitants, thus united, against the revolted negroes, were brilliant; though every new instance of success but added to the calamity of individuals, as it was a destruction of property. It affords matter for astonishment, that the most severe calamities are frequently insufficient to destroy the force of prejudice. That rancorous spirit which prevailed in the white colonists, that contempt in which they continued to hold the people of colour, was repressed, but not extinguished, by the concordat. While the ratification of this contract was still in agitation, a private quarrel served once more to rekindle the flames of civil war. On the sixteenth of November sections of Port au Prince were assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the execution



cution of the concordat, and the forming of a new provincial assembly, to which the people of colour should have equal admission with the white inhabitants. At the very moment in which this important question was in agitation, a free negro quarrelled with a white cannonier. The soldier drew his sword; but the superior force of the negro wrested it from him, and broke it in pieces. For this offence the negro was apprehended; he was immediately tried, condemned, and hanged, in opposition to the most urgent and humble entreaties of the people of colour, who only requested that the execution of the sentence might at least be deferred.

The consequence of this hasty and imprudent act was, that the people of colour fired on the cannoniers; the white colonists flew instantly to arms, and the contest was renewed with all its former fury. The succeeding day the town of Port au Prince was set on fire by some unknown incendiaries, and twenty-eight islets, making two fifths of the whole, were totally consumed. The subsequent history of this distracted colony is nothing but a repetition of crimes and disasters. The island, divided into three parties, has continued a prey to its intestine divisions. The revolted negroes have still maintained their ground. The people of colour have either remained undecided and inactive, or have taken the part of the insurgents.

A decree of accusation of high-treason was now passed against the brothers of the king, the prince of Condé, M. Calonne, and Mirabeau the younger; and as, notwithstanding the professions of the emperor, reports had gone forth that a congress was to be formed by Austria and Prussia, for the purpose of subverting, or modifying at least, the French constitution, a decree was passed by the legislature, and immediately sanctioned by the king, pronouncing every Frenchman infamous, and guilty of high treason, who should, directly or indirectly, take any part in such measures, or who should, in any respect, unite with those whose object was a modification of the existing constitution.

The principal misfortune, however, that afflicted France, was the parties which existed within its bosom, and which precipitated rapidly, one after another, the ministers from their stations. M. Delessart was accused, and M. Bertrand declared, by a vote of the Assembly, unworthy of being employed. While the republican party were thus obtaining a gradual ascendancy in the Assembly, and taking advantage of every circumstance that could increase their power, the more desperate among them were insidiously employed in dispersing rumours among the people, atrociously slanderous of the king and the existing government. Pikes were openly manufactured in different parts of the city, and avowedly distributed among the populace, under the specious pretext of arming them against the enemies of liberty. On the seventeenth of February, therefore, the king thought it necessary expressly to deny, in a spirited letter to the mayor and municipality, all the charges which were circulated against him, relative to his supposed disaffection to the constitution; the municipality also, nearly about the same period,

passed a resolution, prohibiting the citizens from keeping stores of concealed arms in their houses.

In one instance, however, it must be confessed, that the Jacobin and republican party evinced superior sagacity, and shewed that they were possessed of either better information, or more honesty, than their opponents. They penetrated more successfully the designs of Leopold, and saw that the false serenity which prevailed at the commencement of the year only preceded a storm; and that it was a mere delusion created by that prince to lull the spirit of France into a fatal tranquillity. Not uninformed, probably, of the actual grounds of the treaty of Pilnitz, they saw that an alliance of such extent was not likely to vanish in vapour; the reasons still existed in which it originated. With this opinion the preparations of Austria and Prussia entirely corresponded; and while no motive of sufficient weight had occurred to induce the combination to lay aside their project, there was an obvious reason for the concealment of it, and that was, that it was evidently not yet ripe for execution. At their instance, therefore, the military preparations were carried on with vigour; at their instance, a decisive answer was demanded from Leopold, and a period was fixed, after which his silence was to be construed into a declaration of war. The court itself indeed was not without its alarms; for marshals Luckner and Rochambeau, and M. La Fayette, were ordered to Paris, towards the latter end of February, to concert with the executive power concerning the proper arrangements for the defence of the country; a considerable promotion of officers was made, and even a marine equipment was ordered, in expectation that some naval power might be induced to join the confederacy.

In the month of January 1792, the emperor had transmitted to the French court the complaints which had been addressed to him by several German princes of Alsace and Lorraine, on the abolition of the feudal system on their estates in those provinces. The National Assembly having some months before abolished all jurisdiction, metropolitan and diocesan, exercised by foreign prelates; which fell principally on the archbishops of Metz and Treves, and on the bishops of Spire and Bale, these prelates preferred their complaints also to the emperor, and the emperor sent them to the diet at Ratisbon. The Diet made a *conclusum* on the subject, which was, That all things, both temporal and spiritual, must be put upon their ancient footing, agreeable to treaties and conventions. The emperor confirmed this *conclusum*, and sent it to the circles of the empire. Upon which the French king addressed the following note to the emperor:

“The French nation does not derive the title to its sovereignty from the archives of the Imperial chancery; it is sovereign, because it is free; it is free, because it chose to be so; and the object of its choice must be eternal. This idea must extend alike, without discrimination or limit, to all its territories—to the whole of the eighty-three departments. All have concurred to form the national representation—all are integral parts.”



“ parts of the French monarchy. These principles will admit of no change or modifi-  
 “ cation. Would the nation have rescued its rights from the hands of domestic tyrants, to  
 “ surrender them merely to I know not what foreign supremacy? The French acknow-  
 “ ledge no supremacy but their own. When then the National Assembly consented to  
 “ indemnify certain German princes, it consulted its own generosity rather than the  
 “ claims of justice. It is time to extirpate these last remains of the feudal system.  
 “ From this period it will grant no immunities or favours, which strangers, having pro-  
 “ perty or residence in France, enjoy in common. Have you not seen, that the faith of  
 “ Frenchmen, with respect to treaties, is, by the new constitution, placed beyond the  
 “ power of change? Kings may sometimes have failed in their engagements; but the  
 “ monarchy of a free people never will follow the example, nor will the people suf-  
 “ fer him. The surest pledge of the good faith of governments, is the liberty of the  
 “ people.”

The National Assembly at this time ordered the following manifesto to be delivered,  
 by their ambassadors to all the courts in Europe.

“ At a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French  
 “ people may see themselves reduced to the necessity of exercising the terrible right of  
 “ war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives  
 “ which have guided their resolutions, and an exposition of the principles which direct  
 “ their conduct. *The French nation renounces the undertaking of the war with the view of*  
 “ *making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state.* Such is  
 “ the text of their constitution: such is the sacred vow upon which they have con-  
 “ nected their own happiness with the happiness of other people, and they will be faith-  
 “ ful to them. But who can consider that a friendly territory, in which exists an army  
 “ waiting only the prospect of success for the moment of attack?

“ Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength, not only  
 “ to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators, who have long since com-  
 “ menced it? Every thing, therefore, imposes upon the powers established by the con-  
 “ stitution for maintaining the peace and the safety of the public, the imperious law of  
 “ employing force against rebels, who, from the bosom of a foreign land, threaten to  
 “ tear their country in pieces.

“ The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the cri-  
 “ minal abuse of the king’s name, employed by impostors to veil their disastrous projects—  
 “ —their distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles  
 “ occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of  
 “ public credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and seduce the citizens—the  
 “ disquiets.

“ disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts  
“ the most vain, and the most speedily repulsed, may expose them—the outrages, al-  
“ ways unpunished, which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted  
“ French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete  
“ their preparations, or raise up more dangerous against their country—such are our  
“ motives. Never did more just or more urgent exist; and, in the picture which we  
“ have drawn, we have rather softened than over-charged our injuries. We have no oc-  
“ casion to rouse the indignation of citizens in order to inflame their courage.

“ The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people the  
“ inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer  
“ them protection. The peaceful citizens, whose country armies may occupy, shall  
“ not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The public force, of which she  
“ may become the depositary, shall not be employed but to secure their tranquillity,  
“ and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will  
“ never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury  
“ herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer laws to be taken from her, or dictated to  
“ her, or even an insulting guarantee of those she has framed for herself, she will never  
“ infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will conduct themselves on  
“ a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The in-  
“ voluntary evils which her troops may occasion shall be repaired. The asylum which  
“ she offers to strangers shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose  
“ princes shall have forced her to attack them; they shall find a sure refuge in her bo-  
“ som. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a  
“ generous exactness; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget, that the soil of  
“ France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal.  
“ She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to  
“ the laws of justice amid the storms of war, and respecting every where, on every occa-  
“ sion, towards all men, the rights which are the same to all.

“ Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason, have banished, will never cease to be  
“ the first of our wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so for her safety  
“ and internal peace, and we will be seen to lay them down with joy, the moment she is  
“ assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now  
“ the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves  
“ peace; she feels that she has need of it; and she is too conscious of her strength to  
“ fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to respect her repose, she  
“ took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, she might have thought that she de-  
“ served to be listened to, and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of tranquillity,  
“ and the happiness of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes  
“ who



“ who govern them; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn, that the cruel right of reprisal—justified by usage, condemned by nature—will not make her resort to the means employed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will every where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example. -

“ The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free; she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are her intestine discords counted on; she has passed the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws; and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience; she wishes only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

“ The division of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness of his measures, shews to Europe the French nation, strong in her means of defence and prosperity. Resigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race, united against her, may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

“ Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to treat adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies.”

The following papers (the first addressed to the French king by the Emigrants at Coblenz, the other from the French princes to the emperor) farther elucidate this subject, and fully explain the grounds of difference between France and Austria.

“ It is not to you, Sire, that we undertake to justify our resistance,—we know too well the true intentions of your majesty. We shall never believe that you have freely renounced the sovereignty, which you hold from God alone, to render yourself the subordinate agent of the revolters who usurp your throne.

“ Your majesty, less unhappy than was the head of your house, may reckon among your defenders two august brothers, the princes of the name of Condé, a name so dear to victory; the French nobility; and a great number of persons of the Third Estate,

“ who have all dedicated their blood and the remainder of their fortune to the task of  
 “ replacing the crown upon your head. It is in these circumstances, Sire, that we are  
 “ invited to abandon your rights, and to submit ourselves to the multitude who have  
 “ deprived you of your liberty. The fidelity which we have sworn, Sire, is to the  
 “ whole house of Bourbon; and when it shall be possible that you may wish to deprive  
 “ us of our obligations to you, these obligations will not subsist the less between us and  
 “ your descendants. The throne will belong to them as it was transmitted to you, and  
 “ such as you possessed it at your accession to the crown. Our fidelity will be due to  
 “ them; we are, therefore, not permitted to consent to any act which may deprive them  
 “ of the rights of their birth, and of the inheritance to which they are called. In all  
 “ nations, the proprietors of the land, the possessors of the richest personal property,  
 “ have always formed a distinct class from the other inhabitants: without this precau-  
 “ tion, the latter, necessarily the most numerous, would continually hold the others in  
 “ a precarious and uncertain state.

“ Do not believe, Sire, that we have abandoned our country: we hope to return with  
 “ all those whom common danger has compelled to quit their houses; we shall return to  
 “ bring with us order and peace; to replace your majesty upon your throne; and to en-  
 “ joy, with all your people, the blessings which you shall freely judge it suitable to  
 “ grant them.”

The letter from the French princes to the emperor was as follows:

“ OUR BROTHER AND COUSIN,

“ The absolute silence of your majesty, and the conduct which you have been  
 “ pleased to evince since the treaty of Pilnitz, seem to require from us an entire  
 “ reserve and discretion; but, notwithstanding appearances, and the rigorous mea-  
 “ sures which your majesty’s government in the Low Countries unceasingly pur-  
 “ sues against the French, faithful to their duty and their honour, we always re-  
 “ call with confidence the sacred promises which your majesty has made to the comte  
 “ d’Artois; and we have the firm assurance, that Leopold, faithful to his engagements,  
 “ guided by the sentiments of his heart, and enlightened by his own proper interests, now  
 “ wishes, and always will wish, to succour his ally, deliver his sister, and guarantee his  
 “ own states, by destroying the germ of contagion.

“ A great occasion has at length presented: never could a more favourable opportunity  
 “ be offered. It is our duty to submit to your majesty what can be done in favour of  
 “ France—it is for you to determine. We do not here recall to your memory the pre-  
 “ sent state of Europe. The north and the south have published their intentions.  
 “ Prussia and your majesty have but one opinion. We are desirous to speak of the in-  
 “ ternal situation of France.

“ The



“ The new Assembly has fallen into disrepute ; the frightful disorder of the finances  
 “ announcing an approaching bankruptcy ; no power, no order, any longer exists in the  
 “ state ; our enemies are acquainted with their danger ; they perceive their ruin inevi-  
 “ table, but they still persevere in the audaciousness of their crimes ; and we dare to say,  
 “ to a sovereign who loves truth, that the *seeming* conduct of your majesty sustains their  
 “ hopes, and emboldens them in their sanguinary projects. The decree which they passed  
 “ against Monsieur and the emigrants sufficiently developes their designs. They know  
 “ that the brothers of the unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth despise their menaces ; they  
 “ know that the nobility of France are attached only to honour ; but, directed at present  
 “ by the duke of Orleans, and the republican party, they wish to profit by the silence  
 “ of Europe, and to seek their safety in the excess of their crimes. To succeed in their  
 “ designs, it was necessary they should take the audacious measure of depriving us both  
 “ of a right, which their own decrees gave us, to the regency. Sufficient time has  
 “ elapsed to judge of the effect which this new crime has produced upon the sovereigns  
 “ of Europe, and more especially upon your majesty ; but if they can be persuaded of  
 “ your indifference, or of the prevalence of a dilatory system, which is equally dan-  
 “ gerous, they will hasten to consummate their crimes ; they will annihilate the phan-  
 “ tom of royalty which they now suffer to exist ; they will make an attempt on the life  
 “ of the queen ; and they will elect a thief, by bestowing the regency upon the duke of  
 “ Orleans. We do not advance any thing of which we are not certain ; and your ma-  
 “ jesty may be persuaded that we speak not the language of exaggeration.

“ But, Sire, by a single word, by a single action, which will prove the firmness of  
 “ your resolutions, not only will your majesty disconcert all the projects of our enemies,  
 “ but the change of opinions is such, the discredit of the Assembly so great, that at one  
 “ and the same instant, an insurrection will take place in all parts of the kingdom, and  
 “ more especially in the heart of the capital, where the people are kept in subjection by  
 “ the audacity of the rebels alone. What we now demand of your majesty is, that  
 “ you will be pleased to make a public declaration, on purpose to assure the French  
 “ princes of your protection, and also the other French, whose zeal, and the purity of  
 “ whose principles, have obliged them to leave the kingdom. There is nothing *personal*  
 “ in our conduct : we act only for honour, which is our sole recompence, and nothing  
 “ can deprive us of it.

“ But it is left for your majesty to consider, whether you will guarantee the life of  
 “ the king and of the queen, and produce the best and greatest effects by a measure which  
 “ will not any way affect you ; or whether you chuse to leave the dearest and most pre-  
 “ cious claims to the chance of events, and the audacity of crimes.”

The preceding papers being laid before the National Assembly, they came to the fol-  
 lowing resolutions :

“ 1. The king shall be *invited* by a message, to declare to the emperor, that he cannot  
“ in future treat with any power but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue  
“ of the powers delegated to him by the constitution.

“ 2. The king shall be invited to demand of the emperor, if, as head of the house of  
“ Austria, he intends to live in peace with the French nation, or if he renounces all  
“ treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and safety  
“ of the nation.

“ 3. The king shall be requested to declare to the emperor, that in case he shall, be-  
“ fore the first day of May next, fail to give full and entire satisfaction upon the points  
“ above stated, his silence shall be considered as a declaration of war.

“ 4. The king shall be requested to adopt the most efficacious measures to put the  
“ troops in a state to take the field, on the first orders they may receive.”

These resolutions being delivered to the king, he returned to the Assembly the fol-  
lowing answer:

“ I have examined, gentlemen, the *invitation* which you caused to be presented to me.  
“ It is to me alone that appertains the right of preserving foreign connections, or con-  
“ ducting negociations; nor can the legislative body deliberate upon war, but on a for-  
“ mal and necessary proposition from me. Without doubt, you may demand of me to  
“ take into consideration whatever interests the national safety and dignity; but the  
“ form which you have adopted is susceptible of important observations. I will not  
“ now developpe them. The weight of present circumstances requires that I should  
“ rather be solicitous to preserve an agreement in our sentiments, than constitutionally  
“ to discuss my rights. I ought, therefore, to make known to you, that I have demand-  
“ ed of the emperor, more than a fortnight since, a positive explanation on the principal  
“ articles which are the object of your invitation. I have preserved towards him that  
“ decorum which is reciprocally due between powers. Should we have a war, let us  
“ not have to reproach ourselves with any wrong which might have provoked it. A  
“ certainty of this can alone assist us to support the inevitable evils it brings with it.

“ I know it is glorious for me to speak in the name of a nation which displays so  
“ much courage, and I know how to put a value on this immense means of strength.  
“ But what more sincere proof can I give of my attachment to the constitution, than  
“ that of acting with as much mildness in negotiation as celerity in our preparations,  
“ which will permit us, should necessity require it, to enter into a campaign within six  
“ weeks. The most uneasy distrust can find in this conduct only the union of all my  
“ duties.

“ I remind



“ I remind the Assembly, that humanity forbids the mixture of any movement of enthusiasm in the decision for war. Such a determination should be the act of mature reflection, for it is to pronounce, in the name of the country, that her interests require her to sacrifice a great number of her children. I am nevertheless awake to the honour and safety of the nation, and I will hasten, with all my power, that moment when I can inform the National Assembly, whether they may rely on peace, or if I ought to propose to them a war.

( Signed )

“ LOUIS.

( Counterigned )

“ DUPORT.”

In the month of February 1792, the Imperial minister at Paris presented a memorial to the French court, in which he said—

“ I answer, in the name of the emperor, my master, to the explanations required by the court of France:—His sentiments are so pure, that he willingly submits to explain away the delusion artfully propagated in order to disturb the tranquillity of both states. The request rested on two points; the first relative to the orders issued to general Bender to prepare for war. This armament was merely defensive; it had no other object but to protect the electorate of Treves from an invasion. The second point related to the emperor’s alliance with the king of Prussia and other powers. Though it be misnamed a *league*, nothing can be more just than the treaty by which the kings declared, in the month of June 1791, that they would support the cause of his Most Christian majesty against his rebel oppressors. Nothing but the king’s perfect state of freedom could have disarmed his avengers; but should rebellion break out anew, the confederacy of kings would have its effect.”

The fallacious calm which had pervaded the nation and the Assembly, was, on the publication of these dispatches, changed into a tempest of rage and resentment. The minister, Delessart, was charged with having deceived the nation; the various communications from foreign powers were treated as little better than forgeries, and the minister for foreign affairs was considered as being a party in the fraud: to many it appeared that war itself was a less formidable evil than the enormous expences in which a continued state of alarm involved the nation; and some even went so far as to regard the menaces of the confederacy as empty threats, and as concerted solely to increase the distresses of the nation, by deranging its finances.

While the indignation of the popular party in the Assembly was directed against M. Bertrand, minister of the marine, and M. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, the court, under the influence, as was confidently suspected, of the house of Austria, determined on the dismissal of M. Narbonne from the war department; and of M. Cahier de Gerville from that of the interior. M. de Grave was appointed as successor to M. Nar-

bonne,

bonne, whose dismissal was both resented and resisted by the leading members of the Assembly. M. Sage moved, "That M. Narbonne carried with him the regret of the "National Assembly;" and on a motion of censure, by M. Cambon, on the ministers who advised the king to retain M. Bertrand in his service, after he had lost the public confidence, M. Cahier de Gerville was expressly excepted.

These measures were followed, in the same sitting, by the impeachment of M. Delessart. He was accused, by M. Brissot, of omitting to give information to the Assembly of the concert formed among foreign powers against the liberty and independence of France; of not pressing the measures proper for the safety and defence of the nation; of having given to prince Kaunitz details on the situation of the kingdom, calculated to convey an improper idea; of having meanly sued for peace; and of having refused to obey the decrees of the National Assembly. In consequence of a decree passed against him, M. Delessart was apprehended, and conducted to Orleans, to be tried by the high national court.

The impeachment of M. Delessart so completely terrified the marine minister, M. Bertrand, that he lost no time in requesting leave to give in his resignation. Thus the ministry was at once completely dissolved; and yet, unpermanent and difficult as the situation was, the contest to supply the vacant offices served still farther to divide the distracted empire.

While France was thus agitated by internal faction, and the apprehension of a foreign attack, the politics of Europe once more appeared to vibrate in favour of peace, by the sudden death of the emperor of Germany. This event happened on the first of March; and from the suddenness of the attack, and the nature of the complaint, violent suspicions were at first entertained that he owed his death to poison. The complaint entirely affected the stomach and the intestines, his body swelled to an enormous degree, and his bowels literally burst. The accusation of poison was naturally directed against the French party; but the whole suspicion was soon removed by the narrative of his disease, which was published by authority, and which ascribed the fatal event to a rheumatic fever.

As a man, Leopold was generally considered as a debauched and sensual character; as a prince, he was certainly possessed of ability; and, though his principles were despotic, it must be confessed, that in general he made use of his power for the good of his subjects. His political career, while grand duke of Tuscany, was marked by wisdom and moderation. He simplified the laws, he remitted the most grievous of the public burdens, and his regard to the administration of justice was such, that he allowed, and even encouraged, appeals to himself, wherever any party conceived himself injured in the course of a process in the ordinary courts of law. He had the merit of restoring peace



to the empire, as well as to Austria and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the distress and confusion in which he found them all involved, by the imprudent administration of his predecessor. His political wisdom and general sagacity were certainly far above the ordinary standard of hereditary monarchs. The soundness of his judgment, and his regard to his people, were strongly evinced by one trait—he loved peace. How far his conduct in uniting with the confederacy of princes against the liberties of France may be fairly cited in contradiction to this assertion, we are scarcely qualified to decide, unless we were better informed as to the motives and the extent of that confederacy.

The death of the emperor, instead of protracting, appears to have accelerated hostilities between Austria and France. The young king of Hungary, Francis the First, was scarcely seated upon the throne, when he desired a conference with the Prussian minister, Bischoffwerder, and directed him to inform his master, that he was determined strictly and literally to adhere to the convention of Pilnitz. The preparations on the part of France, in the mean time, proceeded with alacrity; and the new minister, M. Dumourier, declared, in the Jacobin club, that he would, in his negotiations with Austria, direct them to the point of obtaining, without delay, a solid peace or a decisive war.

The ascendancy which the Jacobin club had obtained by their victory over the Feuillans, and still more by the impeachment of M. Deteffart, rendered their authority absolute in every thing that concerned the politics of France. The court seemed at this moment to relinquish every thought of resistance, and to sail with the tide. This was soon evinced in the appointment of ministers; M. Dumourier and M. Lacoste, two of the leading Jacobins, being nominated to the vacant departments of foreign affairs and the marine; and his majesty, as a farther testimony of his attention to the will of the people, dismissed the Swiss guards on the seventeenth of March; and on that day the guard appointed by the constitution entered upon duty.

On the twenty-second of March a decree of sequestration was passed against the property of the emigrants, saving, however the right of creditors to be reimbursed their demands; and such as returned within the space of one month were to be re-established in the possession of their estates, subjected, however, to a proportionate tax, to defray the expences of the armament which their emigration had occasioned. By an additional decree, they were deprived of the rights of active citizens for two years after their return to France; and such of them as should not return within a month, were deprived of those privileges for ten years.

The succeeding day the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party to the ministry, viz. M. Garnier, minister of justice, in the room of M. Dupont du Tertre; M. Roland, minister of the interior, instead of M. Cahier de Gerville; and M. Claviere, minister of finance, in the room of M. Tarbe. The new ministers were

were all members of the Jacobin club, which, at this period, seems to have possessed the entire confidence of the nation. The vigorous measures pursued by the Assembly, had also the happiest effects both upon public credit and upon the minds of the emigrants, upwards of four hundred having passed through Lisle on their return in one day.

The French minister at Vienna having demanded a farther explanation of the designs of the Imperial court, and a request of the new king of Hungary to recognize the French constitution, he received the following answer, dated the eighteenth of March.

“ That the king of Hungary having fully adopted the political system of the late emperor, he would explain himself with a frankness that became a great power. The king of France complains of the assembling troops in Germany. No assembling of troops there is known, that ought to be considered as an indication of hostility. *Troops are assembled in much greater numbers in France.* The king of Hungary, and the princes of Germany, may perhaps think it proper to assemble still greater numbers, to maintain the internal peace of their several states, disturbed by the example of the troubles in France, and the criminal machinations of the Jacobin party; but these princes will never consent to tie up their own hands in that respect, which no power has a right to require of them. With respect to the engagements and concerts between the court of Vienna and the most respectable powers in Europe, this court will continue to maintain them, till the French nation, adopting a milder course, shall repel the insinuations of a sanguinary faction, that excites tumults and acts of violence against the liberty of the kings, and the faith of the treaties; but should the design and artifices of that faction prevail, the king of Hungary flatters himself, that the *sound and principal part of the nation* will consider, as a consoling prospect of support, the existence of a concert, the views of which are worthy of its confidence, and the most important crisis that ever has affected the common interests of Europe.”

Notwithstanding the indignation which such an address must necessarily have produced, M. Dumourier entreated the Assembly to wait in tranquillity for the categorical answer of the court of Vienna, which he expected in the course of a few days: and this recommendation of the minister was unanimously assented to. From the king of Sardinia a more moderate and favourable answer was received. He assured the minister, in general terms, that his troops were actually below the peace establishment, and that he permitted no hostile assemblages of the emigrants within his dominions.

The dispatch of M. Dumourier to the king of Hungary was accompanied by the following letter in the king's own hand-writing:

“ SIR, MY BROTHER AND NEPHEW,

“ The tranquillity of Europe depends on the answer which your majesty shall make to the conduct which is due from me to the great interests of the French nation



“ nation—to its glory, and to the safety of the unfortunate victims of that war  
 “ with which a powerful combination threatens France. Your majesty cannot doubt  
 “ that I freely and voluntarily accepted the constitution;—I have sworn to main-  
 “ tain it—my repose and my honour are inseparably connected with it—my fate is  
 “ linked with that of the nation, whose hereditary representative I am, and which,  
 “ in spite of the calumnies thrown out against it, merits, and shall always possess, the  
 “ esteem of all nations. The French have sworn to live free, or to die—I am pledged  
 “ by the same oath.

“ The Sieur de Maulde, whom I send as ambassador extraordinary to your majesty,  
 “ will explain to you the means to avert those calamities of war which threaten Eu-  
 “ rope. With these sentiments I remain, &c. &c.

( Signed ) “ LOUIS.”

“ The Imperial minister in his answer states—“ That the concert was no longer per-  
 “ sonal to the king of Hungary; that he could not withdraw himself but with other  
 “ courts; and that this concert would continue till what remained to be settled with  
 “ France was brought to a conclusion.”—He specifies three points:

“ 1. That satisfaction should be given to the princes possessed in Alsace,

“ 2. That satisfaction should be given to the pope for the county of Avignon.

“ 3. That the neighbouring powers shall have no reason for the apprehensions which  
 “ arise from the present weakness of the internal government of France; that the  
 “ note, dated the eighteenth of March, contains the answer to the demands; and that  
 “ the disposition expressed in that note could be the less altered, since it contained also  
 “ the opinion of the king of Prussia upon the affairs of France; an opinion agreeing,  
 “ in all respects, with that of the king of Hungary.”

On Friday, the twentieth of April, his majesty came to the Assembly, the members  
 of which rose and were uncovered as he entered, and took their seats when he had reach-  
 ed his place. The king then spoke as follows:

“ Gentlemen, I have come among you for an object of the highest importance in the  
 “ present circumstances. My minister for foreign affairs will read to you the report  
 “ which he made to me in council, on our situation with regard to Germany.”

M. Dumourier then went up, and, standing by the king's side, read the report, which  
 the king had notified to the Assembly, as follows:

“ Sire, When you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you became the object  
 “ of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop—no motive of  
 “ alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety could prevent their enmity. Your ancient  
 “ allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment they forgot  
 “ your majesty’s fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone  
 “ beyond the frontiers to prepare a guilty aggression against France. They wish to car-  
 “ ry into its bosom fire and sword. Their rage would have been impotent, if the fo-  
 “ reign princes had not seconded and encouraged their criminal manœuvres. The house  
 “ of Austria has done every thing to encourage their audacity. The house of Austria,  
 “ who, since the treaty of 1756, has found us good and faithful allies! This treaty,  
 “ Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of this house. She engaged us in all her  
 “ wars, to which she called us as her allies. We have been prodigal of our blood in  
 “ the cruel tragedies of despotism. The instant that the house of Austria saw she  
 “ could no longer govern us for her purposes, she became our enemy.

“ It was Austria that had stirred up against France the restless Northern potentate,  
 “ whose tyrannical phrenzy had at last made him fall under the sword of an assassin.—  
 “ It was Austria, who in circumstances of which Europe shall judge, advised one party of  
 “ Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of  
 “ the eighteenth of February was, in truth, a declaration of war; M. Kaunitz there  
 “ avows the league of the powers against France. The death of Leopold ought to  
 “ have made some change in this ambitious system, but we have seen the contrary. The  
 “ note of the eighteenth of March is the *ultimatum* of the court of Vienna. This note  
 “ is more provoking still than the former. The king of Hungary wishes that we should  
 “ submit our constitution to his revision; and he does not dissemble the project of arm-  
 “ ing Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

“ Sire,”—continues the minister—“ in charging me with the administration of so-  
 “ reign affairs, you have imposed on me the task of telling you the truth: I proceed to tell  
 “ you the truth. It results from this measure that the treaty of 1756 is broken in  
 “ fact, on the side of Austria. That the maintenance of a league of the powers, is an  
 “ act of hostility against France; and, that you ought this instant to order M. Noailles,  
 “ your ambassador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave.—Sire, the Aus-  
 “ trian troops are on the march—the camps are marked out—fortresses are building. The  
 “ nation, by its oath, on the fourteenth of July, has declared, that any man who shall  
 “ accede to an unconstitutional negotiation is a traitor. The delay granted to Austria  
 “ is expired—your honour is attacked—the nation is insulted; therefore there remains  
 “ for you no other part to take, but to make to the National Assembly the formal pro-  
 “ position of war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.”

The minister having read this minute the king resumed his speech:

“ You



“ You have heard, Messieurs, the deliberation and the decision of my council. I adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wish, many times expressed, of the National Assembly, and to that which has been addressed to me by many districts of France. It appears to me to be the wish of all the French people. Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating state, which compromises our constitution, and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert war—but I judge it indispensable; I come, therefore, in the terms of our constitution, *to propose to you formally to declare war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.*” The president answered—“Sire, The Assembly will proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which your majesty has made to them. They will address to you, by a message, the result of their deliberation.”—The king then retired with his ministers.

In the afternoon of the same day, the Assembly resumed the subject; and having come to a resolution, “That war be declared against the king of Bohemia and Hungary;” at eleven o’clock at night, a deputation of twenty-four members waited upon the king, with the following message:

“Sire, The National Assembly have thought it their duty to come to a speedy determination on the proposition you made to them, for declaring war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary. They charge us to present their decree for your majesty’s sanction. It is conformable to the wish that you have expressed to them. It is the result of the lively and constant solicitude of the elected representatives, and the hereditary representative of the nation, for maintaining its dignity, its liberty, and its constitution.”

The king returned the following answer:—“I shall take the decree of the Assembly into deep consideration. It involves the most important interests of the nation.”

Next day the minister of justice informed the Assembly that the king had sanctioned the decree; when the following declaration of war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary was decreed:

“The National Assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe, against the independence and security of the French nation:

“That Francis the First, king of Bohemia and Hungary, has refused to renounce this concert:

“That, notwithstanding the proposition made to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment, the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparations.

“ That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring  
 “ that he would support the pretensions of the German princes, possessionaries in France,  
 “ to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications :

“ That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one  
 “ another, by holding out support to the malecontents in the concert of the powers :  
 “ Considering, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the king of  
 “ the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of an amicable nego-  
 “ ciation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war,  
 “ decrees that there exists a case of urgency.

“ The National Assembly declares, That the French nation, faithful to the principles  
 “ consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making  
 “ conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people, only take  
 “ up arms in defence of their liberty and their independence : That the war into which they  
 “ are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a  
 “ free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch : That the French will never  
 “ confound their brothers with their enemies ; that they will neglect nothing to soften  
 “ the rigours of war ; to preserve their property, and prevent it from sustaining any  
 “ injury ; and to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league against liberty,  
 “ all the evils inseparable from war.

“ That it adopts all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall  
 “ join its standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom ; that it will  
 “ even favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France.

“ Deliberating on the formal propositions of the king, and after having decreed the  
 “ case of urgency, decrees war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.”

In consequence of the decree, war was immediately declared, with the usual formalities, in every city throughout France, and was answered by the following proclamation of the government at Brussels.

“ **LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS-GENERAL OF THE LOW  
 “ COUNTRIES, &c. &c.**

“ A faction, by which the kingdom of France has, for four years, been torn asunder,  
 “ has just prevailed on his Most Christian Majesty to sanction a declaration of war  
 “ against his Apostolical majesty, our honoured lord and nephew. The first acts of hos-  
 “ tility seem to be directed against these provinces ; and the enemies of all order and  
 “ power, who are meditating an aggression so unjust, found their hopes of success on  
 “ the spirit of party which was unfortunately disseminated during the late troubles.

“ We



“ We will carefully attend to the defence of those provinces, with the government of  
“ which we are entrusted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of  
“ Hosts, who is pleased to manifest the effects of his omnipotence in favour of those who  
“ are inspired with a sacred respect for the laws, and for all powers by him ordained on  
“ the earth for the government of human societies.

“ We flatter ourselves that every class of citizens will be animated with one spirit, and  
“ that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the  
“ preservation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his majesty's troops,  
“ full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two last reigns; until the league,  
“ formed between several great powers, shall oppose a mound to the torrent of sinister  
“ projects which menace the overthrow of Europe.

“ We owe it to the faithful subjects of his majesty, to inform them of the measures  
“ which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with  
“ France; and to warn them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are ea-  
“ ger to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to  
“ a credulous multitude by an impious sect of innovators, *foi-disant* philosophers, as the  
“ infallible result of their mad projects. Their's is not to war with the princes of the  
“ earth, but against the religion of our ancestors, against social order, against prosperity,  
“ and against all the comforts which naturally flow from it. They have already, by  
“ the adoption of their absurd systems, plunged their country into all the horrors of  
“ anarchy. Jealous of the prosperity of those nations who still enjoy the fruits of so-  
“ cial order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of in-  
“ spiring them with a similar delirium of propagating their errors, and with them all the  
“ calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

“ They have been during a whole year meditating and inventing pretexts for the ag-  
“ gression on which they had resolved. Having driven away from the bosom of France,  
“ by dint of persecutions, all those citizens who were attached to the established religion,  
“ and to the prerogative, hitherto held sacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom,  
“ they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying, in any part of the world, the  
“ sweets of hospitality, which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been ex-  
“ tremely careful not to afford the slightest grounds of complaint, resolved not to meddle,  
“ in the least degree, with the political government of any neighbouring states. We have  
“ taken care to prevent any thing that should be attempted, or even written, in those  
“ provinces, against the constitution just established in France; and, as a reward for our  
“ strict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has  
“ been assembled on our frontiers, resolved on the execution of the most infernal plots. The  
“ most infamous writings against religion, and against the constitutional authority of the  
“ sovereign, have been dispersed in these provinces: these writings were substantially  
“ the

“ the same as the speeches delivered in the midst of authorised societies, in which the most  
 “ atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a view to flatter the crimi-  
 “ nal propensities of a set of men, in hopes of reconciling them to a system, which in  
 “ history will be the disgrace of the present generation.

“ All our remonstrances on this subject have been made in vain ; and whilst we paid  
 “ the greatest attention to complaints relative to armaments which had no existence, and  
 “ to pretended insults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of excesses have been multiplied  
 “ against the subjects of his majesty, and committed on his territories, and we have never  
 “ obtained, on so many subjects of complaint, any thing more than promises of satisfac-  
 “ tion, which have in no instance been performed ; and when we have, on our part, ex-  
 “ ercised that vigilance, which was become necessary on the conduct of emissaries, who,  
 “ it was boasted openly, were sent into these provinces on purpose to excite insurrections  
 “ and create anarchy, we have been insulted for having taken those precautions, which  
 “ were construed into attempts against the safety and the liberty of the French travellers.  
 “ On the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to prevent the assem-  
 “ bling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and  
 “ to oblige them to conform most strictly to the laws of simple hospitality, in order to  
 “ preclude the possibility of their arming, and forming themselves into a military corps.

“ These measures, which France seems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the  
 “ princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in their respective states,  
 “ and with which the despotic agents of the French government would be satisfied.

“ We shall avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted—  
 “ we should leave to time the disclosure of the machinations perpetually recommended  
 “ by a set of insidious writers in their dangerous publications, were it not evident that,  
 “ at the moment of the intended aggression against these provinces, a resolution is taken  
 “ to spread the poison of a seductive illusion on the pretended advantages of the French  
 “ constitution, with a view to make those partakers of it who may be deluded by this  
 “ means ; but it is necessary that the people who are confided to our government be re-  
 “ minded and informed, that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of  
 “ liberty, under the most hateful slavery, of every species of vice, of the most unbridled  
 “ passions, and of a species of anarchy which is without example ; that rights and pro-  
 “ perty are abolished ; that the holy religion which we profess is there trodden under  
 “ foot ; that altars are profaned and polluted ; that their true ministers are deprived of  
 “ their just rights, ill treated, persecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and  
 “ replaced by intruders, who have no mission from the hierarchy of the church ; that  
 “ the pastors of the people have even been deprived of the distinctive vestments by which  
 “ they were known to their flocks ; that, in a monstrous code, rights have been extolled  
 “ which man cannot enjoy in society, and which he tacitly renounces, by being born  
 “ in



“ in civilized associations ; that, pursuant to those chimerical rights, attempts have been  
 “ made to abolish, overturn, and confound those real rights which have been transmitted  
 “ under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to ge-  
 “ neration, to those venerable classes to which the French nation had, in every respect,  
 “ the highest obligations ; that real property has given way to the name, by seizing the  
 “ estates of those who had been solemnly invested with them by time, by the laws, and  
 “ by an uninterrupted possession, an hundred times renewed and confirmed by the true  
 “ representatives of the nation ; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of  
 “ chimerical rights, not existing in fact, and annihilated, if it could for a moment exist,  
 “ by that variety of character, impressed on all mankind at their birth, by which they  
 “ share, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very disproportion of which  
 “ has always determined, and will ever determine, the ascendancy of genius, strength,  
 “ patience, industry, and economy, over the opposite qualities, together with all the ad-  
 “ vantages which may lawfully arise from them, and which may be transferred like  
 “ every other species of property.

“ Finally, it is necessary that the faithful subjects of his majesty be informed, that,  
 “ whilst pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and prosperity of the kingdom of  
 “ France, lately the most flourishing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circula-  
 “ tion of specie or goods, no public force, no justice, no police ; and that the philosophi-  
 “ cal persecutors of all those who are not of their sect, know no bounds to their ex-  
 “ cesses, which they excite their people to commit, except a satiety of crimes.

“ Who, after this, could be so blind or stupid as to place the least confidence in the  
 “ promises, and in the insidious assurances made by these tyrants, to those nations whom  
 “ they wish to subdue, that they will respect their property, their religion, their rights,  
 “ their privileges, and their constitution ?—tyrants, who, since they have usurped the  
 “ public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and au-  
 “ dacity hitherto unheard-of, the most solemn public treaties, all rights, human and  
 “ divine, and every thing which is held most sacred over all the world ; who, the mo-  
 “ ment they should become masters of one province, would seize, as they have in their  
 “ own country, the estates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the  
 “ citizens.

“ Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal govern-  
 “ ment of any neighbouring state, we should not have entered on these afflicting details,  
 “ relative to objects which are foreign to the government with which we are entrusted,  
 “ were it not that French writings and French emissaries, and even the recent acts of  
 “ the new legislature of France, have a tendency to render universal a system of innova-  
 “ tion, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to  
 “ the people under government ; because it is subversive of all that political organiza-  
 “ tion

“tion delineated by a constitution, which they love, which the sovereign has engaged to maintain, and on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded.

“It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning persons will acknowledge to be striking; and they will, of course, use their utmost endeavours to maintain peace and public tranquillity within these provinces; and we shall consider those as enemies to the state, and treat them as such, who shall attempt to disturb them.

(Signed)

“MARIE ALBERT.

(Counterigned)

“BARON DE FELIZ.”

On the twenty-eighth of April three bodies of French troops entered the Austrian Netherlands in different parts. Ten squadrons of cavalry, under the command of M. Theobald Dillon, was directed to march from Lille to Tournay. Another of ten thousand men, under lieutenant-general Biron, was to present itself before Mons, in order to prove the dispositions of the Austrian soldiers, and still more of the inhabitants of the country, from whom considerable aid was expected; and a third detachment, of twelve hundred men, under the command of M. Carl, was to proceed to Furnes. Valenciennes was the general rendezvous for the troops which marshal Rochambeau was to draw from the garrisons, to support those under M. Biron.

At Tournay M. Dillon found a strong body, under general count d'Happencourt, ready to receive him, and strongly posted. The national troops, not yet accustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were thrown into disorder almost on the first attack. The general made every exertion to reduce them to their duty, and was observed in the front of the line, exhorting them to keep their ranks. Unfortunately, in the midst of the confusion, some person, actuated either by cowardice or treachery, exclaimed—“*Sauve qui peut*”<sup>21</sup>! and the voice appearing to proceed immediately from the spot where M. Dillon stood, a general cry of—“Treason, treason! we are betrayed!” spread from rank to rank; the panic became universal, and the whole party fled before the pursuers in the utmost disorder, even to the gates of Lille. M. Dillon, was murdered almost as soon as he entered the city. A near relation of this unfortunate general, an eye-witness of the transaction, gives the following account:

“At a place near the town I met four dragoons, who, as soon as they saw me, made signs by their sabres for me to return, crying that all was lost: that the army had been betrayed, and cut in pieces. I begged them not to spread the alarm in the town, but first to acquaint general Daumont and the principal officers of it. They soon left me

<sup>21</sup> Save themselves who can!





*Jones Fecit*

M. DUMOURIER.

*Engraved for C. Lowndes and L. Parsons. N<sup>o</sup> 28. Paternoster Row. 28. June 1794.*



“ behind. I returned into town with a man without a uniform, who related that  
 “ his comrade was killed by his side: with him was an officer of the national guards, on  
 “ a horse belonging to one of the artillery carriages, who also cried out that all was lost,  
 “ betrayed, and cut to pieces; but he could not give any detail of particulars.

“ I took my domestic with me, and returned again on foot to the gate of Fiffe. The  
 “ street was full of soldiers and national guards, who impeded the passage of the cuirass-  
 “ fiers, who began to enter in crowds with great disorder. The Swiss of Diesback, who  
 “ guarded the gate, had erected some works, and stationed patrols on the outside; in  
 “ the mean time the cavalry entered, raising the cry of Treason! Aristocrate! and *à la*  
 “ *lanterne!*

“ The confusion now became general; many, without knowing who commanded, de-  
 “ manded the head of Rochambeau: I then went to the suburbs; the infantry now pre-  
 “ sented themselves, but in small numbers; the road was covered with cavaliers, all cry-  
 “ ing treason; not one wounded, not even a horse. I asked many officers and soldiers  
 “ news of the general; not one could give me any account of him. An officer of the  
 “ cuirassiers said, that he was surprized to hear me ask news of a general who had led  
 “ them to butchery. The deputy marshal general (M. De V——) said, that M. Dillon  
 “ had given him orders to charge the cavalry: as soon as he perceived the enemy, he  
 “ found them retiring, and in general confusion. The soldiers informed me it would be  
 “ imprudent to advance farther; that the Austrian hussars pressed them closely: I stop-  
 “ ped some time, and advanced again. I had not yet heard the report of a fussee, nor seen  
 “ a hussar, nor any person that had seen one. The road was now crowded with carts of  
 “ baggage and peasantry, who fled with their moveables into the town. I again return-  
 “ ed: the confusion was now very great; the cry of *lanterne!* of Rochambeau! of  
 “ traitor! aristocrate! and noises from every side. The infantry now began to enter,  
 “ and brought in three or four Austrians, one in a grey uniform, striped with green, and  
 “ the others in round frocks. An hundred yards from the gate, they hung an officer of  
 “ engineers, M. Berthois, suspended by the feet with cords. I saw more than twenty  
 “ shots through his body; and a horse-grenadier, as I was told, gave him a cut on the  
 “ head with his sabre, and fired a pistol at his breast. Then the national guards and in-  
 “ fantry took possession of him. I saw one of the Austrian prisoners killed, and two or  
 “ three who were dispatched trampled under feet, and their bodies run through.

“ I heard the ridicule and the barbarous shouts of the soldiers, and saw them amuse  
 “ themselves in striking the dead bodies with their hands. They were crowded in a  
 “ wheel-barrow, with the officer of engineers—I shudder at the thought. The municipi-  
 “ pal officers arrived with a cart, in which they placed the dead bodies, and continued  
 “ to abuse them. It was two o'clock, and I had not been able to hear the least news of  
 “ the general, or the action. Not a wounded man had yet appeared; and, among all



“soldiers, not one seemed to have been in a battle, except a foot soldier, who had received some shot through his hat.

“I remained in the street to observe the dispositions of the people. About four o’clock I went towards Fisse gate: in the entrance of the street the agitation was great, and the howling terrible. At last I heard the cry of “He’s coming, he’s coming! To the lanterne!” I asked, with a trembling voice, “Who?” “Dillon,”—they answered—“the traitor, the aristocrate; we are going to tear him to pieces; he, and all that belong to him. Rochambeau must also perish, and all the nobility in the army. Dillon is coming in a cabriole; his thigh is already broken, let us go and finish him.” The cabriole soon appeared; the general was in it, without a hat, with a calm and firm look; he was escorted by four horse guards; he had hardly passed through the gate, when more than a hundred bayonets were thrust into the cabriole, amidst the most horrible shouts. The horse guards made use of their sabres, it is true, but I cannot say whether it was to defend themselves, or to protect the general. The man who drove the cabriole disappeared, the horse plunged, and no bayonets had yet been fatal; when a shot was fired into the carriage, and I think this killed M. Dillon, for I never saw him move afterwards. He was taken from the carriage, and thrown into the street, when they trampled upon his body, and ran a thousand bayonets through it. I neither heard from him complaints or groans.

“Between seven and eight o’clock I went to the market-place, where a great fire was lighted, into which his body was thrown. French soldiers danced round the burning body of their general:—this barbarous scene was intermixed with the most savage howlings. Parties of Swiss were passing and repassing in good order during this atrocious scene, with the greatest indignation painted in their countenances. The sister of the general was also threatened; she changed her abode four times, being warned of her danger; nobody dared to shelter her in their houses; however the night was passed in tranquillity.” The news of these atrocities were received in the capital with a universal sensation of horror; nor was the army under M. la Fayette less earnest in expressing its abhorrence, and in demanding justice on the murderers.

The only one of the three parties which succeeded, was that under M. Carl, and which consisted of only fourteen hundred infantry and two hundred and forty cavalry. This small party presented themselves, on the twenty-ninth of April, before Furnes, and he commander desired a conference with the magistrates; in the course of which he informed them, that the French were not come to make war on the Flemings, but to treat them as friends and brothers. The magistrates offered to deliver up the keys of the gates, but this was declined. The failure of the general plan obliged M. Carl to retreat to Ghywilde, and soon after to Dunkirk, with no other fruit from his expedition.

It was concerted in the French cabinet, that all the troops should be in motion about the same time, and form, if possible, a general rendezvous in the centre of the Austrian Netherlands. Agreeably to this plan, M. la Fayette was to be at Givet by the thirtieth of the month; the orders only reached him on the twenty-fourth, and though he was in most respects very ill appointed, he, by great exertions, provided seventy-eight pieces of cannon by the twenty-sixth, and on the same day dispatched a large body, with the convoy of artillery, under the command of M. Narbonne, late minister of war, to penetrate by forced marches to Givet. The rest of the troops arrived without loss on the appointed day. On the first of May, major-general Gouvion took post at Bouvines, half way to Namur, and every thing appeared to conspire to crown this expedition with success. The failure of M. M. Biron and Dillon, however rendered it utterly fruitless, though M. la Fayette continued to retain his post, and even slowly to advance upon the enemy.

So ill concerted had the measures of the French ministry been, that M. Rochambeau complained, that the plan of M. Biron's expedition was published in all the journals before he knew it officially; and he says, in his letter, to the king, that "The ministers, and particularly the minister of war, wished to play the whole game, and made him only a piece to be moved about at will." On this account, and because he disapproved of offensive war, he desired permission to resign; and, after some delay, marshal Luckner was appointed to the command of the northern army in his stead.

Notwithstanding the repulse of the French northern army, on their attempt to penetrate the Austrian frontier, it was some time before the enemy was in a condition to retaliate. On the seventeenth of May, a body of Austrians, to the amount of three thousand, attacked Bavai, and took the garrison, amounting to eighty men, prisoners: but intelligence was no sooner brought of the attack, than M. Noailles, with a vanguard of cavalry, was sent to the relief of the town. Marshal Luckner in person accompanied this advanced guard; and marshal Rochambeau followed to support him with a body of infantry. The expedition of the Austrians was, however, only a predatory excursion, and they had retreated two hours before the arrival of M. Luckner, and took with them a quantity of forage, which, in effect, appeared to be their principal object.

On the twenty-third, M. Gouvion was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a force superior to his own, which amounted to only four thousand men. The Austrian advanced guard were twice repulsed; but M. Gouvion observing the great superiority of the enemy, gave orders to dispatch his camp equipage to Philipville; and this was effected with the loss of only twenty tents, which he had not the means of transporting. After this precaution, M. Gouvion effected a retreat with the utmost regularity. The  
French



French in this action had twenty-four killed and sixty-three wounded, and lost three pieces of cannon.

On the eleventh of June, the Austrians attacked the advanced guard of M. la Fayette, at Grifelle, near Maubeuge; but M. Gouvion, who commanded, aware of their design, dispatched his camp equipage to Maubeuge, and began a retreating fight, in which his infantry was constantly covered by the hedges, and the enemy's columns suffered considerably from his cannon. A violent hurricane prevented the main body from hearing the signals; but as soon as the news arrived at the camp, a considerable reinforcement was conducted by M. Narbonne on the flank of the enemy; while M. la Fayette himself advanced with the main army. The Austrians abandoned the field, and a part of their killed and wounded, to the French, who pursued them more than a league beyond the ground of their advanced guard, which again took possession of its former post.

In the course of the action the lieutenant colonels of the regiment of Côte d'Or were killed; and M. Gouvion, enraged that an ammunition chest did not come up in time, went to expedite it, with a hussar, towards a house not in sight of the enemy, and there by a most fatal accident was killed by a rolling shot.

The concerns of the war, and the contests of party, occupied the National Assembly so completely, that little was effected in the business of legislation from the commencement of the year. The decree which ordered the burning of the parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to the pedigrees of the nobility, was a farther instance of that trifling spirit, so utterly disgraceful to the legislature of a great nation, which they already had frequently evinced. A decree passed about the same period, for educating, at the expence of the nation, those children who had been sent from Saint Domingo to France, but whose parents or relations had been disabled by the troubles from remitting money for their support, was truly laudable. Some laws were also made respecting the crime of desertion, which, unless we consider them as adapted entirely to the exigencies of the time, must be accounted too severe for *even the military code* of a free country. The decree, however, for the suppression of privateering, was calculated in every view to reflect honour on a civilized nation. War is a state so naturally pregnant with evil, as to induce the benevolent mind to wish for every mitigation of its calamities; and the plunder of individuals is a shameful practice, calculated entirely to pervert the morals of a people.

On the resignation of M. de Grave, which soon followed the unfortunate affair of M. Dillon, M. Servan, another violent Jacobin, was added to the ministry, which in the beginning of May was entirely composed of that party, who were indefatigable in exciting the suspicious and turbulent spirit of the factious metropolis. The existence of what they termed an Austrian committee, or a combination of courtiers to betray the public

public to the house of Austria, was openly asserted; and as the ex-ministers, M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand were charged with being at the head of this combination, they determined on the prosecution of their calumniators. An unfortunate step, which was taken by M. la Riviere, a judge of the peace, in citing M. M. Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the Assembly, and among the most clamorous of the detractors of M. Montmorin, to appear before him, rather injured the cause it was meant to serve. A decree of accusation was passed against M. la Riviere, and M. M. Genfonne and Brissot undertook to prove the existence of an Austrian committee.

A report was industriously circulated, that, on the twenty-third of May, the king intended secretly to abscond from Paris; and to strengthen the fiction, M. Petion, the mayor, wrote to the commandant-general of the national guard, communicating his suspicions, and entreating him to employ every measure of observation and prudence. The letter of M. Petion produced an immediate reply from the king, directed to the municipality of Paris. His majesty treats the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended only to excite the people to insurrection, and to force him to quit the capital—He however assures them, that the efforts of these traitors shall be in vain.—“While France,”—says he—“has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my post is to be established.—I commit myself”—he adds—“without reserve to the citizens of Paris and the national guard—surrounded by them, and strong in the purity of my intentions, I shall wrap myself up in tranquillity, fearless of all events, &c.”

That the king, harassed as he was by the factions of the metropolis, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, might indeed meditate a second flight, is by no means improbable; that, even supposing the suspicion not well founded, M. Petion might receive information to that effect, either from ill-intentioned or credulous persons, is equally to be believed; but, in either case, the evidence on which the fact rested should have been brought forward; the case should have been elucidated by every possible means, since an accusation, unsupported by proof, must, according to every law of evidence, be deemed a calumny.

Notwithstanding the defect of evidence which we have just noticed, the king's intention to withdraw himself appears to have obtained some degree of credit; and as the body guard which had been allotted to the king by the constitution was particularly suspected of *incivism*, it was disbanded by a decree of the Assembly on the thirtieth of May, and the province of defending the person of the king was committed to the national guard of Paris.

The refusal of the king to sanction the decree against the non-juring clergy, only served to provoke a measure of still greater severity and cruelty against these unhappy persons. On the twenty-sixth of May a decree was passed, authorising the banishment of any non-juring priest, on a petition presented to the directory of the district by twen-



ty citizens. The ecclesiastic was, in such case, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to be furnished with a passport, and to quit the district within twenty-four hours. To this decree also the king, after some deliberation, affixed his  *veto*.

The national guard of Paris did not escape the suspicions of the republican party. They still feared, or affected to fear, the Austrian committee; it was therefore proposed, on the sixth of June, by the military committee—"That a camp of twenty thousand men should be formed under the walls of Paris; that, to complete this levy, every canton in the kingdom should be obliged to contribute five men, one of whom was to be a horseman; and that they were to assemble at Paris before the fourteenth of July, the day of the celebration of the general confederation, at which, to augment their patriotism, they were to assist." This proposal, which was first suggested by the minister of war, was received with infinite dissatisfaction by the national guard and volunteers of Paris; and, as the object did not escape the penetration of the court, the king refused to sanction the decree.

A proposal about this time was made to the National Assembly, by the section of Croix Rouge, that, as the necessity was urgent for arming the whole nation, in the present critical moment, and as the scarcity of fire-arms, and their immense price, prevented many patriotic citizens from obtaining a supply; the deputation requested the Assembly to order an immediate fabrication of pikes throughout the kingdom.

On the twelfth of June the king announced to the Assembly, in the following letter, the dismissal of the Jacobin ministry:

"I pray you, Mr. President, to inform the National Assembly, that I have just changed the secretaries of the war department, of the home department, and the minister of the public contributions. The two first are replaced by Messrs. Dumourier (late for foreign affairs) and Morgues; the third has as yet no successor. The French minister at Deux Pônts is to succeed M. Dumourier in the foreign department. I will have the constitution, but I will have order too, and exertion in every branch of the administration: all my efforts shall be directed towards that end.

( Signed )

" LOUIS.

( Countersigned )

" DURANTON."

Previous to his dismissal, M. Roland had written a letter to the king, the purport of which was, to press him to sanction the decrees concerning the banishment of the refractory clergy, and the camp near Paris. M. Roland also blamed the conduct of the king's guard; and represented to him, that his proclamation on its dissolution, in which he expressed the high satisfaction he had derived from its services, was an impolitic measure.

As

As a private communication to the king, the letter of M. Roland might be calculated to do good; but every means were now employed to render the king odious in the eyes of the people. Marat had even exhorted the populace to murder their sovereign. The most seditious addresses were received by the Assembly. The inhabitants of the suburb of Saint Antoine, accompanied by immense crowds of the lower rank from all parts, and all armed with pikes, and headed by M. Santerre, a brewer, on the ninth of June, presented to the Assembly an address, congratulatory on the decree for the camp; and twenty thousand armed men, in direct violation of the laws, filed off through the Assembly.

M. la Fayette wrote a long letter to the Assembly, dated from the camp at Maubeuge, the sixteenth of June, in which he draws a very formidable picture of the dangerous situation in which the nation was placed by the attempts of its enemies, foreign and domestic; he unveils the criminal designs of the Jacobin club, and attributes to that source of faction a considerable portion of the public calamities: he, at the same time, addressed a letter to the king, expressive of similar sentiments. Dumourier made a positive demand of the king, either to sanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept his resignation. The king remained steady to his purpose, and the minister resigned, and was followed by M. M. Morgues, La Coste, &c. On the eighteenth of June a new appointment took place: major-general Chambon was appointed to the office for foreign affairs, M. Lajard, minister of war, and M. Montciel, president of the department of Jura, was appointed minister of the interior; the department of finance was still kept vacant. M. Dumourier, in a letter to the Assembly, requested permission to repair to the army; and concluded by wishing that the fate of Gouvion might speedily demonstrate his attachment to his country.

On the same day, the eighteenth of June, the Jacobins declared their sittings permanent. Nothing could equal their resentment to M. la Fayette. Some proposed that he should be sent to Orleans, to take his trial as a traitor; others that a decree should be passed, declaring him to be the enemy of France, and that consequently every citizen had a right to kill him; and it was finally decreed, that the National Legislative Assembly should be declared an *Assemblée Constituante*. While such were the debates within doors at the hall of the Jacobins, their emissaries without were busily employed in exciting the people to insurrection, and it is to be lamented that their endeavours were but too successful. On the twentieth of June, in the morning, M. Rœderer, the procureur general syndic, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, and informed them that, contrary to the laws, there existed in the city and suburbs the most formidable associations of armed men; that they threatened to proceed to the Thuilleries, to present a petition in arms, both to the king and the Assembly. He entreated the legislature not to receive them, but to preserve the laws and the constitution inviolate.



While the Assembly was debating whether this unconstitutional deputation should be received or not, an immense multitude, with M. M. Saint Huruge and Santerre at their head, presented themselves before the hall. They amounted, by their own report to eight thousand; but in all probability they were still more numerous. They consisted of all the refuse of Paris, the greater part of them women, and carried banners expressive of the most shocking purposes, one of which was a heart at the end of a pike, with an inscription beneath it, "*Cœur d'un Aristocrate*<sup>22</sup>." On another, "*Tyrans, tremblez, ou soyez justes, et respectez la liberté du peuple*<sup>23</sup>." On a third, "*Lewis, le peuple est las de souffrir*<sup>24</sup>." On a fourth, "*Tremblez, tyran, ta dernière heure est venue*<sup>25</sup>." On a fifth, "*Le rappel des ministres, la sanction, ou la mort*<sup>26</sup>." Other banners were carried, ornamented with vile allegorical figures, and suitable inscriptions.

From the National Assembly the armed multitude went to the palace, where there was a considerable number of troops on duty; but no orders having been given to resist, and many groups of the multitude who formed the procession being conducted by men dressed in municipal scarfs, the gardens and courts of the Thuilleries were crowded in an instant. One body marched with more regularity than the rest, dragging some pieces of cannon with them, and conducted by Santerre, and Legendre, (formerly a butcher).—The multitude soon after rushed into every apartment, calling aloud, that they must see the king; they had a petition to present. M. Acloque, commandant of the second legion of national guards, having placed some grenadiers at the door of the apartments nearest the king's, told two municipal officers, that if they would prevent the mob from proceeding, he would inform the king of their request, and that he was persuaded his majesty would receive twenty of their number, according to the law.—He then went to the door of his majesty's apartment, which he found shut—he knocked, and begged that he might be instantly admitted, saying, that he came to save the king's life.—The door of the chamber was opened; where he found his majesty, the queen, the prince, the princess royal, madame Elizabeth the king's sister, and the following gentlemen: the marshal de Mouchy; Beaulieu, minister of the finances; Lajard, minister of war; Terrier de Montciel, minister of the home department; the count d'Hervilly, marshal de camp, and commander of the horse guards.

M. Acloque, perceiving that they had their swords drawn, and seemed determined to sacrifice their lives in defence of the royal family, entreated them to sheath their swords, as by irritating the people they would only encrease his majesty's danger. In a short time a great noise was heard at the door, the rabble were breaking it open, with pikes, axes, and

<sup>22</sup> The heart of an Aristocrate.

<sup>23</sup> Tyrants, tremble, or be just, and respect the liberty of the people.

<sup>24</sup> Lewis, the people are weary of suffering.

<sup>25</sup> Tremble, tyrant, thy last hour is come.

<sup>26</sup> The re-

call of the ministers, the sanction, or death.





*Jones Pinel*

*Maria Theresa Charlotte*  
*Daughter of LOUIS the Sixteenth*  
*Born at Versailles the 19<sup>th</sup> Decr 1778.*

*Engraved for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons, No 21 Paternoster Row Aug 25 1799*



the butt-ends of muskets. The king himself ordered the doors to be thrown open:—before this was done, the ends of some of the muskets and pikes had been driven through the door—twenty or thirty of the mob burst into the room. M. Acloque accosted them with a firm voice: “Citizens, respect your king—the law commands it; and we will all perish rather than suffer him to be insulted.”—One of the company at the same instant calling out, “*Vive la nation! Vive le Roi!*” the intruders stopped short.

It was then proposed to the king, that he should stand on a seat in the room, commonly called L’Oeil de Bœuf, to prevent his being pressed upon, and that he might be seen by the people, who were entering in great numbers; to which he consented. The queen, at the king’s desire, with the royal children, went into the adjacent room; but madame Elizabeth kept constantly by his side, rejecting every entreaty that was made by the king himself and others to quit him for an instant.

Four grenadiers of the national guards appearing at the door, the princess, who had betrayed no symptom of fear on her own account, burst into tears at sight of them, and said, “*Ah! Messieurs, defendez le Roi!*”<sup>27</sup> The grenadiers, an officer of chasseurs, a cannonier, with the gentlemen above mentioned, placing themselves around the king and the princess Elizabeth, kept off the pressure of the crowd, and protected the person of the king for above three hours. All the adjacent rooms, meanwhile, swarmed with a mixed rabble of men and women, armed with pikes, sabres, sticks with knives fixed at their ends, fusils, and pistols; many of them calling, “*En bas le veto! Au diable le veto!*”<sup>28</sup> and some of them shewing so much fury, that those around the king’s person had great difficulty in keeping them off. One fellow, mounted on a chair, spoke to the king in the most audacious manner, requiring the recall of the patriot ministers, meaning Roland, Claviere, and Servan, whom the king had a little before dismissed; he also required, that the two decrees should obtain his approbation.—To which his majesty answered with firmness, “*Je ferai ce que je croirai devoir faire; mais ce n’est pas ni le lieu, ni le moment, de me faire une pareille demande.*”<sup>29</sup>

A red cap was presented to the king at the end of a pike, by a man who cried, “*Vive la nation!*” The king said, “*La nation n’a de meilleur ami que moi.*”<sup>30</sup> On which the other insolently added, “*Eh bien, donnez nous en la preuve, en mettant le bonnet rouge, et en criant Vive la nation!*”<sup>31</sup> On attempting to put on the red cap, it was found too small for the king’s head; but a grenadier having stretched it upon his knee, the king put it on, and wore it as long as the mob remained.

<sup>27</sup> Oh! Gentlemen, defend the king!    <sup>28</sup> Down with the veto! Send the veto to the devil!    <sup>29</sup> I will do what I ought; but this is neither the place nor the time to make such a request.    <sup>30</sup> The nation has no better friend than I am,    <sup>31</sup> Prove it then, by putting on the red cap, and crying “Vive la Nation!”

At one time, when the noise and confusion was greater than usual, a grenadier, addressing the king, said, "Fear not, Sire." "The man"—replied the monarch—"who has a clear conscience, fears nothing;" and, taking the grenadier's hat<sup>1</sup>, he applied it to his breast, and said, "There, friend, feel my heart, whether it beats quicker than usual."

A deputation, consisting of twelve members of the National Assembly, among whom were Isnard and Vergniaud, at length arrived. Isnard, addressing himself to the people who filled the room, endeavoured to prevail on them to withdraw: repeating frequently, that he would be answerable on his life that they should be satisfied. This had little effect; the noise and exclamations of "*Rappelez les ministres! ôtez le veto*<sup>32</sup>!" recommenced. Vergniaud also spoke to the same purpose, and with as little success.

The noise and confusion continued till past five in the evening, when Petion arrived, accompanied by Sergent, a municipal officer. Petion approaching the king, said, "Sire, I was only this moment informed of the situation in which you are." "That is extraordinary,"—replied the king—"for I have been in this situation above three hours." Petion then standing on a chair, advised the people to retire, ending his harangue with the following very curious expressions: "*Citoyens, vous venez de faire entendre vos vœux au représentant héréditaire, avec l'énergie et la dignité d'un peuple libre, qui connoit ses droits. Le Roi fait maintenant les intentions du Souverain, et sans doute il y aura égard. Il convient que vous vous retirez avec calme et décence, afin qu'on ne puisse pas calomnier vos intentions*<sup>33</sup>."

After this, the people, at the mayor's repeated request, began to withdraw:—when a second deputation from the National Assembly arrived, one of the members of which addressed the king in a respectful manner, assuring him that each member was ready to present his body as a shield to cover his majesty's.

While these things were passing in the Oeil de Bœuf, the queen entered the council chamber, attended by the prince and princess royal, madame de Lamballe, mademoiselle Tourzelle, mademoiselle de Mau, and mademoiselle de Soucy. Her majesty shewed much uneasiness on account of the situation in which she had left the king, till the adjutant-general of the first legion of Parisian guards, with some soldiers, came and assured her that the king was in safety, and surrounded by faithful servants. M. de Witten-

<sup>32</sup> Recall the ministers! remove the veto!

<sup>33</sup> Citizens, you have now made your desires known to the hereditary representative, with that energy and dignity which becomes a free people who understand their rights. The king at present knows the intentions of the sovereign, and undoubtedly will pay a proper regard to them. You ought now to withdraw with calmness and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.





*Elisabeth Philippine, Maria Thérèse of France*  
*Sister to LOUIS XVI.*

*Born at Versailles May 3. 1764.*

*Engraved for C. Lowndes and J. Harsons N<sup>o</sup> 21 Paternoster Row Nov<sup>r</sup> 1792.*



goff, a general officer, entered the room followed by a number of people of both sexes, among whom was a woman with a red cap in her hand. She presented the cap to Wittengoff, desiring him to give it to the queen to wear, adding, that she had just left the king, who at that moment had the cap of liberty on his head. It would appear that the general did not think it expedient to reject the woman's proposal; which the queen perceiving, and being shocked at the idea of wearing the cap, said to Wittengoff, "*Vous voyez, Monsieur, que ce bonnet ne peut aller sur ma tête*<sup>34</sup>:" she then put it on the head of the prince. This satisfied the woman and her followers.

Santerre entered the council-chamber soon after, followed by a new crowd, who, having already seen the king, now demanded a sight of the queen, which Santerre had undertaken to procure them. He immediately required that those who stood immediately before her majesty should open to the right and left, that they who followed him might have a full view of her and the rest of the royal family—which was done; Santerre graciously assuring the queen that she had nothing to apprehend from the people, who were wonderfully good, and only wished to be gratified with a sight of her as they walked out; and perceiving that the prince was heated with the cap, he added, "*Otez le bonnet à cet enfant*<sup>35</sup>." Santerre's assurances, however, did not prevent some of the people, who were not quite so good as the rest, from insulting the queen as they passed with the most abominable language.

The crowd having mostly retired, and the king having left the *Oeil de Bœuf* to go to what are called the *petits appartemens*, the princess Elizabeth was going to wait on the queen in the council-chamber, when a group of the mob which still loitered in the palace, mistaking her for the queen, began to insult her; on which one of the princess's attendants was going to undeceive them, but she with a nobleness of mind prevented this, lest the people who were insulting her, being informed of their mistake, should have transferred their abuse to the unhappy queen.

It appeared from the witnesses examined on this business, that great pains had been taken with the inhabitants of Saint Antoine, for a considerable time previous to the twentieth of June, to work them up to this criminal measure: for it merits that epithet in a high degree, even although what is by no means clear were entirely admitted, namely, that no more was intended than to prevail on the king to recall the former ministers, and to remove the negative he had given to the two decrees; because to prevail on the king by such means was open rebellion against the government, and ruinous to the constitution, and might have been attended with the immediate massacre of the royal family.

<sup>34</sup> You see, Sir, that this cap cannot go upon my head.

<sup>35</sup> Take the cap from that child's head.



and other dreadful consequences, all of which the promoters of this procession would have been answerable for.

The conduct of M. Petion on this occasion was not viewed without suspicion. One of the first steps of the department, therefore, was to publish a declaration, "That the events of the twentieth could not have taken place, if the laws in being, and particularly those relating to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and better observed by the magistrates." To this declaration M. Petion published a very voluminous answer, challenging them to commence a prosecution, and protesting his innocence in general terms. The department next published an advertisement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and subordination, and intimating that there existed a secret connection between the external and the internal foes of the public tranquillity. At the same time a petition to the National Assembly, complaining in very strong terms of the outrages of the twentieth, was signed by the most respectable of the inhabitants, and several addresses were received from different departments to the same effect.

A number of suspicions having been entertained and promulgated of M. la Fayette's honour and integrity, that general conceived it expedient to repair to the capital. On the twenty-eighth he presented himself at the bar of the National Assembly, and addressed them as follows:

"It becomes me, gentlemen, in the first place, to declare to the Assembly, that my presence in this capital will in no way tend to injure either the welfare of the empire, or the safety of the state. The measures concerted betwixt marechal Luckner and myself will be a security against every surprize. My motives for coming hither are as follow: You have been told, that the letter bearing my signature, and dated the sixteenth of June, cannot have come from me. I appear before you to acknowledge the letter, and to call on your justice to avenge the attempt of the twentieth made at the palace. This attempt against liberty, and the safety of the king, has excited an indignation in my army, and in the heart of every good citizen. I am charged to communicate to you the patriotic hatred they have sworn against the factious leaders of this tumult. My brave companions were desirous to address the Assembly—they have renounced this project by my order, and I have taken upon me to lay before you their sentiments. Several of them have already asked, Whether it is the cause of liberty and the constitution which they defend? It is time to defend the constitution against the faction which aims to destroy it; to defend the National Assembly and the king, and to maintain the independence and authority delegated to them. I demand, therefore, that the authors and instigators of the troubles of the twentieth shall be prosecuted, as having been guilty of *lèse-nation*."

"I beseech

“ I beseech the National Assembly, in the name of myself, and of every honest man  
 “ in the kingdom, to take the most effectual measures to have due respect paid to the  
 “ constituted authorities, those of the Assembly and the king, and to guarantee to the  
 “ army that no attempt shall be made against the constitution, at the moment when they  
 “ are spilling their blood for the country.”

The president replied, in the name of the Assembly, that it had sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them.

On the same day, the minister of justice communicated a plan, which the king proposed as a substitute for the two decrees which he had refused to sanction—With respect to the protection of the capital, it was the proposal of the king to levy forty-two new battalions, to be stationed, not at Paris, but between that city and the enemy, so as to form a second line behind the army then on the frontiers; and as to the danger apprehended from the refractory priests, the minister assured the Assembly, that it was the strict intention of the king to enforce the execution of the laws against all disturbers of the public peace.

The Jacobins were filled with consternation on the arrival of La Fayette; but it served only to redouble their activity in rendering him odious to the populace. The name of Cromwell was echoed from every press; and their indefatigable emissaries succeeded so far with the mob, that he was burnt in effigy. In the Assembly he was violently attacked by Isnard, Guadet, and some others of the anti-constitutionalists, and was defended in a most able and eloquent speech by M. Ramond. Finding, however, that no good was to be effected in Paris, M. la Fayette left that city on the thirtieth, and proceeded immediately to his army.

It is worthy of remark, that at this period the army of La Fayette amounted to only between seventeen and eighteen thousand effective men, and that of Luckner did not exceed twenty-three thousand. The augmentation proposed, therefore, was certainly inadequate to the protection of the capital; and if sincerely intended for that purpose, should have been stationed nearer to the frontiers, and in such a situation as might have enabled it to co-operate with the army already commissioned for the defence of the country. The Assembly persisted in their decree, and the *federates*, the name bestowed on these new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris without any lawful authority.

On the thirtieth of June, M. Jean de Brie proposed the following decree: “ When the  
 “ internal and foreign safety of the state shall be threatened, and the legislative body  
 “ shall judge it indispensable to employ extraordinary measures, they shall declare by the  
 “ following formula: “ *Citizens, the country is in danger.*” Immediately after this de-  
 “ clamation,



“claration, all the administrative bodies shall assemble, and all the citizens, qualified to bear arms, shall be in a state of permanent activity.” The decree goes on to specify other measures that are to be adopted on such an exigence, and concludes, “That when the danger shall have ceased, the National Assembly shall declare it by this formula: *Citizens, the country is no longer in danger.*” Seventeen other resolutions were passed, ordering that all citizens, having been previously national guards, should be on permanent duty, and every officer at his post.

While these affairs were transacting in the metropolis, the armies of France had made some progress in the Austrian Netherlands. On the eighteenth of June, Courtray surrendered, after a short resistance, to the arms of marshal Luckner; and about the same period M. Carl took possession of Ypres and the country adjacent. M. la Fayette’s army had also advanced and gained possession of Saint Ghislain, the key of Mons. Marshal Luckner soon afterwards entered Menin. The triumph of the French, however, was of short duration. On the sixth of July, the king announced to the Assembly, that one enemy more was added to the confederation against French liberty—that the conduct of the king of Prussia had long indicated hostile intentions, and that he was now marching fifty-two thousand men to co-operate with the king of Hungary. About the same period the Assembly received advices from marshal Luckner, signifying, that the numbers of the enemy were such, that it was impossible for him to proceed farther into the territories of Austria, without the risk of being cut off from a communication with the army of M. la Fayette; that the Prussians and Austrians were bearing down upon him in two columns; that in consequence of these circumstances he had ordered his camp to be raised, and was himself retiring towards Valenciennes, and M. la Fayette towards Givet. A subsequent dispatch announced the actual retreat of the armies, and that in breaking up the camp of Courtray some of the enemy had got possession of the suburbs, and had fired upon field-marshal Jarry, who, to prevent the repetition of similar outrages, had set fire to the suburb, and consumed several houses. This conduct of M. Jarry was considered as disgraceful and injurious to the cause of France, and he was in consequence of it afterwards dismissed from his command.

On the sixth of July the directory of the department of Paris, after a long sitting, pronounced the suspension of M. Petion from the office of mayor, and of M. Manuel, the procureur of the commune. The next day the abbé Lamouretts, bishop of Lyons, ascended the tribune, and requested a few minutes indulgence. He forcibly stated the necessity of a frank and cordial re-union of all the members of the legislative body, and shewed that on such a re-union alone depended the maintenance of the rights of the people, and the preservation of liberty. “There exists”—said he—“two distinct parties in the Assembly: these parties both accuse one another; the one wishing for a republican form of government, the other of meditating the establishment of two chambers. Let us renounce our passions, let us be united, we thus shall become strong; our  
“union

“ union will be more formidable to our enemies than all the cannons which guard our  
 “ frontiers. Let us give a great example to all Europe, and inspire our enemies with  
 “ terror: there is nothing incompatible except vice and virtue. I move that the presi-  
 “ dent fix a day to put the following proposition to the vote: “ Let all who hold in  
 “ equal detestation a republic and two chambers, and who wish to maintain the constitu-  
 “ tion as it is, rise.”

Scarcely had these last words been pronounced, when the two sides rose, threw up their hats, and stretched forth their arms. Loud applauses were heard from every quarter. Each side approached its opponents, the two mingled together, and exchanged embraces; signs of the utmost harmony and concord prevailed; the two parties swore an immortal union, and took their seats promiscuously.

M. Emmery proposed immediately to carry the minutes of this sitting to the king; which was unanimously assented to. When the deputation returned, the bishop of Lyons said, “ Conformable to the order of the National Assembly, we waited on the  
 “ king in his apartment. His majesty, after hearing the extracts from the minutes read,  
 “ replied to us, that it was impossible for him to receive news more dear to his heart, or  
 “ more conformable to his sentiments; and that he yielded to his urgent desire of com-  
 “ ing to testify to the Assembly the joy with which this union inspired him.” This intimation was received with universal applause. The king immediately entered the hall, attended by his ministers. Acclamations of “ *Vive le Roi! Vive la liberté!*” resounded from every quarter.

His majesty having seated himself by the president, said—“ Gentlemen, The act the  
 “ most affecting to me is that of the union of all wills for the safety of our country. I  
 “ have long wished for this fortunate moment; my wish is now accomplished. I come  
 “ to declare to you in person, that the nation and the king are but one. If their exer-  
 “ tions are directed to the same object, their united efforts will save France. Attach-  
 “ ment to the constitution will unite all Frenchmen—of this attachment the king will  
 “ always set them the example.”

The president answered—“ Sire, The memorable epoch that brings you into the midst  
 “ of the delegates of the people, is a signal of joy to the friends of liberty, and of ter-  
 “ ror to its enemies. The harmony of the constituted powers will give to the French  
 “ nation the force of which she stands in need, to dissipate the league of tyrants con-  
 “ spired against her independence and her constitution; and she already sees in the can-  
 “ dour of your proceedings the omen of her successes.”

His majesty replied, that he was sorry he had been obliged to wait for a deputation, as it occasioned a considerable delay to his coming among them. He then retired, accompanied



by a deputation; and the Assembly rose, amidst the acclamations of "*Vive la nation! Vive la liberté! Vive le roi!*"

The reconciliation of the seventh of July was considered by many to be in some measure intended as a compromise of the parties, relative to the affair of Messrs. Petion and Manuel; and indeed the king, the very same evening, wrote to the Assembly, intimating, that though to decide on their fate was a part of his constitutional prerogative, yet, as the matter personally concerned him, he chose rather to refer it to the determination of the Assembly. The same evening he also announced that he had appointed M. de Joly to the home department.

In the sittings of the ninth it was decreed, "That the ministers should give an account of the state and condition of the kingdom, with respect to its safety, as well exterior as interior." When it was reported, that three foreign armies were upon their march to the frontiers, to which France was immediately able to oppose five-and-forty thousand men in the army of the North; fifty thousand in that of the Center; fifty-five thousand in the army of the Rhine; and forty thousand in that of the South. M. Joly, at the conclusion of this account, announced, that all the ministers had given in their resignations. From the report of the minister for foreign affairs it appeared, that the empires of Germany and Russia, the courts of Turin, Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal, had evidently conspired against France. Switzerland, Holland, and England, had preserved a neutrality.

The Assembly was considerably agitated by this intelligence, but no measures were adopted upon it.

On the tenth, the military and diplomatic committees, with the extraordinary committee of twelve, were ordered to give in reports upon the question, Whether it was necessary or not to declare the country in danger? On the eleventh, M. Herault de Sechelles, speaking in the name of the three committees, recommended the declaration that the country was in danger. After some debates upon the manner, the Assembly agreed to the declaration; and the president rising, in the midst of the most profound silence, pronounced the concise and solemn formula before determined upon: "CITIZENS, THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER."

The following decree was then passed:—"Let those who would obtain the honour of marching first to defend what is most dear to them, always remember that they are French, and are free; let their fellow citizens maintain in their homes the safety of persons and properties; let the magistrates of the people watch attentively over both; let all, with a tranquil courage, the attribute of true strength, wait the signal of the law to act, and the country will be saved."

Addressed

Addressees from the Jacobin party in different parts of the kingdom crowded in to the Assembly in favour of the mayor and M. Manuel; and the Assembly, with their usual precipitancy, without examining the proofs, and merely after hearing a few florid speeches, pronounced them guiltless. M. Delfau conjured the legislative body to act with more dignity and deliberation. He painted in strong colours the disgraceful outrages which were acted in the Tuilleries on the twentieth of June. He accused M. Petion of encouraging sedition, and of a want of respect for the hereditary representative of the nation.

During the first weeks of July, the federates arrived in Paris in small companies. They were courted by both parties, but most assiduously by the Jacobins. The number of the federates present, however, on the fourteenth, is said not to have exceeded fifteen hundred. The confederation was celebrated with the usual magnificence. The concourse of people assembled has been stated at four hundred thousand. The National Assembly met at nine o'clock, and proceeded to lay the first stone of the column of liberty, to be erected on the ruins of the Bastille. Before this ceremony was concluded, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horse, a party of troops of the line, five hundred national volunteers, and the Swiss guards. He was accompanied by the queen, madame Elizabeth, the prince and princess royal, &c. The six ministers walked by the side of the king's coach.

A palm tree overshadowed the altar of liberty, and near it a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of those who had expired on the frontiers, in the defence of their country. Between the altar and the Seine a poplar was planted, hung with escutcheons, and other remnants of heraldic folly, which was set on fire by the priest who performed mass at the grand altar, in allusion to the destruction of the feudal system.

Though the king was in general well received, the day did not pass without some degree of mortification to him. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly shouted, "*Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le department! A bas le veto! &c.*" At about six o'clock, the king and the National Assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution, and the royal family immediately afterwards returned to the Tuilleries. The federates on this occasion behaved with much order and loyalty; they appeared to join cordially in the shouts of "*Vive le roi!*" and some are even said to have testified by their exclamations their disapprobation of the factions.

A few days after the confederation, a new administration was announced, which consisted of M. de Joly as minister of justice, M. Saint Croix for foreign affairs, M. Dubouchage for the navy, M. d'Abancour minister of war, M. Champion for the home department, and M. Leroulx de la Ville for that of finance. It was some time before this arrangement could be settled, for the office of minister was become at this period so much

the



the post of danger, that the king was obliged to solicit many who could not be prevailed upon; and those who did, accepted the documents of office only on his most pressing entreaty. On the twenty-second of July, agreeably to a decree of the National Assembly, proclamation was made in all the sections of Paris, that the country was in danger. The business was conducted in a solemn manner by the municipal officers on horseback; and the whole ceremony had such an effect on the minds of the populace, that in a few days several hundreds hastened to enroll themselves.

In the mean time the federates arrived from all parts in considerable bodies: those from the southern provinces were the most ferocious, both in conduct and appearance; and from the circumstance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of ~~Marseilles~~, the appellation of *Marseillois* has been almost indiscriminately applied to this description of volunteers. They consisted chiefly of the lowest and most dissolute of the rabble from every part of the kingdom.

On the twenty-ninth, M. Bureau Puzy was heard, touching the charge of having requested M. Luckner, in the name of M. la Fayette, to march to Paris. After having formally denied the charge, and laid before the Assembly the military correspondence, which was the object of his interview with M. Luckner, the president announced the following letter from M. la Fayette: .

“ If I had been interrogated as to my principles, I should have replied, that, being  
 “ the proclaimer and constant defender of the rights of man, I have always and every  
 “ where resisted those authorities which liberty disavows, and which the national will  
 “ has not delegated; and that always and every where I have obeyed those, of which a  
 “ free constitution has determined the form and the limits. But I am interrogated as to  
 “ a fact. Have I proposed to marshal Luckner to march with our armies to Paris?  
 “ To this I reply in four short words, *It is not true.*

( Signed )

“ FAYETTE.”

In the same sitting a letter was read from M. Luckner, denying “ that he had made any charge against M. la Fayette.” This business was referred to a committee.

The proclamation on the part of the French was immediately succeeded by the following declaration from the duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg:

“ Their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia having entrusted me with the  
 “ command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my  
 “ duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced  
 “ the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

“ After

“ After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions, of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the king, and against his family—those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger, by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party, and their emissaries.

“ His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his Imperial majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as preponderate member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

“ To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France; to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar; to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

“ Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and justice—of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the undersigned, general commandant in chief of the armies, do declare—

“ 1. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

“ 2. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to ensure to his Most Christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge



“ judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to  
“ his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

“ 3. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well  
“ as the persons and property, of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they  
“ will concur in the restoration of order and tranquillity throughout all France.

“ 4. That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity  
“ in the towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all  
“ Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal ma-  
“ jesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible:  
“ That, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the  
“ two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as  
“ enemies, and punished as rebels to the king, and as disturbers of the public peace.

“ 5. That the general officers, the subalterns and soldiers, of the regular troops of  
“ France, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit im-  
“ mediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

“ 6. That the members of the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be  
“ equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes,  
“ all the conflagrations, all the murders, and the pillage which they shall suffer to take  
“ place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within  
“ their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions,  
“ until his Most Christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make farther arrange-  
“ ments, or until farther orders be given in his name.

“ 7. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend  
“ themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal majesties, and to fire upon  
“ them, either in open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their  
“ houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their  
“ houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the  
“ the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by open-  
“ ing their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under  
“ their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons shall be  
“ secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

“ 8. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called  
“ upon to submit instantly, and without delay, to the king; to set that prince at full  
“ liberty, and to ensure to him, and to all royal persons, that inviolability and respect  
“ which are due, by the laws of nature and nations, to sovereigns: Their Imperial and  
“ Royal

“ Royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their  
 “ heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the  
 “ National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the  
 “ national guards of Paris, justices of the peace, and others whom it may concern; and  
 “ their Imperial and Royal majesties farther declare, on their faith and word of emperor  
 “ and king, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or insulted—if the least vio-  
 “ lence be offered, the least outrage done to, their majesties, the king, the queen, and the  
 “ royal family; if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will  
 “ inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging  
 “ punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to  
 “ total destruction, and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer  
 “ the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their Imperial and Royal majes-  
 “ ties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ  
 “ their good offices with his Most Christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for in-  
 “ sults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their per-  
 “ sons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above in-  
 “ junctions.

“ Finally, their majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in  
 “ France, except those which shall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, pro-  
 “ test beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be is-  
 “ sued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and  
 “ the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and, with this view,  
 “ their Imperial and Royal majesties invite and entreat his Most Christian majesty to  
 “ name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to re-  
 “ move, together with the queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort,  
 “ which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his Most Christian majesty may, in per-  
 “ fect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order  
 “ such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order,  
 “ and the regular administration of his kingdom.

“ In fine, I declare and promise, in my own individual name, and in my above quality,  
 “ to cause to be observed every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict  
 “ discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects  
 “ who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who  
 “ shall be guilty of resistance, or of manifest evil intentions.

“ I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most  
 “ earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my  
 “ command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and



“ to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence, which circumstances may require.

*Given, &c. at Coblentz,  
July 25th, 1792.*

(Signed) “ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,  
“ DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

The following is an additional declaration, dated the twenty-seventh of July:

“ The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated Quarters General at Coblentz, July the twenty-fifth, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of their combined armies.

“ The liberty ~~and~~ the safety of the sacred persons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments, if the least insult should be offered to his Most Christian majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

“ Without making the least alteration to the eighth article of the said declaration of the twenty-fifth instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris; and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and the royal family shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishment, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

“ All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the king and the royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his Most Christian majesty, (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered. All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his Most Christian majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal majesties have in view, shall be considered as null, and, consequently, without effect.

(Signed) “ CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,  
“ DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.”

In consequence of the foregoing declarations, the king, on the third of August, transmitted the following letter to the Assembly :

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ For several days a paper has been circulated, entitled, “ *The declaration of the reigning duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, commander of the combined armies of their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of France.* This paper exhibits nothing that can be considered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been transmitted by any of my ministers at the several courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it nevertheless seems to me to require a new declaration of my sentiments and my principles.

“ France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us ; but those who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneasiness and my grief.

“ I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace, the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of kings. My former ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how necessary was peace ; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government ; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this Revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the National Assembly.

“ When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of assuring its success. My ministers received orders to concert measures with the committees of the National Assembly, and with the generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions, the progress of the spirit of party, and above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat ? But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers ; I shall take, in concert with the National Assembly, every means to turn the evils inseparable from war to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

“ I have accepted the constitution ; the majority of the nation desired it : I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness, and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

“ Fram



“ From that moment I imposed it as a law upon myself to be faithful to the constitution ; and I gave orders to my ministers to make it the rule of their conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people ; I have discharged that duty ; and to have done so is enough to satisfy the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation ; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party : It is to the nation that I owe myself ; I am one and the same with her ; no interest shall separate me from her ; she alone shall be listened to ; I will maintain the national independence with my last breath. Personal dangers, compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah ! what are personal dangers to a king, from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people ? There lies the real wound of my heart. The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness ; how much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest mark of its return !

(Signed) “ LOUIS.

(Counterigned) “ BIGOT ST. CROIX.”

On its being moved that this letter should be ordered to be printed, which is the usual mark of respect shewn by the Assembly to the addresses or petitions it approves, the motion was opposed. One of the members observed, that it was not by *words*, but by *actions*, that the king should prove his love of liberty and the constitution.

M. Isnard offered “ to prove that what the king asserted was not true.” He was interrupted, not so much on account of the indecency of this expression, as because he wandered from the question in debate, which was, Whether the king’s letter ought to be printed, or not ? It was observed, that what he had said was precisely in point, because, if he proved that the contents of the letter were not true, it followed that it ought not to be printed. Isnard then said, “ That when fanatical priests had attempted to kindle a civil war, the Assembly had proposed repressive decrees, which the king had refused to sanction. That he had dismissed the patriotic ministers who possessed the confidence of the nation ; that he must have been acquainted for more than a year with the treaty of Pilnitz, yet he had taken no measures to defeat it, or to procure allies for France ; that the ministers had promised to have one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to act ; and yet, although war was declared, nothing near the number was levied, and those who were had not been properly armed ; and, finally, that every measure had been taken to render the enemy’s attack on France successful.”

M. Thuriot said, “ That the only thing which had determined the king to send the message was, that he knew that the majority of the sections were about to address the Assembly to divest him of the crown.” After a warm debate the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

A depu-





*Jones Scul*

*M. Pétion*

*Published as the Act Directs by C. Lowndes Novr 17. 1792*



A deputation from the common council of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar; when Petion demanded, in the name of the forty-eight sections, that the king should be excluded from the throne, and that the management of affairs, during the interregnum, should be entrusted to responsible ministers, until the election of a new king in a National Convention. His speech was to the following purport:

It began by expressions of sorrow for the necessity of accusing the chief of the executive power; and proceeded to declare, "That although the people have great reason to be enraged against Lewis the Sixteenth, yet as the appearance of anger does not become power, they will use the language of moderation." In this language of moderation, therefore, all that his enemies ever accused the king of previous to his accepting of the constitution, was minutely enumerated, accompanied by a declaration that all those crimes were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addressers declare, that they cannot help mentioning the king's ingratitude to a people who have behaved so generously to him. "What right had he to expect they would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France, that he might reign at Coblenz? Could he found his expectation on his descent from a race of kings, among twenty of which there was hardly one tolerable? Yet the nation had forgiven all, and restored the crown to him, since which moment he had never ceased to conspire against the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led by his brothers, invaded France; that to avenge the cause of Lewis the Sixteenth, the execrable house of Austria desires to add a new page to the history of its crimes; and, adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, wishes at one blow to strike off the heads of all the good citizens of France."

The address concludes with requesting, "That the king be decreed to have forfeited the crown; that the government be put into the hands of patriotic ministers named by the people, until a National Convention be assembled." The orator added—

"This great measure being once adopted, as it is doubtful whether the nation can place any confidence in the reigning dynasty, we desire that ministers really responsible, appointed by the National Assembly, but out of your own body, according to the law of the constitution, and chosen openly, not by ballot, may in the interim exercise the functions of the executive power, until such time as the will of the people, our sovereign and yours, shall have been legally declared in a National Convention, to be assembled as soon as the safety of the state will admit. In the mean time let our enemies, be they who they may, go beyond our frontiers; let the base and perjured quit the land of liberty; let three hundred thousand slaves advance, they will find on their way ten millions of freemen, prepared for either death or victory, fighting for equality, for their houses, for their wives, and for their children. Let every one of us be a soldier in his turn; and if we must have the honour of dying for our country, let each

“ of us, before he breathes his last, render his memory illustrious, by the death of a SLAVE or a TYRANT.” This speech gained the loudest applause from the galleries; it was delivered afterwards in writing to the president, but the Assembly came to no resolution upon it.

Early in the morning of Sunday, the sixth of August, the whole city of Paris was alarmed by a report that an attempt had been made by the king to escape. It was said that he had advanced to the great alley of the Thuilleries, where he was recognized by a sentinel; and being taken back to the palace, sent for the mayor, to whom he said, that he had gone out solely for a *promenade*. In the mean time the *tocsin* [alarm-bell] was sounded, and the ministers were summoned to the palace.

It is supposed that the king meant to have escaped from the garden of the Thuilleries by the Pont-Tournant, which leads to the Place of Louis the Fifteenth. He was in the dress of a peasant. An officer upon guard in the palace said, that his majesty was up and dressed the whole night, that two of the ministers were with him, and that a large body of the Swiss guards were upon duty.

The king's friends asserted, that all these appearances of an extraordinary movement were occasioned by an apprehension for the safety of the royal family, during the removal of the fédérés of Marseilles from their barracks in the Faubourg Poissonniere to the convent of the Cordeliers; and that in their route a new quarrel might arise between them and the national guard. This, however, was not very satisfactory. That some sort of agitation prevailed at the Thuilleries on Saturday night and Sunday morning, the following official publication proves:

“ August 5th, 1792. Fourth Year of Liberty.

“ This night three couriers left the palace of the Thuilleries, bearing letters, one addressed to the mayor of Paris, another to Mr. Stephen Leroux, merchant and municipal officer, and a third to M. Cardot, municipal officer at Chaillot.—Some citizens and a patrolle arrested, in the Place of Louis the Fifteenth, the man who had the letter for M. Cardot, and accompanied him to the house of the latter. The letter being opened in the presence of the commissary of the police, was as follows:—

“ M. Cardot, hasten; come to the palace—Your friends, your brothers are there.

*Half-past one in the morning.”*

“ This note, without a signature, surprized Cardot, who went to the mayoralty, and required the assistance of the administrator of the police. M. Sergeant accompanied him; both took information at length in the house of the commissary for the section of the Thuilleries; and it appeared, that Messrs. De Joly, minister of justice, and Du Bocage, minister of the marine, had invited the two municipal officers to come  
“ that



“ that night to the palace, at all events, and that the ministers had promised they  
 “ should there find friends.

(Signed )

“ SERGEANT, Administrator.”

The person of the king being safe, no farther notice was taken of the affair.

On the seventh a tumultuous crowd came from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment, signed by a great number of persons of all the sections. This parchment had lain for eight days on the altar which was built for the ceremony of the federation, and was brought to the door of the Assembly as a petition, by a mob of both sexes. After some opposition, it was ordered that twenty of them should be admitted to the bar. One of them carried a pole crowned with a red cap, inscribed with these words, “ *Destruction du pouvoir persécutif*<sup>36</sup> ;” and the following words beneath, “ *Appel au peuple*<sup>37</sup> .” These inscriptions excited the indignation of the Assembly ; and they were ordered to be torn off before the petition was read. The petition, which was of a most incendiary nature, took near an hour in reading. The petitioners were informed that the Assembly would take their petition into consideration.

The next day a debate of great expectation took place in the National Assembly. A committee of twelve members were some time since appointed to deliberate on the conduct of La Fayette. Jean de Brie made the report, in which he greatly blamed the conduct of the general, in having calumniated and menaced the National Assembly ; in having had the design to march his army against Paris ; and in having assumed unconstitutional power : and the reporter concluded, by proposing a decree of accusation.

The discourse of Jean de Brie was greatly applauded by the audience in the tribunes. M. Vaublanc made an able and eloquent defence of the general’s conduct ; but when he proposed the previous question on Jean de Brie’s motion, the people in the galleries raised the most violent exclamations and murmurs, which were, however, balanced by the applause of the majority of the Assembly. Brissot spoke next, and added new force to the reasoning of Jean de Brie. When the decree of accusation was put to the vote, it was rejected by a majority of near two hundred, which decision gave great offence to the people ; in consequence thereof they were determined to carry the question of the KING’S DEPOSITION.

A number of letters were read from members, complaining that they had been insulted, menaced, and actually assaulted, by the mob, for having spoken or voted in favour of

<sup>36</sup> Destruction to the persecuting power.

<sup>37</sup> Appeal to the people.

La Fayette. They represented that the members of the Assembly were no longer at liberty to speak their sentiments; and that unless strong measures were taken to secure their persons, they must seek an asylum in some other place.

These and many other similar complaints occupied the Assembly 'till five in the afternoon of the ninth, when M. Condorcet, as reporter of the extraordinary commission, stated the various considerations connected with the grand question of the KING'S FORFEITURE, and concluded thus: "Whatever plan you may adopt, you will be accused  
" of having violated the constitution. You are forced to steer between the boundaries  
" of your own powers and the violation of rights. You ought to confine yourselves  
" within the limits of the law. Your committee will not present a complete plan of the  
" measures to be pursued in such circumstances. We are fully sensible how pressing the  
" dangers of the country are; but too much precipitation might ruin it, and measures  
" badly combined might not be sufficient. *You ought to run every risk to save your coun-*  
" *try, but remove from danger every thing you can.* Your committee will at present re-  
" commend to you only one measure, which is to publish an instruction to the people on  
" the mode of exercising their right of sovereignty, in order to put them on their guard  
" against the errors into which they may be precipitated."

The proceedings of the Assembly were interrupted by the sudden appearance of Petion. He said that a rumour having been spread that a plot was formed for carrying off the king, the people, as if actuated by one spirit, had all bent their way towards the Thuilleries, to prevent his being carried away; and, for that purpose, a certain number of citizens from each battalion of the national guard were ordered to do duty at the palace. The Assembly, considering the present dangerous situation of the capital, decreed, That till order be restored the sitting shall be permanent.

Besides the Swiss, the number of gentlemen and others who repaired to the palace on this alarming occasion, is said to have amounted to from twelve to thirteen hundred men. As these were, however, not considered sufficient to repel the threatened attack, M. Mandat, commander of the national guards, a man strongly attached to the constitution, having represented to the mayor the apprehensions he entertained for the safety of the royal family, obtained from that magistrate a written order to defend the palace with all his force, and to repel the attack of any invader. The detachments of the national guards, which Mandat had ordered to the palace upon this occasion, are stated at about two thousand four hundred men, with twelve pieces of cannon; and to these may be added the *gendarmerie à cheval*, a body of cavalry amounting to about one thousand.

With this force, well-ordered and well-arranged, it is the prevalent opinion, that had there existed a sufficient portion of spirit, firmness, and unanimity in the council within the castle of the Thuilleries, it might successfully have resisted the designs of the republicans. Some dependence was also to be placed upon the temper and moderation



tion which the majority of the Assembly had lately exhibited, and upon the indignation which the more respectable inhabitants of Paris had expressed with respect to the outrages of the twentieth of June.

Within the Thuilleries all was consternation and dismay. Some shew of order was however preserved. At about eleven o'clock at night the mayor repaired to the palace, where he remained till between two and three in the morning. There is no proof that he was detained by force; but the disaffected made use of the circumstance of his remaining there to circulate a report to the injury of the royal party, that he was either murdered or kept as a hostage. This report reaching the Assembly, the president thought proper to order him before them, and he immediately appeared at their bar; when he was, probably by his own desire, put under an arrest by his own party, as he was ashamed or afraid to appear more openly in so disgraceful a transaction.

At midnight the alarm-bell was sounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. In this moment of confusion a most unjustifiable and illegal step was taken. As it was pretended that the present council of the commune did not possess the confidence of the people, a few persons from each of the sections immediately assembled to elect a new one, and the measure was carried into effect upon the spot, to the exclusion of the [whole municipality, Petion, Manuel, and Danton, only excepted. This self-elected commune took immediate possession of the common-hall, and proceeded to such measures as might most effectually promote the designs of the insurgents.

One of their first resolves proved fatal to the royal party. As Mandat was known to be a determined supporter of the constitution, it was evident that his presence would afford the strongest encouragement to the national guards, and would greatly contribute to the retaining them in their duty; and the order which he had received from the mayor was an additional authority in the eyes of the soldiery and people: it was therefore determined to deprive the king of this essential support. The creation of a new municipality was not known at the palace; and under the cover of this delusion a message was dispatched to Mandat, requiring his attendance at the common-hall, under the pretence that they had something of the utmost importance to communicate to him. Mandat was then occupied in assigning to the national guards their different posts; and, as if suspicious of a conspiracy against his life, hesitated to obey the order. A new message, more pressing than the former, was therefore sent; and the procureur-syndic joined with two other municipal officers who were present, in persuading him to obey the commands of the constituted authorities. He left the palace about four o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the town-house, accompanied by a single aid-du-camp.

The surprize of this unfortunate officer may easily be imagined at meeting an assembly so different from what he had expected; and his surprize must have been augmented