

at finding himself abruptly charged with a plot to massacre the people. After a short interrogation he was ordered to the abbey prison; but as he descended the stairs he was shot through the head with a pistol. M. Santerre was appointed, by the same authority, to the command of the national guard, which however he did not immediately assume.

The king had not closed his eyes during the whole of this eventful night; indeed the only part of the family who retired to rest were the royal infants. At six o'clock it was thought expedient that the king should review the troops. He accordingly proceeded to the court yards, where he was saluted with the acclamations of "*Vive le Roi!*" from the Swiss, and it was echoed by the national guards. The artillery, however, and the battalion of Croix Rouge, shouted "*Vive la Nation!*" and some of the more insolent and disaffected, "*Vive Petion!*" The national guards being deprived of their commander, and, consequently at that moment, governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery soon became contagious, and their unruly and indecent conduct evinced how little confidence was to be placed upon their fidelity.

As soon as the king returned from reviewing the troops, the gentlemen who were in the palace formed themselves into regular companies; and, animated by enthusiasm and despair, would undoubtedly have made a most gallant defence, had the king remained at their head.

At eight o'clock M. Rœderer entered the council chamber where their majesties were, at the head of the department; his first words were, "No person shall interpose between the king and the department." He requested to speak with the king and queen in private; and proceeded to represent the imminent danger which at this moment impended over their majesties, and all that were attached to them; he assured them that very few of the national guard were to be depended upon, and that the majority were totally corrupted. That instead of defending the palace they would instantly join the assailants; that the number of the insurgents was such that it was insanity to oppose, and entreated that they would repair to the only asylum which was open to them—the National Assembly. The queen, whose penetration led her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose force of mind was generally more disposed to resistance than submission, opposed with vehemence M. Rœderer's proposal, and exclaimed—"That sooner than remove she would be nailed to the walls of the palace." But the habitual gentleness of the king's character induced him to comply. They met with no interruption in crossing the Thuilleries to the staircase leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there his majesty was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled with the grossest abuse the most alarming threats against his person. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the most forward of the insurgents snatched the prince royal out of the queen's arms, and carried him to the Assembly.

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The legislative body, at the moment their majesties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall. As soon as he entered, the king seated himself by the side of the president, and addressed the Assembly in these words: "I am come hither to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." The king and queen were accompanied by their son and daughter, and the princess Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

It was observed by one of the members, that the king's presence put a restraint on the debates; on which he descended to the bar where his family was, and with them was conducted into a box on the right hand of the president, called *La Loge du Logographe*, where seven or eight persons used to sit around a table to take down in writing the debates, and every thing remarkable which passed in the Assembly.

They had not been situated long there when the action began. The National Assembly being near the spot on which the engagement took place, several cannon-ball struck the roof, and some musket-shot entered the windows. What interest all within must have taken in this action, will be easily imagined. Some members rose and changed their seats, when the cannon were first heard; but the president, calling to order, said it was the duty of every member to remain with steadiness at his post, and serve his country to the best of his abilities. After this every member kept his place, except such as were deputed on some particular business by the president³⁸.

It is much to be lamented, that the king, on his departure from the palace, did not leave distinct and positive orders to those who remained, to capitulate. Much bloodshed would probably have been avoided by this means; and there is even some reason to think that the event might have proved more favourable to the king himself than it did. The democratic party charge this neglect to the duplicity of the king; who, they alledge, wished to secure two chances to himself;—the restoration to his former dignity, should his party prove victorious; and at the worst he expected to escape with his life, by taking shelter in the National Assembly. This account of his motives is, however, probably no more than one of those uncharitable insinuations which at such a crisis the malignity of party usually invents; and the conduct of the king is more naturally to be attributed to that confusion and anxiety which, at such a crisis, deprives the most collected mind of

³⁸ At one time there was such a noise and bustle in the passage immediately behind the two small rooms in which the royal family were, that their attendants became apprehensive that some ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which separated the box from the hall of the Assembly, that the royal family might throw themselves into the hall, if necessary: the bars were not removed till the king himself assisted, and by repeated efforts at last forced them out.—*Moore's Journal*.

half its functions. At this distance of time we can reason with temperance and judgment; but how should we have acted, if placed in circumstances so extremely difficult, and so trying to human infirmity?

The reports which had been industriously circulated of a plot formed within the palace for the massacre of the citizens, had already caused the savage multitude to thirst for blood. In the course of the night two-and-twenty persons had been arrested, under various pretences, in the section of the Feuillans, and imprisoned in the guard-house. Eleven of them, who were confined in a separate apartment, had however the good fortune to save themselves by leaping out of a window into an adjoining garden. For some time the insurgents had been extremely clamorous in the court of the Feuillans, demanding the sacrifice of the prisoners: and about half past eight a municipal officer ascended a bench, and exhorted them, with great humanity, to abstain from violence and cruelty. This respectable magistrate was soon silenced by clamour; and a horrid banditti, headed by a wretch who disgraced the name and form of woman, a prostitute of the name of Theroigne, proceeded to the committee, to demand their immediate slaughter. Nine innocent persons were inhumanly murdered, some of them by the hands of the infamous Theroigne. Among these was a M. Sulea, a man of letters, of great merit, whose only crime was being attached to his king; and the abbé Bouyou, a dramatic writer. Their heads were immediately fixed on pikes, and carried as trophies round the city, to encrease, had it been necessary, the savage ferocity of the populace, and the fears and horror of all honest men.

The number of the insurgents has been stated at about twenty thousand effective men. The crowd of idle spectators who followed them, partly from curiosity and partly in hopes of plunder, was innumerable. The active rebels consisted chiefly of the lower class of the inhabitants of the suburbs, distinguished by the appellation of *Sans-culottes*, with some hundreds of the Marseillois, and other federates, who were certainly the most daring, and contributed most to the success of the enterprise.

The most loyal among the national guards were dispirited by the loss of their commander, and disgusted by the flight of the king. Murmurs circulated among them; the purport of which was, that "they were inevitably betrayed, and that with the aristocrats " on the one hand, and the Swiss on the other, they were between two fires." Even the Swiss themselves were completely discouraged. Their commander in chief, M. Affry, was absent; M. Bachmann, second in command, and his adjutant, had accompanied the king to the National Assembly; the captains of the companies were either not at their posts, or those who remained were utterly at a loss what course to pursue.

At about a quarter past nine the gates of the *cour royale* were forced open, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, whose leader drew them up in

two square divisions facing the palace. They brandished their spears, and levelled their pieces with menacing gestures; while the Swiss and national guards from the windows entreated them by signs to keep the peace and withdraw.

A number of the *sans-culottes* at length proceeded to the foot of the first stair-case, and having seized the Swiss centinel, and five other of his countrymen, disarmed them; the main body then rushing in, cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceless victims. On observing this outrage, the Swiss drew up in order of battle, some on the stair-case, others on the steps facing the chapel-door, and seeing no alternative but to stand on the defensive, fired upon the murderers. At the same moment an officer in a national uniform, who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his pistol into the palace, provoked those who were at the windows to return the fire. Thus the action commenced, and a brisk cannonading took place.

The contest chiefly lay between the Marseillois and the Swiss. After a most gallant resistance of more than an hour, in which the Swiss were frequently victorious in different parts, these brave men, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti, enraged instead of being interested by their gallantry and fidelity, pursued the fugitives with the rancour of savages, and the victory was converted into a massacre. The national guards, horrid to relate, united with the populace in the extermination of those whom but just before they had considered as their fellow-soldiers. All the Swiss who were in the palace were murdered, many of them on their knees imploring quarter. A small party of seventeen had taken refuge in the vestry-room of the chapel; and as they had not been engaged from the first, they imagined that they might ensure the clemency of their victors by surrendering at discretion, and shouting "*Vive la Nation!*" but they no sooner laid down their arms, than they were put to death. Another party attempted to escape through Marfan Court; about eighty were killed, the remainder secreted themselves in hay-lofts, and other lurking-places; some persons lent them clothes to disguise themselves, and a few of them consequently escaped, but several afterwards died with hunger and fatigue³⁹.

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³⁹ One of the most remarkable occurrences of that memorable day, and which forms the strongest contrast with most of the others, happened in the National Assembly itself.

After the Swiss began to give way, and when these ill-fated soldiers, assailed on all sides, were slaughtered without remorse, a citizen of Paris had the humanity and the courage to protect one of them, whom he saw overpowered by numbers, and ready to be sacrificed. Having torn this poor Swiss from the hands of his assailants, he conducted him over the bodies of his countrymen to the bar of the National Assembly. "Here"—cried the generous Frenchman—"let this brave soldier find protection—I have saved him from the fury of my fellow-citizens, whose enemy he never was, and only appeared to be through the error of others; that is now expiated, and, Oh! let him in this hall find mercy!" Having expressed himself in such terms, he threw his arms around the neck of the soldier; and, overcome by fatigue of body and agitation of mind, he actually fainted in the arms of him whose life he had saved.

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The gentlemen who remained in the palace saw no alternative, at this formidable crisis, but to proceed as well as they could to the National Assembly. The only possible road was through the queen's gate: they rallied all the Swiss whom they found dispersed in their way, and as many of the national guard as still retained their fidelity. The number of the fugitives might amount to five hundred; but as only one person could pass through the gate at a time, they were exposed to a continual fire from several battalions stationed at about thirty yards distance; and as the red uniform of the Swiss attracted particular notice, these devoted strangers were still the greatest sufferers.

Of the remainder, some escaped by the gardens, and others, in small parties, made good their progress to different parts of the city, where, upon dispersing, they were secreted and saved by the humanity of individuals. It is however with pain that we find ourselves obliged to add, that of this fine and gallant regiment of Swiss, the whole number that survived the massacre did not amount to two hundred. These, by a decree of the Assembly, were put under the protection of the State.

The defenceless victims who were found in the palace were all involved in one promiscuous massacre. The gentlemen ushers, the pages, those who were in the lowest and most servile offices, were slaughtered without discrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Thuilleries, from the roof to the foundations. The shocking barbarities which were practised on the dead bodies of the Swiss it would be offensive to decency to relate. The massacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some chests indeed, containing papers and assignats, and even some of the royal plate, were taken from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the National Assembly.

The massacre within the palace was the signal for assassination without. The resentment which the resistance of the Swiss had excited was directed even to the porters at the coffee-houses and hotels, who go under the general appellation of Swiss, and several of them were murdered. M. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, was killed in the afternoon on coming out of the Logographic lodge where the royal family

The spectators could not but be affected by this scene. When the man had by their care recovered his recollection, he begged that he might be permitted to carry the Swiss to his house; for he said it would be a happiness to him to lodge and maintain, during life, the person whom he had had the good fortune to snatch from death.

Notwithstanding the indignation which the king and queen must have felt at many things they had heard, they were the first who began the applause on this occasion, which instantly became universal.

The president addressed the citizen in these words: "The National Assembly has heard you with pleasure, and applauds your courage and your generosity." Several of the national guards came and congratulated both the Swiss soldier and the citizen who had saved him.

A member of the Assembly proposed, that the name of the citizen should be inserted in the *procès-verbal*, which was instantly agreed to; and one of the secretaries announced, that the generous citizen's name was Clemençe, and that he was by profession a wine-merchant.—*Meade's Journal*.

were; and M. d'Hermigny, a colonel of the gendarmerie, met his fate in the square before the Hotel de Ville. In this massacre fifteen hundred people are supposed to have lost their lives. Of all the victims of popular phrensy on this memorable day, none is more to be deplored than M. Clermont Tonnerre. No man had rendered more eminent services to the cause of liberty in the commencement of the Revolution than this unfortunate gentleman, and even when he ceased to act with the popular party, his opposition was always respectable and temperate.

While these disgraceful scenes were acting, the National Assembly still proceeded to deliberate with great firmness; and the following decree was proposed by M. Vergniaud, in the name of the extraordinary commission, and adopted by the Assembly:

“ The National Assembly, considering that the want of confidence in the executive power is the cause of all our evils, and that this want of confidence has called forth, from all parts of the kingdom, a wish that the authority entrusted by the constitution to *Lewis the Sixteenth* should be revoked, and that the only means of reconciling what they owe to the safety of the people, with their own oath, of not encreasing their own power, are to submit to the sovereign will of the nation—decree as follows:

“ 1. The French people are invited to form a National Convention. The committee will propose to-morrow a plan for pointing out the time and mode of this convention.—2. The executive power is provisionally suspended from this moment, until the National Convention shall have decreed the measures necessary to be pursued for preserving national independence. The civil list is suspended; and the committee will point out the sum which the legislative body ought to allow for the subsistence of the royal family.—3. The six ministers now in office shall exercise the executive power. The extraordinary commission shall present, in the course of this day, a plan for the organization of the ministry.—4. The extraordinary commission shall present a plan for appointing a governor to the prince royal.—5. The king and the royal family shall remain under the protection of the legislative body, till the department shall prepare apartments for them at the Luxembourg.—6. The king and royal family are under the safeguard of the law, and their defence entrusted to the national guard of Paris.—7. All magistrates, officers, and soldiers, who shall quit their post, shall be declared infamous, and traitors to their country.—8. The department of Paris shall this day cause the present decree to be proclaimed.—9. It shall at the same time be transmitted, by extraordinary couriers, to the eighty-three departments.”

It was near one o'clock in the morning of the eleventh, when, on the motion of M. Brissot, the Assembly declared, that the six ministers had lost the confidence of the nation; upon which they decreed, that six others should be chosen from among themselves; and, also, that three commissioners should be chosen for each of the armies.

On Sunday the following decree was passed by the National Assembly :—" First, The
 " hotel of the minister of justice shall be inhabited by the king.—Secondly, He shall
 " be furnished with a guard, subordinate to the mayor of Paris, and to the commandant
 " of the national guard, who shall be answerable for his safety, and that of his family.
 " —Thirdly, There shall be a sum of five hundred thousand livres to pay his expences,
 " until the moment of the National Convention meeting.

" The National Assembly also declares, That the king is suspended; and that both
 " himself and family remain as hostages; that the present ministry have not the confi-
 " dence of the nation, and that the Assembly proceed to replace them. That the civil
 " list cease to take place."

It having been decreed, that no person should be admitted to see the king, without an order from the municipality, some municipal officers presented themselves at the bar; and the president informed one of them, M. Manuel, the common serjeant of Paris, that the Assembly had passed a decree, by which the hotel of the minister of justice was fixed on as a place proper for the residence of the king and the royal family.

Manuel replied—" The municipality, who propose to be answerable for the person of
 " the king, cannot be so after the decree which you have passed. The hotel of the mi-
 " nister of justice is surrounded by a great number of houses, which may afford the
 " ready means of an escape; whereas the Temple stands by itself, and is inclosed with
 " high walls." The Assembly then left to the community of Paris to determine on a place proper for the residence of the king, and entrusted to them the care of *detaining* him in *custody*.

Conformable to this resolution, the council general of the commons chose the Temple for the place of the residence of the king and his family, and charged the provisional commandant general to take all the measures he shall judge proper to assure the execution of the decree.

During the procession of the king and royal family to the Temple, M. Petion warned the queen not to look at the people with too confident an air (*de regarder le peuple avec moins d'assurance*). " You see"—said her majesty—" that the people are calm."
 " I know, on the contrary, madam,"—said Petion—" that they are very much irritated,
 " and may, at this instant be provoked by a glance."

On a motion made by Thuriot, the Assembly decreed, " That the decree by which the
 " soldiers of the national gendarmerie of Paris were authorised to name their own offi-
 " cers, should be extended to those of all the departments."

M. Gaudet proposed the following plan of a decree for summoning a National Convention :

“ The National Assembly, after having invited the citizens, in the name of liberty and equality, to assemble without the least possible delay, and in the greatest possible number, decrees—

“ 1. The primary assemblies shall nominate the same number of electors as in the preceding elections. The voters shall first take the oath to maintain liberty and equality, and to die in their defence.—2. The distinctions of citizens, active and not active, are abolished. To be admissible to the primary assemblies, it shall be sufficient to be a French citizen, to be twenty-one years of age, to have been resident for a year in the place, and not to be a menial servant. They who have not taken the civic oath shall be bound to take it.—3. Every citizen shall be eligible, without any other condition than those required in the preceding article.—4. The electoral assemblies shall nominate for the National Convention the same number of deputies as for the present legislature.—5. The primary assemblies shall observe the same formalities in their operations as at the last election.—6. The primary assemblies are convoked for Sunday, the twenty-sixth of August.—7. The electoral assemblies shall meet in the chief town of each department on the second of September.—8. The members of the National Convention shall repair to Paris, on or before the twentieth of September. They shall cause their names to be entered in the archives; and as soon as they shall amount to two hundred, the present legislature shall give place to them.—9. Three livres a day shall be paid to the electors as long as the electoral assemblies shall continue to sit, and twenty sous a mile for travelling expences.—10. No person now exercising, or having formerly exercised, any function whatever, shall be ineligible to the National Convention.”

The phrenzy of the populace did not subside for some days after the storming of the palace. It assumed indeed not the formidable aspect of a general insurrection, but it was no less savage and dreadful in its effects. Several atrocious assassinations were committed, and, among others, the respectable Rochefoucault fell a sacrifice to his attachment to the king and constitution. After having, with the rest of the department, been concerned in the suspension of Petion and Manuel, he found it no longer safe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own estate; but the savages carefully tracked his steps, and he was scarcely arrived before he was assassinated; his own tenants either aiding in the murder, or at least looking on with criminal stupefaction.

On the night of the twelfth, the Assembly, apprehensive of a formidable opposition from the army of La Fayette, dispatched three commissioners of their own body to counteract

teract the movements of that general. M. la Fayette, however, by a singular accident, was previously apprized of the events of the tenth. He had sent M. Darblais, one of his staff officers, with dispatches to the war minister. M. Darblais, on the morning of the eleventh, had advanced almost within sight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the national guards, who apprized him of his danger, and advised him to change horses, and return with all possible speed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found M. la Fayette, who, after stating the facts to the magistrates of that town, advised them, in duty to the king and constitution, to arrest the commissioners, who, accordingly, on their arrival there, were seized, and detained in prison, from the fourteenth of August to the twentieth.

In the mean time M. la Fayette returned to the camp; and immediately distributed among the battalions the following letter:

“ CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

“ It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward: the constitution you swore to maintain is no more; a banditti from Marseilles, and a troop of factious men, besieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

“ General d’Affry, his aids-du-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

“ The king, queen, and all the royal family escaped to the National Assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the king, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

“ Citizens, you are no longer represented; the National Assembly are in a state of slavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representative to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your king.”

The general, at the first moments when this communication to the soldiery was made, found their dispositions not unfavourable to the cause of the constitution; but he soon discovered that fidelity was only to be expected from a small circle of friends. Apprehensive, therefore, that in the spirit of revolt which his army manifested, his life would be attempted by some assassin, or that he would certainly be delivered up into the hands of his adversaries, on the nineteenth of August he left the camp in the night, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. They took the route of Rochefort in Liege, which, being a neutral country, they hoped to pass unmolested; but an Austrian general,

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of the name of Harancourt, being stationed there with an advanced party, arrested the fugitives, and sent them prisoners to Namur.

General Arthur Dillon seemed at first inclined to imitate the example of La Fayette; and by the orders which he published to his army on the thirteenth, he excited so strong a suspicion against him, that a decree was actually passed for his suspension. He however was so fortunate as to retract in time; and upon the arrival of the commissioners of the Assembly at Valenciennes, he found means so completely to conciliate their esteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinstated in his full authority. Dumourier, who had assumed the command at Maulde, saw the party which it was necessary to embrace, and anticipated the wishes of the Assembly, by applauding the new Revolution, even before the arrival of their commissioners: by this fortunate step he regained the entire confidence of the republicans, which he had lost by his continuance in the ministry, and in consequence was afterwards appointed to succeed La Fayette in his command.

Marshal Luckner took the same decided part. In his letter to the Assembly, he even insinuated that it was the treachery of the court which compelled him to retreat in the midst of victory from the Netherlands; and added,—That now the king was deposed, he hoped he should not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Austrian territories. Generals Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, all submitted to the authority of the Assembly, and of the provisional council of state, and took the republican oaths, as well as the soldiers of their respective armies.

Though the force of La Fayette had been trifling in comparison with that of his adversaries, as it did not exceed twenty thousand men, still he had contrived to keep the Austrians and Prussians in check, and they had made but little progress towards the subjugation of France. The confusion, however, which the late transactions had produced, encouraged the combined armies to advance, and the first conquest achieved was that of Longwy. On the twenty-first of August, general Clairfait presented himself, with an army of sixty thousand men, before that fortress. The siege lasted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magistrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had insisted upon a surrender, and that he had only complied with their requisition; on the other hand it was suspected, and not without some ground, that nothing less than treachery in a commander could compel a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, well appointed, in a place strongly fortified, and defended with a numerous train of artillery, and excellent casements, to surrender upon so short a siege. Upon further enquiry, these suspicions were confirmed. M. Lavergne, the governor, was ordered to be tried by a court-martial; and a decree of the Assembly was passed, that
whenever

whenever it should be retaken, the houses of the citizens should be razed to the ground, and the magistrates prosecuted for high-treason.

The capture of Verdun succeeded that of Longwy. It was summoned by the duke of Brunswick on the thirty-first of August, nor did the example of Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehensions. As that town was lost by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced by the cowardice of the citizens. Distrustful of the incivism of the officers after the affair of Longwy, the Assembly, by their decree, vested power in the municipality to controul the deliberation of the council of war. M. Beaurepaire, the governor, was desirous of defending the town to the last moment; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was great reason to believe that the soldiers would be attacked by an enemy within as well as without. The governor, therefore, after much opposition, finding his remonstrances unavailing, drew a pistol, and shot himself dead upon the spot. The consequence was, that the garrison capitulated, and the Prussian troops entered on the second of September.

Immediately on the deposition of the king, the following letter was sent to earl Gower, the English ambassador at Paris, by Mr. Dundas, and delivered to the minister for foreign affairs.

“ MY LORD,

“ In lord Grenville’s absence I have received and laid before the king your last dispatches. His majesty has been very deeply afflicted in receiving the information of the extent and the deplorable consequences of the troubles which have happened in Paris; as well on account of his *personal attachment to their Most Christian majesties*, and the interest that he has always taken in their welfare, as for the earnest desire he has for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendship.

“ As it appears, that in the present state of affairs, the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his Most Christian majesty, the credentials which have hitherto been made use of by your excellency *can no longer be valid*. His majesty is therefore of opinion, that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account, as because this step appears to him the most conformable to the principles of neutrality which he has hitherto observed. His majesty’s pleasure, therefore, is, that you should quit that city, and return to England, as soon as you shall have been able to procure the necessary passports for that purpose.

“ In all the conversations that you may have occasion to hold before your departure, you will take care to express yourself in a manner conformable to the sentiments herein communicated

“ communicated to you ; and you will take especial care not to neglect any opportunity
 “ of declaring, that at the same time that his majesty means to observe the principles of
 “ neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of
 “ France, he does not conceive that he *departs from these principles, in manifesting, by*
 “ *every possible means in his power, his solicitude for the personal safety of their Most*
 “ *Christian majesties, and the royal family.* He most earnestly hopes that his wishes in
 “ that respect will not be deceived ; that the royal family will be preserved from every
 “ act of violence, *the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal*
 “ *indignation throughout all Europe.*

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ HENRY DUNDAS.”

The French minister returned the following answer :

“ The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has lost no time in communicating to
 “ the provisional executive council the letter communicated to him by his excellency
 “ earl Gower, ambassador extraordinary from his Britannic majesty.

“ The council has seen with regret, that the British cabinet has resolved to recal an
 “ ambassador whose presence attested the favourable disposition of a free and generous
 “ nation, and who has never been the organ but of friendly expressions and of benevo-
 “ lent sentiments. If any thing can abate this regret, it is in the renewed assurance of
 “ neutrality made on the part of England to the French nation.

“ This assurance seems to be the result of an intention, wisely considered and formally
 “ expressed by his Britannic majesty, *not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the af-*
 “ *fairs of France.* We are not surprised at such a declaration made by an enlightened
 “ and high-spirited nation, who have been the first to acknowledge and establish the
 “ principle of national sovereignty ; who, by substituting the empire of the laws, the
 “ expressed will of all, to the arbitrary caprices of a few individuals, have been the first
 “ to furnish the example of subjecting kings themselves to this salutary yoke ; and who,
 “ finally, have not thought too dearly purchased, by long convulsions and violent storms,
 “ that liberty which has been productive of so much glory and prosperity.

“ This principle of the unalienable sovereignty of the people is going to be displayed
 “ in a striking manner in the National Convention, the convocation of which has been
 “ decreed by the legislative body, and which will, no doubt, fix all parties, and all inte-
 “ rests. The French nation has good grounds to hope, that the British cabinet will
 “ not, *at this decisive moment,* depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality,
 “ which it has hitherto manifested.

“ Full of this confidence, which rests on facts, the undersigned renews to his excellency, earl Gower, in the name of the provisional executive council, the assurance which he has had the honour to give him, *viva voce*, that whatever relates to the commerce between the two nations, and all affairs in general, shall be carried on, on the part of the French government, with the same justice and fidelity. The council flatter themselves that there will be a full reciprocity on the part of the British government, and that nothing will interrupt the good understanding which subsists between the two nations.

“ LE BRUN, Minister for foreign affairs.”

Earl Gower, on the reception of this letter, quitted Paris, and arrived in London on the first of September.

Nearly about the same period a decree was passed against M. la Fayette, declaring him guilty of high-treason. Barnave, Alexander Lameth, and some others of the constituent assembly, were committed to prison, on the charge of a counter-revolution; which however appeared to be founded merely on a vague mention of their names as friends to the king, in some papers which were said to have been found in ransacking the Thuilleries.

A court being appointed for the purpose of trying the criminals of the tenth of August, one d'Aigremont was the first prisoner brought before this tribunal. He had formerly been secretary to the administration of the national guards, at the office of the Maison de Ville, where he was placed by the late ministers; and was now accused of being the chief of a band of men, raised and employed for the purpose of making anti-revolutionary motions in clubs; holding discourses of the same nature on the terrace of the Feuillans, the gardens of the Palais Royal, and other places of public resort, with an intention to excite sedition, and provoke the people to insurrections against the National Assembly, and the public magistrates, particularly the mayor and other patriots.

This band was divided into detachments of ten men each, every detachment having a captain and lieutenant. The pay of the captains was ten livres; that of the lieutenants five; and that of each private man two livres ten sols daily. They had particular signs and watch-words, by which they knew each other, at the public walks, at the tribunes, and wherever the citizens assemble. They also carried a stick of a particular kind, which they called the *Constitution*. The number was said to amount in all to about fifteen hundred men. D'Aigremont paid and directed the whole. The captains gave an account daily to him of what had passed, and he made a kind of return of this in three notes; one to the king himself, and the others to two persons in public office.

The advocate for the prisoner, besides various other defences, pleaded, that as his client had been arrested on the eighth or ninth of August, he could not be judged by a tribunal constituted for the trial of crimes committed on the tenth. But as the accusation of the prisoner referred to what happened on the tenth, this plea was over-ruled.

After a trial of thirty hours, three propositions were given to the jury to deliberate upon. They remained three hours shut up. On their return into court, the first article was stated to them by the judge: "Do you find it proved, that there was, on the tenth of August, a conspiracy within the Thuilleries, to excite a civil war in the country?" The foreman of the jury answered in the negative. On this there was a general murmur among the audience.—The judge next demanded, "Do you find that there was a design in the Thuilleries of seizing unconstitutional power?" To this question the jury answered in the affirmative.—"Do you find it proved that the prisoner was engaged in this design?" The jury found this proved also. After they had given their verdict, the judge pronounced sentence on the prisoner, and he was condemned to be beheaded. It having been perceived, as he retired from the court, that he wore the uniform of the national guards, two persons went into the prison of the Conciergerie, whither this poor man was conducted after having received his sentence, and informed him, that the people required that he should not appear on the scaffold in that dress. With this request the prisoner instantly complied.

Five hours after his condemnation, he was brought to the place of the Caroussel, and executed by torch-light. When he mounted the scaffold, the spectators testified their joy by acclamation and clapping their hands; which savage token of satisfaction they redoubled when his head, after being severed from his body, was held up to public view by the executioner.

M. La Porte, intendant of the civil list, was next brought before the same tribunal. He was accused of having employed the money of the civil list in printing and publishing an immense number of pamphlets, libels, and placards, the tendency of which was to spirit up the people against the patriots, and bring about a counter-revolution; employing and paying a number of agents for the same purpose; remitting money to the emigrants at Coblenz, particularly to the king's body guards, who were in that city.

In general he denied these charges. The evidence adduced against him consisted chiefly of papers and letters found in the king's cabinet on the tenth of August. A great many letters were found also among his own papers, from persons who professed great loyalty, and willingness to risk their lives in defence of the king; and requesting tickets to be admitted into the gardens of the Thuilleries, and also into the palace itself, during the time that the former were kept shut from the public.

La Porte was asked, How many of those tickets *he* had distributed? he answered, "None; that being the business of the governor of the Thuilleries." He was next interrogated, How many had been distributed? he answered, "About two thousand." He was then shewn an order, signed by him, addressed to the Marechaux de Logis, ordering them to prepare accommodations for some officers of the Swiss guards, on the ninth of August, in the Château; and another order, likewise signed by him, to the commissary of the magazine, for four hundred bed-covers for Swiss guards on the ninth: which signatures he acknowledged.

Being asked, How many the Swiss guard consisted of that night? he answered, That he did not exactly know; but that it was double the usual number. Being asked, If he had not paid the gardes-du-corps at Coblenz, and if he had not transmitted money to the king's brothers and other emigrants? to these, and all questions tending to criminate himself essentially, he answered in the negative.

He was asked, If he did not keep up a correspondence with the prisoners at Orleans? he answered, That, of all the state prisoners there, he only knew de Brissac and Delessart; the first he had been acquainted with at school, the other he knew only after he became minister; but that he had maintained no correspondence with either.

Being told by the court, That, if he had been a good citizen, he would have informed the National Assembly of the great expence which Lewis the Sixteenth was at to maintain counter-revolutionary agents, and a counter-revolutionary spirit in Paris, he replied, That by his office he was to pay those who brought orders from the king.

M. Gohier, one of the commissioners, read several important documents found at La Porte's to the Assembly. The first was a printing-house account, of work done and paid for out of the civil list, viz.

"An advertisement for sinking the credit of assignats.—Ditto against the Jacobins.
 "Ditto against the soldiers of Château-vieux.—Advice to the Parisians.—Proclamation
 "to the emigrants, printed in yellow.—A pistole given to the bill-flicker, for the blows
 "he said he had received from the Jacobins.—A Letter from a Grenadier.—The order of
 "the emigrants march.—Questions put to the emigrants—Their answer.—Another advertisement
 "against the Jacobins.—Hue and Cry against the Jacobins.—The shorter the
 "madness is the better, in yellow, &c. &c."

Gohier proved that such libels were attended with great pecuniary advantages to the authors of them. He read a letter, addressed by one of the grand conspirators to the secretary of the civil list, in which he informed him of a project he had conceived of murdering the Jacobins, dissolving the National Assembly, taking the duke of Orleans into

into custody, bringing about a counter-revolution, &c. &c. Gohier concluded with informing the house, that proper persons were employed in examining the remainder of the papers found in the palace, and that they should in due time be communicated to the public.

Messrs. Goupilleau and La Loy, two other commissioners of the Assembly, appointed to verify the papers found in the palace, came to communicate the result of their researches. One of the most essential pieces was a letter, written in the form of a note, by the king's brother, and found in a small morocco leather pocket-book in the king's desk. The contents were as follows :

“ We wrote to you by post, and could say nothing :—We are two of us, but we are still only one : we have the same sentiments, the same projects, the same zeal to serve you : we observe the strictest silence, because if we broke it, we might expose you ; but we shall speak out as soon as we shall be sure of general support ; and that moment is not far distant.

“ If you speak to us in the name of those fellows (meaning the Jacobins), we shall not attend to you—if in your own name we shall be attentive, but we shall go on our own way ; thus if they want to make you say any thing to us, do so—fear nothing, for we only exist to serve you : we are labouring for you with zeal, and every thing is going on well ; your enemies are too much concerned in your existence, to be led to commit an useless crime, which would prove their total ruin—Adieu.

“ L. S.—Ch. P.”

The public accuser recapitulated the charges and evidence ; and the jury, having withdrawn for two hours, declared that the prisoner was convicted of having expended immense sums of money to foment a civil war, and by that means restore the ancient despotism ; when he was condemned to lose his head.

La Porte heard the sentence pronounced apparently without emotion ; and with equal calmness listened to a kind of exhortation addressed to him by the president ; he then, without taking notice of the president or his exhortation, turned to the audience, and said : “ Citizens, I protest that I die innocent ; may the effusion of my blood restore tranquility to the kingdom !—but I doubt it.” M. La Porte retained the same manly behaviour to his last moment ; his appearance on the scaffold was so modest and dignified, as to move the compassion of many, and command the respect of all, the spectators.

Du Rosoy, a man of letters, formerly editor of the Gazette de Paris, and of another public paper, entitled, “ *Le Royalisme*,” was next brought to the bar. He was accused of

a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the Revolution, both within and without the kingdom; with being the author of anti-revolutionary writings; with being involved in the guilt of the tenth of August; and with having inserted in the Gazette de Paris, of the ninth of August, a plan of defence, in case the château of the Thuilleries should be attacked. He denied having any connection with the tenth of August; that he was then at Auteuil; and said that the article complained of was inserted in the Gazette without his knowledge. Notwithstanding a very eloquent defence, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned like the rest. Du Rosoy heard his sentence with great firmness, saying, "It becomes a royalist, such as I am, to die on Saint Louis's day." Even on the scaffold he preserved his courage, and expired amidst the cries of "*Vive la Nation!*"

The court next proceeded to try M. d'Offonville, justice of peace. He was accused of having protected d'Aigremont and his accomplices as often as they were brought before him; and of being an accomplice of his in his anti-revolutionary proceedings, and involved in the conspiracy of the tenth of August. The chief foundation of the accusation against this man was, that his name was inscribed in a register, found in d'Aigremont's possession, as the judge before whom he and all his partisans were to carry every appeal or dispute they should have; and it was proved that there was a considerable connection between them. The jury, having been shut up two hours, returned a special verdict. That d'Offonville had co-operated in the plan of d'Aigremont, to excite a civil war, and to restore a despotic government; but that it was not proved that he had assisted in this knowingly, and of design. This prisoner had so little expectation of a favourable verdict, that, while the jury was inclosed, he said to a person, who poured out a glass of wine to him—"The wine you have poured out, my dear Sir, is the last I shall ever taste."—This verdict was received with public approbation.

M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, and formerly colonel of the regiment of Flanders, was brought before this tribunal. He had already undergone an examination before the National Assembly, in consequence of which he was now brought to his trial. He was accused of having been engaged in schemes which brought on the action of the tenth. He made a very able defence, and shewed great presence of mind during his trial. The jury was shut up three hours, and then returned a similar verdict to that given on the trial of M. d'Offonville—"That it was proved that there had been plots and machinations, the tendency of which was to kindle a civil war; that it was also proved that M. Montmorin had assisted in some of these; but it was *not proved* that he had assisted wickedly, or with an intention to do mischief."—This verdict was no sooner pronounced, than loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the audience: "You discharge him to-day,"—cried one of them—"and within a fortnight he will order our throats to be cut."

This created such confusion, that fatal consequences were feared. The president expostulated with the people, and pointed out the fatal tendency of their interfering in an affair of this kind; but he was not able entirely to calm them, till he observed, that perhaps there were among the jury some persons, whose connections with the prisoner's family had influenced their judgment; in which case it would be proper to have the verdict revised by a new jury.

The populace were so incensed that the president thought it necessary to conduct M. Montmorin to prison himself, to protect him from the violence of the people, who hissed and hooted him as he passed. In an outer court, one of the national guards aimed a stroke with his sword at the president, which was parried by a by-stander, so that the judge received no wound.

An attempt was made in the next place to intimidate the National Assembly. The day after the trial, some persons, who called themselves deputies from the people, came to the bar of the Assembly, to signify their disapprobation at the judgment pronounced by the jury in favour of Montmorin; and required, in the name of the *Sovereign People*, a speedy answer on the subject. To this very extraordinary petition the president replied—That the Assembly would enquire into the object of their request; that undoubtedly the people of France was sovereign; but this sovereignty lay in the *whole* people, and not in any separate part, and never could be exercised but by the representatives of the whole nation.

M. Montmorin, formerly minister for foreign affairs, was likewise brought before the National Assembly for examination. The following articles were exhibited against him—That he had sacrificed the interest of France to that of Austria, in opposing an alliance between France and Prussia—That he had concealed the league of the foreign powers against France, and did not employ all the means in his power to prevent it—That he pretended ignorance of the designs of the emigrant princes, and, by his silence, aided their schemes against France. When interrogated on these three heads, M. Montmorin answered, That he was ignorant of the treaty of Pilnitz; that he knew nothing of the designs of the emigrant princes, and therefore could not inform the Assembly of either in time; and, in general, that he was innocent of the whole charge. The Assembly, however, adopted the decree of accusation, and M. Montmorin was accordingly ordered into custody.

The decree for transporting from the kingdom such of the priests as had not taken the civic oath was revived in the Assembly, and passed by acclamation. The distress and misery which many worthy individuals suffered in consequence of this decree, cannot be sufficiently deplored. Many of these victims of conscience were hurried from their connections and their friends, and landed, almost naked and penniless, on a foreign shore;

some were committed to prison, there to remain till a mode of conveyance out of the kingdom should be found; some were massacred by the populace soon after they were arrested; and no inconsiderable number were reserved for the melancholy catastrophe, to which we shall have speedily to advert.

Several thousands of these unhappy fugitives were received in England, and supported for upwards of twelve months, by *voluntary subscription*; all parties joined in the promotion of this truly Christian undertaking; no prejudices, religious or political, could stifle the voice of humanity, or eradicate from the hearts of Britons that generous philanthropy, which has always been characteristic of the nation.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussian army, spread an instantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and the Assembly itself partook of the contagion. The first rumour intimated, that the enemy intended to leave behind them the fortified places, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunswick was then within a few hours march of the capital. At this disastrous moment, suspicion lodged in every breast, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man, who from a low origin (with only the advantage of a tolerable education) had raised himself, by his address and abilities, to the situation of minister of justice, and who projected the plan of dismissing the old municipality on the night of the ninth of August, stood forth in the Assembly on this memorable emergency. "Longwy"—said he—"is taken; but the safety of France depends not on a single frontier town. Our armies are still entire. Hitherto we have carried on a pretended war, under the direction of La Fayette. The nation must now make war in person. the whole mass of the people must now march against the enemy." He represented the necessity of suffering all measures of defence to originate with the executive power, and of converting all private arms to the public use. "There were"—he said—"more than eighty thousand muskets in Paris, in the possession of private persons, which might be put into the hands of soldiers." He proposed to send six commissioners from the Assembly to the sections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from those horses which were kept for pleasure. The plan was instantly adopted, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented by age and infirmities, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by a second for disarming all suspected persons.

We have had but little occasion, since the termination of the constituent assembly, to mention M. Robespierre⁴². He had, since that period, occupied the station of public

⁴² In person Robespierre is certainly not an Ajax, although he is thought to agree with that hero in one sentiment;—*Tutius est fidelis igitur contendere verbis, quam pugnare manu.* Few men, however, can look fiercer than Robespierre: in countenance he has a striking resemblance to a cat-tiger.—*Moore's Journal.*

accuser, and was now at the head of the Jacobin society; and had been chosen, as well as Marat ⁴³, a member of the new commune, on the night of the ninth of August. These men were intimately connected with Danton, the minister of justice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful massacre, which we are now about to relate, have been ascribed. Since the shocking transactions which took place on the tenth of August, Petion's influence had been on the decline with the populace, and Robespierre had proportionably risen in their esteem. His unfeeling and sanguinary temper was better suited to their habitual and savage cruelty; and, as he was illiterate himself, his eloquence was of that species which is best suited to vulgar comprehension. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unceasingly clamorous for the trial of the state prisoners; and by his endeavours to satiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

Intelligence of the siege of Verdun was received in Paris on Sunday morning, the second of September. The ministers, anticipating the alarm which the disclosure of such intelligence would produce, procured the decree which authorized them to close all the barriers of Paris. The decree of the community of Paris was in these words:

“ To arms, citizens! to arms! The enemy is at our gates!

“ The procureur of the community having announced the pressing dangers of the country, the treasons with which we are menaced, and the destitute state of the town of Verdun, now besieged by the enemy, who will, probably, in eight days be masters of it: The council-general decrees,

“ 1. The barriers shall be immediately closed.

“ 2. All horses fit to serve those who repair to the frontiers, shall be immediately seized.

“ 3. All the citizens shall hold themselves ready to march upon the first signal.

“ 4. All citizens, who, on account of their age and their infirmities, cannot march, shall deposit their arms with their sections, for the use of those who fly to the frontiers.

“ 5. All suspected persons, or those who, from cowardice, shall refuse to march, shall be instantly disarmed.

⁴³ Marat (a Prussian) is likewise a very active member of the general council of the commune.—This Marat is said to love carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human sacrifices, like Moloch, god of the Ammonites.

Marat is a little man, of a cadaverous complexion, and a countenance exceedingly expressive of his disposition; to a painter of massacres, Marat's head would be inestimable. Such heads are rare in England, yet they are sometimes to be met with at the Old Bailey. The only artifice he uses in favour of his looks, is that of wearing a round hat, so far pulled down before as to hide a great part of his countenance.—*Moore's Journal*.

“ 6. Twenty

“ 6. Twenty-four commissioners shall go immediately to the armies, to announce to them this resolution, and shall traverse the neighbouring departments, inviting the citizens to unite themselves with their brothers of Paris, and march together to meet the enemy.

“ 7. The military committee shall be permanent; it shall meet at the common's-house, in the hall formerly that of the queen.

“ 8. The alarm-guns shall be instantly fired, and the *generale* shall be beat in all the sections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of the country.

“ 9. The National Assembly, and the provisional executive power, shall be informed of this decree.

“ 10. The members of the council-general shall repair immediately to their respective citizens; shall announce the purposes of the present decree; shall paint with energy to their fellow-citizens, the ardent dangers of the country; the treasons with which we are environed, or menaced; they shall represent with force, that liberty is threatened, and the French territory invaded; and, shewing that our return to the most ignominious slavery is the object of all our enemies, they shall urge our duty of burying ourselves in the ruins of our country, and of delivering up our cities only when they shall be heaps of cinders.

(Signed)

“ HUGUENIN, President.

“ TALLIEN, Secretary Registrar.”

The above decree was immediately succeeded by the following proclamation by the community of Paris.

“ Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of Paris. Verdun, which detains them, can only hold out eight days. The citizens who defend it have sworn to die rather than surrender; they will make a rampart of their bodies for you. It is your duty to fly to their assistance. Citizens, march instantly beneath your colours; go to meet us at the Champ de Mars, that an army of sixty thousand men may be immediately formed.—Let us go and expire under the blows of our enemies, or exterminate them by our own.”—Immediately after this alarming proclamation, the tocsin⁴⁴ was ordered to be sounded, and the alarm-guns to be fired, the populace flocking in vast crowds to the Champ de Mars; from whence it was supposed they were to march in a body to meet the invaders of their country.

⁴⁴ This is a very large bell, which is struck with a hammer. There is one of them in each of the forty-eight sections of Paris.

Although the alarm-guns were fired, and the tocsin was sounded, yet it was not the knell of the Prussians, but of the wretched prisoners in the different gaols of Paris. The people did assemble, not for the defence but extermination of their countrymen. It is a tribute due to justice, however, to exculpate the citizens in general from the crimes and horrors of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the repeated alarms which had been given, repaired not to the Champ de Mars, as these projectors of murder and insurrection had wished, but, as though impelled by instinct, to their respective sections, and there enrolled their names as the soldiers of liberty.

An immense concourse of people was, however, soon assembled. It was composed (as asserted by the Girondists⁴⁵) partly of hired assassins, and men selected for the purpose of producing tumult and massacre, partly of the Marseillois and the remnant of the other federates, and partly of a great multitude, who were led to the scene of riot by their fears or their curiosity. However it is uncertain, after all that has been said by both parties, whether the massacre was preconcerted, or the spontaneous impulse of the violent part of the populace. It is not very improbable, that many of those who had been deprived of their friends and relations in the unfortunate affair of the tenth of August, might be sufficiently exasperated against the state prisoners (whom they had been led to consider as the authors of their misfortunes) to make the horrid proposal. Be this as it may, we can only report, that the resolutions of the Assembly were scarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, "That they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against her foreign enemies; but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes." Without further deliberation, a party proceeded to the Carmes⁴⁶, where a number of non-juring priests were detained, till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cool blood, the inhuman assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless and probably innocent men. From the Carmes they proceeded to the Abbey prison, wherein were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation, on the tenth of August. The murderers proceeded as it were methodically in their crimes. They impanelled a fictitious jury, nine of whom were said to be Italians, or assassins from Avignon, the other three were French. Before these self-constituted judges the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty was, "*He must be liberated,*" when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of armed miscreants, and was either cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced

⁴⁵ The more moderate party, including Petion, Brissot, Vergniaud, Genfonne; they derived their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which were among the leaders of the party. The opposite faction was called the Mountain, from its occupying the high seats in the hall of the convention; Robespierre, Danton, Marat, &c. may be considered as the then leaders.

⁴⁶ The convent of the Carmelites.

through with innumerable pikes. Some indeed, they acquitted; and these were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except M. d'Affry, their commander. He had been deemed a democrat from the commencement of the Revolution; and, when urged by the queen to assume the command in the Thuilleries, on the tenth of August, voluntarily absented himself⁴⁷. The assassins continued the whole night of the second at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, from whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the tenth of August, were in confinement. In this prison was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When summoned to appear before this bloody tribunal, she was in bed, and was informed by the person who delivered the message, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbey. She entreated, in return, to remain undisturbed, since to her one prison was equally acceptable as another. Being informed that she *must* immediately appear before the tribunal, she dressed in haste, and obeyed the summons. In the course of her examination nothing could be extorted from her to criminate either the queen or royal family; and it is said that the judges had it in contemplation to acquit her. As she was conducted, however, out of the prison, stupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which instantly produced a violent effusion of blood. In this terrible situation she was supported

⁴⁷ This officer, who was afterwards tried for having ordered his men to fire upon the people, proved the following facts, and to them was indebted for his acquittal.

That on the ninth of August, at night, he received the queen's commands to attend her at the palace; that he immediately waited upon her majesty, who told him, that as she apprehended an attack from the people, she depended upon him for a manly resistance, and trusted that he would order the guards to fire. That to this he replied—It was impossible for him to fulfil her majesty's expectations, as his hands were tied up by the terms of the treaty under which the Swiss served in France, and which restrained him from giving the orders that her majesty required from him.

That upon this, the queen, in a rage, snatched up a pistol, and threatened to shoot him, if he persisted in his refusal to order his men to fire; observing, at the same time—That he disgraced the name of an officer of *guards*, if he thought he ought to stand by and see insulted or massacred those whom it was his duty to defend, and for whose defence he and his troops were stationed in the palace.

That his reply was, "Madam, my life is in your hands, and you may take it, but you cannot touch my honour!" That after this he took an opportunity to get out of the palace, and appeared there no more.

Unfortunately, his son, having more veneration for royalty, was found more tractable; he promised the queen her wishes should be fulfilled. He kept his word; a dreadful slaughter ensued, and he himself fell a victim to popular indignation; for having been made a prisoner with many of his soldiers, after their ammunition had been exhausted, he was carried to the town-house; but the people, unwilling to bear the delay which a formal trial would occasion, broke into the house, dragged the prisoners into the street, and sacrificed them to their fury.

Process-Verbal.

by

by two men, who forced her to continue her progress over the dead bodies. As she frequently fainted from loss of blood, she yet seemed solicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at last she became so feeble as to be unable to proceed farther, her head was severed from her body. The mangled corpse was then exposed to every indignity, and the head, exalted upon a pike, was carried to the Temple, and shewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. Those who had the guard of the royal family were at first apprehensive that violence was intended them: the commissaries from the municipality met the multitude and harangued them to prevent their entering the court of the Temple, and a tri-coloured ribband being drawn across the gate, they were invoked to pay respect to this *national* barrier; which, surprizing as it may seem, was almost instantly complied with. The head was afterwards carried in triumph through the streets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, though perhaps without much feeling, by her brutal relations: madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and a few other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

These dreadful massacres continued during the whole of the second and third of September⁴⁵. At the Abbaye one hundred and fifty-nine were massacred, exclusive of Messrs. d'Aigremont, Rofoy, and de la Porte, who had been previously beheaded; at the seminary of Saint Firmin, ninety-two unfortunate victims suffered; at the Carines, one hundred and forty-one; at the Chatelet, two hundred and fourteen; at the Hotel de la Force, one hundred and sixty-eight; at the Conciergerie, eighty-five; at the Bicêtre, one hundred and fifty-three; and at the Cloister of the Bernardins, seventy-three, amounting in all to the shocking number of one thousand and eighty-five⁴⁶, in which

⁴⁵ On the second of September an incident of a singular nature took place.

Jean Julian, a poor waggoner of Vaugirard, was condemned to ten years hard labour, for what crime I know not. This man was placed on a scaffold in the Place de Grève, with his hands tied behind him, there to remain an hour, at the beginning of his punishment. Whether he was previously mad, or made desperate by so severe a sentence, I am not informed; but while he remained in this situation, the populace crying "*Vive la Nation!*" the man exclaimed, "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!*" adding some indecent expressions regarding *la Nation*, prompted, in all probability, by rage and despair.

One could hardly imagine, that a poor helpless wretch, in this deplorable state, could have provoked the resentment of any individual; and if it did, the punishment to which he was condemned might have been thought sufficient. It did not however satisfy *Le Peuple Souverain*; the man was on the point of being torn to pieces; but Manuel prevented this, and promised that the offended majesty of the people should be avenged.

The offender was carried from the scaffold to prison, and soon after accused, before the tribunal which had tried the others, of this new crime. The sentence no doubt is in due form of law; it declares however what nobody of common sense can believe:

"That a popular commotion or sedition existed on the first of September, tending to raise a civil war, by the cries of "*Long live the King, the Queen, M. la Fayette!*" which commotion or sedition is a natural consequence of the conspiracy which appeared on the tenth of August. That Jean Julian is guilty of the above, &c."

He was then carried from the prison to the Caroussel, and there beheaded.—*Moore's Journal.*

⁴⁶ There were some murders also committed at the Salpêtrière, and on the Pont-au-Change.

are to be included, however, a considerable number of felons, who were imprisoned for forging assignats, and various other crimes. The number of the assassins was at first supposed to amount to many thousands, but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed three hundred. It is evident that the National Assembly considered them in a formidable point of view, or they would have taken more effective measures than that of sending commissioners, from time to time, to dissuade them from their violence.

The friends of Petion assert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of these atrocities, but that he harangued in vain, while the minister of justice remained silent. M. Roland repeatedly wrote to M. Santerre, and the national guards were all ready in their sections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to disperse the mob; but there is too much reason to suppose Santerre an accomplice in the plot, if there was one, since he made no attempt to prevent these enormities. In vain did the deputies, dispatched by the Assembly, exhort the populace. M. Montmorin, late mayor of Fontainebleau, although he had been acquitted by a jury, was murdered in sight of the deputies. During this period of general confusion and horror, several miscreants availed themselves of the circumstance to gratify private animosity, and many individuals were assassinated in different parts of the city.

Among the small number of prisoners who were saved from the swords of the assassins was M. Cazotte, a man of seventy-four years of age, formerly commissioner of the marine, but who had for several years lived in retirement, at his villa, near Epernay.

This old gentleman had been arrested at his house in the country, and brought to the prison of the Abbey, in consequence of letters written by him, and found among the papers of a M. Pouteau, secretary to M. de la Porte; from which it appeared, that he was in correspondence with the emigrants; that he advised the king to escape from Paris, and had transmitted a plan for that purpose; that he had also advised the dissolution of the National Assembly: for these, and other parts of his conduct to the same tendency, he was detained in the Abbey in expectation of a legal trial.

But, on the second of September, when determined murderers made a mockery of the forms of law, and chosen assassins seized the sword of justice; when the prisoner was surrounded at his trial by pikes reeking with recent slaughter, and within hearing of the screams of those who had been just dragged from the bar where he stood; on that dreadful day, M. Cazotte was brought before the horrid tribunal within the prison. Several prisoners had already been carried there—none had survived their short examination above two minutes!—A sign from the pretended judge, or an equivocal word, was the fatal sentence, and the blow of death followed directly on the prisoner's removal from the bar.

When

When M. Cazotte appeared, the list of names was examined by the inquisitors,—no mark of favour was seen at his—the signal of death was given, and he was led out to slaughter!—But, before the stroke of death could be given, his daughter, a beautiful young lady of seventeen, sprung upon her father's neck, exclaiming, in a transport of terror and filial affection, "Mercy! mercy! O, mercy!—My father! my father!"

The grey hairs of the old man, the affecting appearance and exclamations of the young lady, arrested the arms of the assassins, and melted the hearts of the people!—The cries of "*Grace, grace!*" and "*Vive la Nation!*" were heard. The old gentleman and his daughter were conducted in safety to the house of a friend, amidst the applause of the multitude.

This amiable young woman had never separated from her father, overcoming her horror for a prison crowded with men; surmounting her terror, her delicacy, and every consideration which could render the situation repugnant to her mind: filial love, and a strong sense of duty, enabled her to attend him during his confinement in the Abbaye, and to administer every comfort and consolation in her power.

This unfortunate old man was again arrested, again imprisoned, and, in virtue of a decree of the 11th of September, brought before the tribunal which had been appointed on the 17th of August for the trial of conspirators, and whose functions had been interrupted by the massacres.

The first defence he offered was in form of a protest against a second trial, having been already tried by judges constituted by the Sovereign People to examine the guilt or innocence of the prisoners: that he had been acquitted, set at liberty by the voice of the people, and could not be made to undergo a new trial, without insulting the sovereignty of the people, which they all professed to acknowledge.

This plea was disregarded, the trial went on; the accusation was thought to be proved, and M. Cazotte was condemned to lose his head.

The old gentleman heard the sentence with a serene countenance, took a tender leave of his inimitable daughter, and went to the place of execution with unshaken courage! He made his grey locks be cut from his head, folded them carefully, and desired that they might be delivered to her: a recollection of her sorrow alone could disturb him. It is said that he gave this message with a faltering voice; then, turning to the executioner, assumed an undaunted air, and bade him do his duty⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Moore's Journal.

The following almost similar fact is also one of those actions which will swell the page of fame, and move the sympathetic heart to admiration: M. Sombreuil, *ci-devant* governor of the invalids, being suspected of secreting arms, was conducted to prison. His daughter resolved to share his misfortune: she accordingly applied to the gaoler for permission to enter that cell which contained her father. The gaoler replied, that he dared not allow any person whatever to enter the prison, without orders from a superior power. Resolute, and persevering in her virtuous purpose, she waved all difficulties, and applied to M. Santerre, who granted her request. On the wings of filial love she now flew to the prison, and bore to the heart of her aged parent the balm of pious affection and dutious consolation; and thus beguiled the tedious hours of confinement. On the third of September, when the people had taken the reins of justice into their own hands, the prison where M. Sombreuil was confined was visited. The twelve judges were sat, and the prisoners were tried. His turn was now come, and the gaoler appeared at the door. "I am ready,"—exclaimed Mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a tone of fortitude—"I am ready to die; but, Oh! spare my father!" The gaoler was moved to compassion: thrice he approached the door, and thrice withdrew. At length the moment came, and M. Sombreuil was demanded. He appeared, supported by his daughter; her hair dishevelled, and her countenance expressive of anguish, perturbation, and dismay. Disengaging herself from her father, she fell upon her knees, and, with uplifted hands, pleaded for him in an unconnected but affecting address to the judges, in which she offered her own life to ransom his. It was the note of pious sorrow, affecting and persuasive. The judges surveyed the old man and his daughter alternately; their souls were filled with admiration and pity. "Whatever M. Sombreuil may have been guilty of,"—said they—"he is an old man, and let him know that we are merciful! let him cry, *Vive la Nation!* and retire." The virtuous Mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a piercing accent, repeated "*Vive la Nation!*" fell at her father's feet, and embraced his knees. The people were so much affected with this moving scene, that they brought an old door, on which they placed M. Sombreuil and his daughter, and bore them through the crowd, amidst the acclamations of the multitude⁵².

It may not be improper to observe, that M. Sombreuil was governor of the Hotel des Invalids, when that place was forced and taken by the inhabitants of Paris, prior to the destruction of the Bastille: they went to the Hotel to get arms, in which they succeeded, and made the governor prisoner.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated at other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither

⁵² Vide the Paris Magazine of the twenty-second of October, 1792.

by the National Assembly on the eighth of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins marched from Paris, and, as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. The inhabitants of Versailles were struck with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans stood passive spectators of the massacre. Thus perished the duke of Brissac, the bishop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons also several prisoners were massacred on the ninth. On the seventeenth of September a band of ruffians broke into the *Garde Meuble*, and robbed it of an immense quantity of jewels, and other valuable effects, the greater part of which have never been recovered.

Before we close our account of the proceedings of the National Assembly, it may not be improper to mention a decree which was proposed by a distinguished member, M. Jean de Brie. The substance of this singular and *humane* proposal was, "To levy immediately a corps of twelve hundred volunteers, whose particular object should be to attack the *commanders* of the hostile armies, and the *kings* who were the authors of the war; that these volunteers should be equipped in a manner the best, adapted to the purpose, and that on each a pension of two thousand livres (100 l.) per annum should be settled, with the reversion to their descendants to the third generation." The motion was opposed by M. Vergniaud and others, and a previous question moved upon the occasion, viz. to refer the matter to a committee of safety. The discussion was curious and important—It was observed by the opponents of Jean de Brie, That the proposal was unworthy a free and enlightened nation; that assassination was an expedient against which humanity revolted; that it might be practised as well in a bad as in a virtuous cause, as well by the tyrant as by the patriot; that in the present instance it would infallibly produce reprisals; that if a band of tyrannicides should be formed by France, whole brigades would be formed by the enemy, for the purpose of exterminating her commanders.

In reply to these observations it was urged, That of all the calamities with which human nature is afflicted, war is most to be deprecated and deplored; that any expedient which could be devised for preventing so great a crime, and so dreadful an evil, must be laudable. "Kings," it was said, "were the sole authors of wars; to gratify their caprice, their avarice, or their ambition, they in cold blood devote millions to misery and death; unfeeling cowards, they repose at home, in luxury and security, remote from danger, and feast upon the miseries they have occasioned. Which, then, is the lesser evil? to devote *one* man to death, or expose whole nations to ruin, to devastation, to wretchedness, to slaughter? The guilt of war lies wholly with kings; the punishment falls entirely upon their innocent subjects: but let kings once fear for their own personal safety, and wars will ever be at an end."

With

With respect to retaliation, it was allowed, that such a decree would certainly provoke it; but it was urged, on the other hand, that the combined kings could not be more exasperated against France than they were already; that whether the decree passed or not, every means would be employed for the destruction of those who were invested with any authority or command; and that even the duke of Brunswick's manifesto was in substance a decree to that very effect, and breathes exactly a similar spirit of sanguinary vengeance.—The proposal was virtually rejected, by agreeing to refer it to the committee: thus the infernal motion of De Brie, to the honour of humanity, fell to the ground.

The advances of the combined armies since the tenth of August had been rapid and formidable. On the thirtieth of that month, Dumourier called a council, at Sedan, of all the general officers who were then in that district. M. Dillon having been summoned from Valenciennes to assist at it, described the distressed state of the French army; and observed, that after taking possession of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether they would not undertake the siege of Montmidi. The Prussian army amounted to near fifty-five thousand chosen men; Clairfait, with sixteen thousand, had taken post at Chiers, to the right of the Prussians; and a second column of Austrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their support, and were followed by the Hessians and emigrants, whose numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable. In this council, it was determined, that the French were considerably too weak to attempt to cope with so immense a force, or to prevent its passing the Meuse, which was fordable in sixty-nine places between Verdun and Stenay. In the mean time Dumourier had dispatched general Galbaud, with two battalions of infantry, to support Verdun; but from what has been already related, the event may be anticipated, which was, that the attempt proved entirely fruitless.

On the thirty-first the Austrians took possession of Stenay, after a slight skirmish with the van-guard, commanded by general Dillon, which consisted only of five battalions of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of light-horse; the national guard of Stenay retreated, and joined general Dillon, who took post at Mouzon, close by the army of the commander in chief. The whole of Dumourier's force at this time was scarcely equal to the single division commanded by Clairfait, who must have been ignorant of his opponent's weakness, or he would scarcely have let slip so favourable an opportunity to attack him. With this small army, the only resource which remained to the French generals appeared to be that of concealing themselves in the forest of Argonne. On the third of September, Dumourier fell back to Grand Pré; and general Galbaud, not being able to throw himself into Verdun, had taken post on the side of Biesme, in a strong position. In this critical situation, the genius of the French commander rose superior to circumstances; and, so far from being discouraged by the inferior force of his army, he determined to weaken it still further. He saw the infinite importance of the pass in the forest of Argonne, on the side of Biesme, where general Galbaud was stationed; and, on the

the fourth, dispatched general Dillon, with a strong detachment, to take possession of it. Galbaud, previous to Dillon's approach, had abandoned the pass in utter despair; but on his arrival immediately resumed it. On this circumstance the whole fate of the campaign afterwards depended; and France was in a great measure indebted to this judicious movement, by which the pass of Biesme was preserved, for her internal security.

The space which was occupied, with a force so inconsiderable, by the French generals, Dumourier and Dillon, is supposed to have extended thirty miles; their chief hope rested on the reinforcements which they expected to receive, and their object was to maintain their posts till succours should arrive. On the fourteenth of September, the pass at Grand Pré was attacked—a panic seized Dumourier's army, and he was compelled to retreat towards Saint Menchoud: in this action, however, the Austrians lost prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed, with a number of men. On the seventeenth of September general Dillon was attacked in his post at Biesme, but repulsed the enemy, with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the French. The Prussians next advanced towards Chalons, and encamped on the heights of La Lune; but Dumourier, in the mean time, had received a reinforcement from Pont-sur-Sambre; general Bournonville had also raised the camp at Maulde, and joined the army with thirteen thousand men; and Kellermann, with the southern army, arrived soon after.

On the twentieth of September the French were first enabled to arrest the progress of their victorious adversaries. On that day, Kellermann, whose division consisted of not more than sixteen thousand men, was attacked by a body greatly superior both in number and in discipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the skill of their adversaries. The duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, attempted repeatedly to surround Kellermann, but Dumourier constantly presented himself, and frustrated his manœuvres. Kellermann sustained the attack fourteen hours, and retained his post till ten o'clock at night, and then took another more advantageous position to the right of the enemy, who suffered him quietly to make this movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmness and order which was displayed on this occasion by Kellermann's line. The enemy's artillery made not the smallest impression, while the German soldiers were said to be with difficulty kept to their guns by the discipline of the cane.

On the same day general Dillon was again attacked at Biesme; but having posted a file of musketeers, under cover of the wood, to gall their flanks on their approach, the enemy, after a brisk discharge of their howitzers, which, however, did little or no execution, made a precipitate retreat. Incredible were the advantages resulting to the French from the events of this day. It diminished their apprehensions of the enemy, and inspired them with a degree of confidence, bordering on enthusiasm. It also proved to them the advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place a reliance upon their

their generals, and to resist those disgraceful panics, with which the armies in the commencement of the campaign had been infected. Nevertheless the French army were still in a most critical situation. The Prussians and Austrians were nearly thrice their number; Clermont and Varennes were in the hands of the enemy; at Grand Pré the Prussians had established their hospital; and their camp on the heights of La Lune was impregnable. The French were thus enclosed on the east, north and west; and on the south the roads were nearly impassable. In this critical juncture the inclemency of the season and the barrenness of the country contributed greatly to the safety and preservation of the French army.

The pass which general Dillon had so fortunately seized, and which he continued to occupy, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the duke of Brunswick's penetrating by the nearest route to Paris; and, finding it impossible to dislodge the French, he determined to proceed by Varennes and Grand Pré, being a circuit of near fifty miles. The length of this march, during which the troops were exposed to incessant rain, laid the foundation of that fatal disorder, which proved more destructive than the swords of their enemies. To add to their misfortunes, the rivers were so swollen that their supplies were almost entirely stopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which the soldiers very imprudently endeavoured to supply by greedily devouring the unripe grapes of Champagne. Thus situated, the Duke of Brunswick was induced to propose an armistice, and held a conference with the French general on the 24th of September. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning the object and motives of this convention; but we shall not waste much of our reader's time in minutely investigating these speculations; suffice it to say, that there is no evidence to induce us to concur in a variety of incongruous reports, which were then in circulation; but that a conviction, which arose in his own mind, of the impracticability, if not impossibility, of conquering France, was the sole motive which produced this extraordinary concession.

A few days after a negotiation took place, in order to prevent the out-posts of the two armies from firing upon each other, in the course of which the Prussian general found it necessary to request the interference of the duke of Brunswick, between whom and the French commanders the following conference took place.

Duke of Brunswick. "What are your names, gentlemen?"—*La Baroliere.* "My name is Baroliere; that of my colleague, Galbaud."—*The Duke to Galbaud.* "It is you who have placed these cannon. They have done us some harm; and I confess, that I am surprized at your temerity, in bringing them so near our redoubt."—*Galbaud.* "What you say proves the goodness of our operation. In truth, we are very near you. But our soldiers know no danger, when they labour for their country."—*Brunswick.* "General Kalkreuth has informed me of your proposal, as to our giving up the wood; you must agree that there would be many more difficulties, if I were less sparing of
"human

“ human blood. But, before this arrangement is concluded, let us converse a little of
 “ your nation: I love it, and that I have proved more than once. I am sorry that
 “ Dumourier, upon the subject of my last manifesto, has been so angry with some in-
 “ significant words that are found in it. Such expressions are for the people; informed
 “ persons know how to estimate them; and I am astonished that Dumourier should
 “ treat them so seriously.—*Galbaud*. “ Permit me to ask you, if the French people,
 “ become free, are not as capable of understanding the language of truth, as General
 “ Dumourier? Judge whether they could suffer that one of their generals, forgetting
 “ the respect owed to his sovereign, should bear any thing against the national sove-
 “ reignty!—*Brunswick*. “ I do not dispute the right of your nation to regulate its
 “ government; but, has it chosen the form which best suits its character? This is
 “ what is generally doubted in Europe; and certainly, when I came into France, I had
 “ no other intention than to restore order.”—*Baroliere*. “ Permit me to ask you, what
 “ power has constituted you an intermediate between the French people and its in-
 “ terests?”

At this instant, Galbaud perceived near him the *ci-devant* camp-mareschal Klinglin, on horseback, in uniform, and with a white cockade. In his surprise, he cried out, “ Ah! this
 “ is M. Klinglin!” The latter made no answer. Kalkreuth whispered in the duke’s
 ear, who contemptuously made a sign for Klinglin to retire.

Brunswick. “ You perceive how I treat the Emigrants. I never loved traitors.
 “ Do with them as you will; they are of little consequence to us. But, I insist upon it,
 “ that the French nation, when they know their interests better, will return to mode-
 “ rate principles.”—*Baroliere*. “ I ask the duke of Brunswick, if it is the author of
 “ the manifesto, who speaks; to him I can only answer with cannon-shot. If, on the
 “ contrary, it is a friend of humanity who holds this language, to him I shall say,
 “ that the best proof he can give of his happy dispositions, is to evacuate the French
 “ territory, before our armies, who daily accumulate round him, shall force him to do
 “ so. We know that the Prussians are overcome by disorders; that they daily lose men
 “ and horses: in this state of things they cannot long resist, and I think it would be for
 “ their interest to spare an useless effusion of blood. If you will treat for the cession of
 “ Verdun, I doubt not that the nation will grant whatever can be reconciled with
 “ their interests, and with the vengeance due for the violation of their territory.”—
 —*Brunswick*. “ The French are an astonishing nation. Scarcely have they declared the
 “ Republic, but they take the language of Republicans. As to the rest, I can, at pre-
 “ sent, say nothing to you upon this subject, or upon that which has brought me to
 “ you; I must speak to the king. Let us agree to suspend hostilities between our ad-
 “ vanced posts for twenty-four hours; let every thing remain in *statu quo*. General
 “ Kalkreuth shall come to you to-morrow; he is in the king’s confidence, and will con-
 “ fer either with general Dumourier, or with whomsoever he may appoint. I am happy

“ in having become acquainted with you: as to general Galbaud, I see, with pleasure,
 “ an old officer of artillery; you have given, by your battery, a specimen of the talents
 “ of the ancient royal corps: continue both to serve your country well, and believe,
 “ that notwithstanding the tone of the manifestoes, one cannot help esteeming those
 “ who loyally endeavour to ensure the independence of their country.”—*Kalkreuth*. “ Permit, gentlemen, that, requiring your friendship, I may accompany you a
 “ few paces.”

The French party, upon quitting the Prussians, cried “ *Vive la Nation!*” *Kalkreuth*, astonished, enquired if he was safe. Galbaud answered, That the French faith would guarantee him. At a few steps farther the generals parted ⁵².

The conference between the generals, from which so much had been expected, only ended in the retreat of the Prussians, who were followed soon after by the armies of Austria and Hesse Cassel. The first post abandoned was the pass of Grand Pré, which was on the 30th of September. Clermont was evacuated on the 1st of October; and the Prussians decamped from their advantageous and strongly fortified position of La Lune, where the French found part of more than 300 horses, the half of which had been eaten for want of other provisions. The retreat of the enemy was very slow, encumbered as they were with sick, and worn out with hunger and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun—It has been insinuated, that, more than once, Dumourier might have intercepted their progress, and, possibly, have captured both the king and the general; from this circumstance it has been surmised, but with what truth it is impossible for us to determine, that a secret treaty existed between the generals. However, it must be remembered, that the French army was still inferior in number to the enemy; and Dumourier was deeply impressed with the alarming consequences of a defeat at this important crisis.

The Prussians in their retreat made no considerable halt at Verdun; and the garrison which they had stationed there surrendered on capitulation to general Dillon, on the twelfth of October, when the following conference took place between the French and Prussian generals, at Glorieux.

Dillon. “ You know, general, the tenor of the summons which I have given, as one
 “ of the generals of the Republic, to the Prussian commandant at Verdun. I should have
 “ a speedy answer. It is more than time that foreign armies should evacuate our territory.
 “ This measure is a necessary preamble to every accommodation; it is the result of a delibe-
 “ ration of the executive council of the republic, sanctioned by the National Council.”—
 —*Kalkreuth*. “ I have no particular mission, but having professed at all times a high
 “ esteem for the French nation, I shall find myself very happy in concurring in an accom-

⁵² This account is certified by the formal testimony and signature of general Galbaud,

"modation equally advantageous to the two nations. I know that the king is very much
 "disposed to hear all honourable propositions."——*Dillon*. "You are not ignorant that the
 "French nation has always esteemed the Prussians, that they have always blamed the mon-
 "strous treaty of 1756; but then the people were slaves, and the arbitrary will of kings,
 "often guided by the particular interests of the courtiers, regulated the destiny of nations.
 "Let us pass over these politics; and may the two nations, better knowing their own
 "interests, unite against their common enemy. The French nation has not commenced
 "the war with the view of conquest!"——*Kalkreuth*. "Doubtless there is nothing more
 "noble than this declaration; but what security can France give for her perseverance in
 "this system?"——*Dillon*. "Her interest, and the frankness which should serve as the
 "base of every republican government. Let the king of Prussia reflect upon this, and
 "he will regret having shed the blood, and dissipated the treasures, of his people, espe-
 "cially since his true interest was to unite with us, and humble the house of Austria;
 "but, since I also have no particular mission, I repeat to you, that, before we treat of
 "such great interests, the Prussian armies must evacuate the French territory."——*Kal-*
kreuth. "The summons you have given is liable to much observation. You dictate
 "laws, and yet you have not gained a battle. Our combined armies are as strong as
 "yours; you have Verdun, but if we had persevered in guarding it, you would not have
 "had it without a victory. I hope that our conduct in giving up that place will prove
 "to you the desire of the king to arrange affairs with France."——*Dillon*. "This affair
 "being terminated, there remains another, not less important, the surrender of Longwy.
 "The king of Prussia, by giving up that place immediately, may prove his desire of an
 "accommodation with the Republic; and I will not conceal from you, that we can
 "march two hundred thousand men there, if it is necessary."——*Kalkreuth*. "Longwy
 "is not occupied by the king's troops, so that the affair does not directly concern him.
 "What he can do, is to promise that he will not assist in its defence; I even think my-
 "self able to assure you, that his troops will take no part in it."——*Dillon*. "This as-
 "surance is not sufficient. It is necessary that the king should use his influence for the
 "evacuation of the fortress, without the effusion of blood."——*Kalkreuth*. "I have no
 "power to treat. This conference can only be confidential; but I am persuaded, that
 "it would not be difficult to induce the surrender of Longwy as easily as Verdun."——
Dillon. "The king of Prussia may give a convincing proof of his disposition towards
 "us, by separating his armies entirely from those of his allies, and ceasing to protect
 "their retreat."——*Kalkreuth*. "You know, that when travellers have promised to make
 "a journey together, honour obliges them to go through it. It is not, however, ne-
 "cessary that they should commence another. I take my leave, full of esteem for the
 "French nation, and for you. I shall report our conversation to the king, and I doubt
 "not of happy measures."——*Dillon*. "Adieu, general. I hope that there will be no
 "campaign next season, unless France and Prussia are united, and that you will assist in
 "liberating the Low Countries. Remind the king of Prussia, that he cannot have a
 "more glorious alliance than with a free people."——*Kalkreuth*. "Rely upon me; and
 "believe

"believe that no person estimates higher the immense advantages of such an alliance. I should rejoice to go to Paris myself to negotiate it."²³

The re-capture of Longwy followed that of Verdun on the 22d of October, on which day it was taken possession of by general Valence, though the capitulation had been signed on the 18th. The Prussian army immediately evacuated the territories of France; and it was solemnly proclaimed *that the country was no longer in danger*. Dumourier had for some time been absent from the army; his active mind was occupied with still bolder projects, in the execution of which we shall have occasion to develop the motives by which he was actuated.

Although the contributions levied by the duke of Brunswick on the credit of notes payable by the king of France, on his re-instatement, fell particularly heavy on the inhabitants of several towns, yet the unfortunate villagers of Voges were treated with a severity totally inconsistent with the practice of a civilized war. Though situated on a mountain, and well-calculated to form a post of some strength, its fortifications were in such a neglected state, that it would have been folly in the inhabitants to have attempted resistance; yet having been greatly harassed by detached marauding parties of the enemy, the villagers resolved to attempt the defence of their property against similar depredations in future, though not to resist a regular summons. Consequently the next detachment which came in this irregular manner, was bravely repulsed; but immediately returning with a strong reinforcement, the peasants, after a gallant effort, were finally compelled to submit. They were dragged to the head-quarters, tied to the tails of horses; and are said to have been treated with the utmost cruelty.

The French soldiery in general abstained from plunder; and, as they endured the want of every necessary with fortitude, were cautious of injuring the rights of others. Their political fanaticism, however, sometimes betrayed them into shocking excesses, the most flagrant instance of which occurred at Rhetel in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being stationed at that place, four deserters from the Prussian army came to offer their services, and were received by the officers. In the course of the day, however, some dispute arose between these men and some of the soldiers, when an alarm was instantly spread among the volunteers, that they were not Prussians, but emigrants and spies. With that fatal precipitation which in so many recent instances has characterised the French nation, the rest of the soldiers immediately seized these unhappy men, and, in defiance of their officers, in defiance of justice and entreaty, cut them to pieces.

²³ Messrs. Dillon and Galbaud have certified this conference with their names.

Dumourier on this occasion give a salutary example of proper severity. He degraded the two battalions, stripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions, with a returning sense of honour, acknowledged the justice of the sentence; but entreated that, instead of being broken, they might be sent upon some service of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime; and of their own accord delivered up to the sentence of the law ten of their comrades, who were at once the causes and the agents in this horrid transaction.

The sieges of Thionville and Lisle are conspicuous circumstances in the history of this campaign. The former is a small but strong fortress, and was entrusted to the command of general Felix Wimpfen, whose reply to the summons of the Austrian general was, "Though you may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another, yet you cannot burn the ramparts." It held out during the whole campaign, and kept in check a force computed at eight-and-twenty thousand men; and which, in several successful sallies, the besieged frequently harassed and distressed. The town was at length relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garrison and commander received all the honours and applause which a grateful country could confer.

The city of Lisle was threatened early in September; and on the twenty-third the electors of the department of the North, who were assembled there, transmitted a public act to the legislative body, in which they swore, that "they would be buried under the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their post." As the possession of this city was considered by the Austrians to be of the utmost importance to their views, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. On the twenty-ninth the duke of Saxe Tefchen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna to this important command, summoned the town to surrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The answer of the council general of the commons was at once modest and spirited. "We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves."—On that day the batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed for upwards of a week to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was that, by distressing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous, and induced to rise upon the magistrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. This mode of attack had, however, a direct contrary effect on the inhabitants: inspired with a degree of enthusiasm proportioned to their danger, and of hatred for their foe, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square, and hung up on the tree of liberty; and instantly passed a resolution, that whoever presumed to remove them, for the purpose of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. This spirited resolution was supported with firmness and discipline. They immediately formed themselves into several companies, to each of

which were assigned its proper functions and station. Every precaution was taken to avert the mischievous consequences of the bombardment; and it is an undoubted fact, that numbers of women and children were constantly employed in extinguishing the fuses, to prevent the murderous effects from the bursting of the shells. The city, as might be apprehended, was soon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their residence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of casemates by the immense quantity of rubbish heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almost all destroyed; yet the valour of the inhabitants increased with their distress; and as soon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devastations of the artillery, it was hospitably incorporated with another. To the sixth of October at noon the firing was incessant: shells, red-hot balls, and every instrument of destruction, were showered upon the devoted city⁵⁵. As the garrison was too small to waste its force in sallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its courage and indefatigable assiduity are beyond encomiums; and marshal Rault, the commander, deserves to be recorded with every mark of respect. It is computed that the Austrian batteries fired upwards of thirty thousand red-hot balls and six thousand bombs upon the city, exclusive of the fire of one of the finest battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithstanding this, the whole loss of both garrison and people did not exceed five hundred, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Austrians had flattered themselves with being able to maintain this post, should they have succeeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithstanding the retreat of the combined armies: but finding themselves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the seventh and eighth of October they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised.

The arms of France were at this period victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia having been considered as an enemy to the Revolution, the minister for foreign affairs, on the sixteenth of September, made the following report to the National Assembly.

“ I come, in the name of the provisional executive council, to give an account to the
 “ National Assembly of the measures which the honour and safety of the state have
 “ obliged us to pursue against the king of Sardinia. This prince, gentlemen, has for a
 “ long time been provoking us to employ these measures; for a long time he has, like
 “ other kings, paid a tribute of hatred and malevolence to the French Revolution. The
 “ court of Turin was the first asylum of those great criminals whom the vengeance of

⁵⁵ The princess Christina, sister to the duke of Saxe Teichen, with her whole court, is said to have attended to view the brilliant spectacle, in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conquest. It is even asserted that the princess herself applied the match to some of the engines of destruction.

“ the people so justly followed ; there was the first focus of their base conspiracies form-
 “ ed ; and thence issued the first hordes of armed rebels, who have since encreased, and
 “ infested the shores of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Scheldt. It would be only
 “ amusing the Assembly with needless details, were I to trace out the multiplied inju-
 “ ries which the French have sustained for the three last years from the Sardinian go-
 “ vernment ; we have not even thought it necessary, gentlemen, to submit to your exa-
 “ mination the formal proposal for making war on a prince, who, in respect to us, has
 “ violated all rights, treaties, and agreements. We will carry on war against him in an
 “ open and manly manner, but the guilt of that war will fall upon him alone.—He
 “ himself, indeed, declared war against us the day when he dared to insult the majesty of
 “ the French nation, in the person of our ambassador, arrested, on the most frivolous and
 “ odious pretences, on the frontiers of the kingdom, open on all sides to our enemies.
 “ He declared war against us when, notwithstanding the express tenor of ancient trea-
 “ ties, he filled with troops the fortrefs of Montmelian, and encreased his hostile prepa-
 “ rations in Savoy. He declared war against us when he acceded to the impious league
 “ of tyrants, when he invited the Austrian cohorts into his territories, and ordered an
 “ encampment to be traced out for them near his capital.

“ It is worthy of remark, gentlemen, that when the court of Turin was proceeding
 “ to such excesses against us, it had not even the events of the tenth of August (a day
 “ which, by banishing the remains of that charm which is still attached to the name of
 “ king, laid among us the solid basis of empire, liberty, and equality) to serve as a pre-
 “ tence for its conduct. If that day did not give us a new enemy in the king of Sar-
 “ dinia, it at least supplied fresh fuel to his hatred. When an account of the events of
 “ that day reached Turin, a council, or sort of congress, was held, for the purpose of
 “ deliberating on the measures necessary to be adopted in regard to France. The ques-
 “ tion, whether or not it would be proper to attack us, was long debated in that coun-
 “ cil ; and though the result of the deliberation was to suspend that extremity, and to
 “ be contented with acting a passive part ; we ought not to suffer ourselves to be the
 “ victims of illusion. It was not inclination, but strength, that was wanting to our ene-
 “ my ; his rage is not allayed, it is only feeble, and we have reason to be apprehensive,
 “ that if we allow him time to augment his resources, he will some day carry fire and the
 “ sword into the southern departments.

“ Gentlemen, a nation may be placed in such circumstances, that the only method of
 “ defending itself with advantage, is to act on the offensive. Such are those, under
 “ which we are at present, in regard to the king of Sardinia. By paying respect to his
 “ apparent and perfidious neutrality, we should only lose the service of a fine army,
 “ which may be usefully employed, while that prince, in concert with our enemies,
 “ might every moment unite his force to theirs by his Italian states ; put them in pos-
 “ session of the important passages of the Alps ; and over-awe us until a favourable op-

“ opportunity might occur of falling upon us with more hopes of success. Under these
“ circumstances, gentlemen, you will doubtless agree that we have only one course to
“ take—that of forcing to combat that enemy who wishes to lull us asleep by a pretend-
“ ed appearance of inactivity. This is the determination of the provisional executive
“ council. In virtue of your decree of the sixteenth of July last, which authorizes to
“ repel, by the force of arms, every declared enemy who may be in a state of actual hos-
“ tility against the French nation, the commander of the armies of the South had al-
“ ready made dispositions for entering Savoy, and only waited for a formal order, which
“ we transmitted to him on the eighth of this month. All those subsidiary means which
“ are likely to ensure the success of this measure, have been pursued by the executive
“ power. Formidable diversions will second the effort of our arms, and before winter
“ we shall probably make the Alps a barrier between Frenchmen, the sons of liberty,
“ and the tyrants of Italy.”

Immediately on reading this report war was declared against the king of Sardinia; and, about the twentieth, general Montesquiou entered the territories of Savoy. He describes his march as “a triumph.” He was received every where with joy, and troops flocked to his standard from every part. He was waited upon by a deputation from Chambery almost as soon as he passed the boundary, and on the twenty-first he proceeded to take possession of that city. The municipality appeared at the gate, in their dress of ceremony, and delivered up the keys; testifying, in warm terms, the esteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the Hotel de Ville he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them to an entertainment which he had prepared for the purpose. As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the custody of their own town guard, a circumstance which was received with great satisfaction by the citizens: after this the whole country of Savoy submitted without resistance.

The conquest of Savoy by the French spread an instant alarm over the adjoining states, and the aristocratic faction in Geneva in particular felt no inconsiderable portion of uneasiness. From the other Swiss cantons this party demanded a garrison of one thousand six hundred men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears to have been reason to suspect that the executive council of France were disposed to take possession of this flourishing republic, and, with or without reason, pretended to be offended by the admission of the Swiss garrison. Montesquiou, by their orders, presented himself before the city. The aristocracy became immediately alarmed; they proposed terms of conciliation to the French general, and the dispute was terminated with apparent equity, on the one side, by the dismissal of the Swiss garrison, and on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic.

The democratic party in Paris, however, could not easily forgive this concession in their general. Montesquiou was suspected, and even charged with having received a bribe; and on the twenty-third of the same month he was accused in the Assembly of having transmitted to the court of Turin a plan of the defiles through which an invasion of France might be attempted. They said, "He had lied impudently in the face of the nation, when he asserted that the king of Sardinia had sixty thousand men on the frontiers, as it was well known that he had only thirty thousand." Many of the deputies having supported this accusation, it was unanimously decreed, that that general should be deprived of his command, and that three commissioners should be sent to Bayonne and Perpignan to examine the state of the frontiers in that part of the republic.

On the succeeding day three commissioners were dispatched to calm the minds of the soldiers, who had been long irritated at the general and his staff officers. The Convention decreed, that the commissioners should have power to suspend both the general and his staff officers, and to arrest all who were suspected.

The commissioners had scarcely left Paris, when the minister at war received a very spirited letter from the general, which he laid before the Convention; in which, after relating the particulars of his late operations, he enters at large on the subject of the various calumnies raised against him, and attempts their refutation; after reading and considering this letter, the Convention thought proper to pass the following decree: "That the execution of their decree of the twenty-third of September was suspended, and that this suspension should continue in force until their commissioners should have enquired into the conduct of general Montesquiou." This decree was ordered to be dispatched by an extraordinary courier.

A few days subsequent to passing this decree, the general addressed the following epistle to the minister at war:

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

"I have as yet no information, but by the public papers, of the decree which announces my removal. I have received that which suspends me officially. I respect, as I ought, the decrees of the representatives of the French people. It was their duty to reject services which they thought suspicious, the moment they gave such confidence to my accusers, as to take their assertions for proofs. If the truth could have been heard, the National Convention would have known that all that was said against me was a collection of impostures; it would have known that I never presented nor subscribed any petition; that the account presented by me to the legislative assembly of the forces of the king of Sardinia is perfectly exact; and that it was the executive council that forbade the attack of Savoy; and that my very urgent representations, the repeated explanation of my plan, and my promise of success, determined

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“ the council to give me leave to act; it would have known that the fables repeated
 “ by several journalists, of the unhealthiness of the camps I had chosen, were so many
 “ lies; it would have known that the most honourable confidence of my army is the
 “ compensation for all my labours.

“ I have had the honour of rendering a service to my country and to humanity, by
 “ introducing the colours of liberty among a good people, who seem worthy of this
 “ great benefit. No sacrifice has poisoned this blessing. The satellites of despotism have
 “ fled from all parts before an army of citizens. Savoy is as much French as our eighty-
 “ three departments, and its attachment to the nation has already displayed itself to the
 “ general, who was the first of the French to plant the tree of liberty on a foreign
 “ Bastille. My course is run, and I can no longer hope to be useful. A general, whom
 “ suspicion has once surrounded, on whom the National Convention has once set the
 “ mark of public distrust, will no longer act with the necessary freedom of spirit, with
 “ the heart-felt sentiment of intention, always pure and honest. The intriguers who
 “ have once persecuted me, will never pardon my having conquered Savoy, the very
 “ day on which they denounced me as a traitor. Every one of my operations will be
 “ crossed; every snare laid for the enemy will be denounced as an act of treason; secre-
 “ cy, the soul of success, will always conceal some suspected intentions. I request, Ci-
 “ tizen President, and I request with earnestness, by the love I bear my country, by at-
 “ tachment and gratitude to an army to which I owe much, that another general may be
 “ nominated in my room. Nothing can efface the decree of the twenty-third of Sep-
 “ tember; and it is necessary that the citizen who commands a French army should not
 “ only be pure, but exempt from suspicion. I solicit only one favour; permission to re-
 “ turn to my home, there to enjoy my rights of a citizen, and to prove, by the obscurity
 “ of my life, that if I ever entertained any ambition, it was that of serving my
 “ country.

(Signed)

“ MONTESQUIOU.”

On the seventh of October the Convention thought proper to annul their decree for removing him from the command; but as some difficulty arose as to the manner of doing this, it was resolved, after much discussion, “ That the simple repeal of the decree was “ the best proof of their confidence in the general.” Notwithstanding the repeal of the decrees for the suspension and removal of Montesquiou, that general does not appear henceforward to have possessed the confidence of the Convention; and all his subsequent transactions in Geneva seem to have been viewed through a false or at least a prejudiced medium. A letter was soon after written from the commissioners with his army, indirectly reflecting upon his conduct in unnecessarily weakening his force, by disbanding some volunteer grenadiers, at a time when he was supposed to be exerting himself to effect the evacuation of Geneva, by the Swiss, who had taken post in that city. It was in vain that the general had accomplished his end, by the convention with the Genevese.

Strongly

Strong symptoms of disapprobation on the whole of his conduct were expressed in the Convention, which ended in a committee being appointed to enquire into the behaviour of the general; and a decree of accusation was passed against him. But Montesquieu having received private information of this event, and not being willing to encounter the humiliation and personal risk of a public trial, found means to elude the search made by the commissioners who were sent to arrest him, and is supposed to have fled for refuge into Switzerland.

General Anselme, who had been bred an ecclesiastic, but had quitted the path of peace for the more noble but more hazardous profession of arms, with another body of troops crossed the Var, and, on the twenty-ninth of September, being gallantly supported by admiral Truguet, with nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, which the Piedmontese garrison evacuated immediately on the appearance of the French army. With the city of Nice, the fortrefs of Montalban, Villa Franca, and in short the whole country of Nice, submitted to the conquerors. Anselme, on his first arrival, was extremely popular with the Piedmontese, who appeared well disposed to unite with the French nation. But, whether from the imprudence of the general, or from want of discipline in the soldiery, it is not easy to determine, yet certain it is that the grossest excesses were soon after committed, the French name was disgraced, and the nation rendered odious in that quarter. On receiving information of these excesses, the Convention passed the following decree:

“ The National Convention, after hearing the report of the diplomatic committee, and the committee of war united, decree, That three commissioners, chosen from among their own body, shall repair to the army of the Var, in the country of Nice, and neighbouring places, to procure every necessary information respecting the facts denounced by the deputies extraordinary of the city of Nice; to examine the conduct of the officers and generals who may have authorized or tolerated the excesses committed; to learn the means they have employed to prevent and suppress them; to hear the complaints of the inhabitants who have become victims to these disorders; to trace out and restore the effects which may have been taken from them; to suspend provisionally, or arrest, those military agents who may have concurred in or suffered these acts of licentiousness; to issue such proclamations, in case of necessity, as may tend to restore discipline in the army; and, lastly, to employ every method in their power to secure the tranquillity of the inhabitants of Nice, and to bring back those who, through fear, may have abandoned their habitations.”—Soon after general Anselme was removed from the command, and committed to prison.

One instance of severity in admiral Truguet, which was indeed, in some degree, justified by the laws of war, and by gross provocation, contributed likewise to injure the popularity of the French in the Sardinian territory. On the twenty-third of October the

admiral

admiral arrived in the harbour of Onaglia, and having prepared a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to a union with the French nation, he sent it by captain Duchayla, under a flag of truce, to be presented to the magistrates. The admiral followed the boat which proceeded with the flag of truce alone, and ordered the other vessels to keep without gun-shot from the shore. The people, at first, appeared to receive the boat with demonstrations of friendship; but at the moment when captain Duchayla was preparing to address them at a small distance, they assailed it with a volley of musket-shot, by which the aid de-camp of marshal Lahouliere, who accompanied captain Duchayla, two midshipmen, and four seamen were killed, and the captain himself, and adjutant general La Couversiene, wounded. The magistrates affected to excuse themselves; but their apology not proving satisfactory to the admiral, he prepared to take an ample and indeed a cruel revenge. As soon as the boat was out of danger, he ordered his squadron to come to an anchor, and cannonade the town—At the same time it was attacked by land by marshal Lahouliere, and, being taken by storm, was surrendered to a general plunder, and afterwards set on fire in different places.

The conquests of Custine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were no less brilliant than those of his colleagues. It was with considerable difficulty, from the quantity of rain, and the badness of the roads, that he could collect his army at Landau by the twenty-ninth of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spire, where he arrived on the following day. He found the Austrians drawn up in order of battle before the town, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms; before them a ravine, and their left extended among some gardens surrounded with thick hedges. In this position the general did not hesitate to attack them, and soon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having made an effort to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardour of his troops, he proposed to cut them down with axes, and the proposal was eagerly received by the soldiers. This they speedily accomplished, and the French rushed into the town with their usual impetuosity; but the enemy, who had taken possession of all the adjacent houses, commenced a heavy and destructive fire immediately on their entering the place. Fortunately Custine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the columns some howitzers and field-pieces, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in some degree disordered at first by the violence of the discharge of musketry. The Austrians had, however, apparently no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately retreated, and left Custine master of the city. The French, on this occasion, took upwards of three thousand prisoners, besides a great quantity of cannon, howitzers, &c.

The capture of Worms, by M. Neuvigner, with a detachment from Custine's army, immediately succeeded that of Spire; and the movements of the French were so rapid that the enemy found it impossible to remove their stores; an immense quantity, therefore,



Jones fecit.

M: CUSTINE

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fore, of every kind were found in this place. Custine laid the bishop, the chapter, and the magistrates, under a heavy contribution: the loss of the Austrians in this engagement was also considerable.

On the nineteenth of October, although impeded by a very heavy rain, general Custine, by forced marches, arrived before Mentz. He had previously been informed of the state of the fortress, and the strength of the garrison, which amounted to about six thousand men. On the twentieth he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, that he meant to defend the town, but requested till the twenty-first to deliberate. Mean time the garrison continued their fire; to silence which Custine wrote a second time in a very threatening style to the governor; on the receipt of which a capitulation was agreed upon, the chief article of which was, that the garrison should not serve against France for the space of one year; and on the twenty-first the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

On the twenty-third of October Franckfort shared the fate of Spire, Worms, and Mentz, and submitted to this victorious commander. In consequence of the protection and assistance which this city had afforded to the emigrants, Custine thought proper to impose on the magistrates a fine of one million five hundred thousand florins; but on their representation he was afterwards induced to mitigate it to one million.

The successive capture of three places, of such considerable strength and importance, in so short a space of time, is almost unparalleled in the annals of military affairs. The eager boldness and the flush of victory would have induced the general to penetrate to Coblenz, the general rendezvous of the emigrants: in this daring project he complained that he had been disappointed by the inactivity and tardiness of Kellermann. He had ordered that general to pass the Sarre and the Moselle, directly to Treves and Coblenz, and to leave a small detachment to watch the motions of the Prussians in their retreat. Kellermann vindicated himself, however, by stating, that after Dumourier left him, he had only fifteen thousand men under his command, and Valence not more than fourteen thousand; while the Prussian force was upwards of five-and-fifty thousand; consequently, it would have been the height of imprudence to risk a battle with such a superior force, neither was it safe to abandon the French territory again to their incursions. Disappointed in this favourite measure, Custine proceeded to extend his conquests, and penetrated into the dominions of the prince of Hesse. By the union of the Prussians with the Austrians and Hessians, a check was, however, given to his career before the termination of the campaign. On the second of December the Prussians appeared before Frankfort, the gates of which were, by the treachery of some of the populace, opened to them. The greatest part of the French garrison, amounting to one thousand three hundred, were massacred; and many, who had been taken prisoners, were sent the next day

day to Mentz with their hands cut off: this diabolical action is asserted to have been committed by Hessians in the disguise of peasants. After the city had surrendered, a severe engagement took place between the two armies, in which that of the Prussians are stated to amount to near fifty thousand, more than double the force opposed to them by Custine. The French, however, maintained their ground for above two hours, and then retired to the shelter of a wood, whence they were able to annoy their adversaries, and keep them in check.

The enthusiasm of the French people at this time, in defence of their liberty, is perhaps unequalled in the history of mankind. Impelled by this idea, hasty levies of undisciplined peasants were speedily converted into regular armies. Battalions, chiefly composed of boys, engaged with, and actually chased from the field, the disciplined legions of Germany and Prussia; and though ignorant of military tactics, and having no regularly appointed authority, this principle alone was sufficient to preserve order and subordination. Even the softer sex partook in the general ardour, and many of them proved themselves to be little inferior, either in courage or conduct, to the bravest of ours. The sister of general Anselme, the two miss Fernigs, who served as aids-de-camp to general Dumourier, together with many other females, distinguished themselves by the most heroic exertions; and the French artillery was frequently served by female warriors, who, regardless of the weakness and imbecility natural to their sex, compensated, by their spirit and activity, for the want of that force and vigour which has hitherto been exclusively attributed to the male.

Although the French, considered as a people long oppressed, and now struggling for liberty, must attract the admiration of the historian, and their courage as soldiers gain his applause, yet their inability and weakness as legislators cannot fail equally to excite his contempt and surprize. On one of the last acts of the legislative assembly too much censure cannot be bestowed, by every man who regards either good morals or social order. This was no other, than to legalize adultery, and to authorize a community of women: a law was passed, which enabled the ordinary tribunals to pronounce a sentence of divorce between any married couple, not only on mutual agreement, but on the application of either party, simply alledging as a cause, incompatibility of humour or character. The female children were directed, by this decree, to be entirely confided to the care of the mother, as were the males till they reached the age of seven years, when they were to be committed to the superintendance of their father: provided only, that by mutual agreement any other arrangement might take place with respect to the disposal of the children; or arbitrators might be chosen from the nearest of kin to determine on the subject. The parents were to contribute equally to the maintenance of the offspring, in proportion to their property, whether under the care of the father or mother. Family arbitrators were to be chosen to award the partition of property, or the alimentary

alimentary pension to be allowed to the party divorced. Both parties were prohibited from forming a fresh connection for the space of one year. The confusion, litigation, domestic contests, and fatal jealousies, that such an arrangement must produce in families, might have been sufficient to deter men of any information or judgment from so pernicious a measure; but these evils are trivial, when compared with the perversion of the moral principle, which must necessarily ensue, the effeminate, luxurious, and profligate habits, that must follow this unrestrained gratification of the animal propensities. Men conversant in history might have known that the law of polygamy has been the most operative cause of enervating the Mussulman empire; has rendered its subjects incapable of liberty or virtue; and that this very law of divorces was the immediate cause which overthrew the Roman republic.

The characteristic of the present Assembly was rather that of weakness than of dishonesty. The majority was composed of men who professed to mean well to their country; but unfortunately, by the influence of the Paris mob, the intrigues of the Jacobins, and the activity of the republicans, a small faction of anarchists and levellers gained the ascendancy, and in the end became the ruling party. Had the Assembly in time taken the decisive step to decree the removal of the king and the legislature from the factious metropolis, they might still have continued their labours with profit to their country, and some share of honour to themselves. But, after the fatal tenth of August, the legislature seemed to act entirely under the controul of the mob. The populace in the galleries, not the members on the benches, decided every question. Dumas, Vaublanc, and all those who united integrity with respectability of character and coolness of understanding, were silenced or expelled, and the suspension of the king was speedily followed by a suspension of the whole collective wisdom of the nation.

“ Thus ended,”—says M. Brissot—“ after a year’s existence, that stormy legislature, under which the public spirit made such a rapid progress, and the French nation marched with giant strides towards a republic. It will be judged differently according to the diversity of passions, interests, and opinions. Royalty will consider it as an assembly of men, constant enemies to its idol, and who, from their sitting to the moment of their separation, have secretly undermined the throne which they seemed to respect with constitutional attention. Anarchy will represent it as a collection of timid or corrupted deputies, who sacrificed the people to the court, and liberty to the constitution. Pure, but enlightened patriotism, which weighs neither circumstances, nor characters, will consider it as a wavering assembly, destitute of principles;—an assembly which has in turns attacked the court, and servilely submitted to it; shaken the constitution, and endeavoured to maintain it; and sometimes favoured, and sometimes checked, the progress of the public spirit. But the patriot philosopher, the true republican, who appreciates efforts according to circumstances, and judges effects according

“ to the means employed to produce them, will compare what the National Assembly
 “ has done, with what it might have done; and, without palliating its faults, or veiling
 “ its errors, will declare that it has deserved well of its country, because if it had need of
 “ a second revolution to overthrow a treacherous court, it was it that excited, fomented,
 “ and brought to maturity that revolution.

“ In short, when posterity shall review the proceedings of this Assembly, it will
 “ behold, not that it has overturned a constitutional church, built on the ruins of
 “ national worship; that it has established divorce; that it has destroyed the odious
 “ distinction which prevailed between the white man and his brown, or black fel-
 “ low-citizens; that it ordered the property of the emigrants to be sold in small lots,
 “ and commons to be divided; that it pulled down the aristocratic barrier between
 “ Frenchman and Frenchman, by the title of active citizen; that it has sworn to hate
 “ and combat kings and royalty; that it declared with courage, and supported with
 “ firmness, war against the house of Austria, the cruel enemy of the liberty of Europe,
 “ and the scourge of mankind; and, lastly, that, hard pressed between despotism attempt-
 “ ing to recover its strength, and anarchy which wished to succeed, it has restored entire,
 “ and even considerably augmented, the deposit of national liberty.”

On the twenty-third of September at noon, the hall in which the National Assembly had held their deliberations was left empty. The persons who had but a few minutes before formed the legislative power, but who were then only citizens, entered, in a body, the hall of the palace of the Thuilleries, occupied by the National Convention. After the applause, with which they were received, had ceased, M. François de Neufchateau spoke thus:

“ Representatives of the nation, the legislative assembly has ceased from its functions :
 “ the late members of it hasten to be the first in giving to all the empire an example of
 “ submission to the laws which you may decree. They congratulate themselves upon
 “ depositing in your hands the reins of government. They have resolved, that their
 “ first act, as simple citizens, shall be that of serving as a guard to the National Con-
 “ vention, and of offering them the homage of their respect, in order to give to all the
 “ French an example of bowing before the majesty of the people whom you represent.

“ We congratulate ourselves, that, upon our voice, all the primary assemblies adhered
 “ to the invitation which we gave them. By electing you, they have consecrated the
 “ extraordinary measures, which the safety of four-and-twenty millions may require,
 “ against the perfidy of one man, the motives of division ought to cease. The en-
 “ tire nation is represented, and you are about to establish a constitution upon the basis
 “ of liberty and equality. The end of your efforts will be, to give to the French, li-
 “ berty, laws, and peace: liberty, without which the French can no longer live; laws,
 “ the firmest foundation of liberty; peace, the only end of war.

“ Liberty,



Jones sculp^t

MDANTON.

Engraved by C. Lowndes & J. Parsons N^o 21. Paternoster Row Aug^r 16. 1794

“Liberty, laws, and peace; these three words were written by the Greeks upon the gate of the temple of Delphos: you will impress them upon the entire soil of France. You will maintain, especially between all the parts of the empire, the unity of the government, of which you are the centre and the preservative bond, and thus will you accumulate the benedictions of your fellow-citizens.”

On the meeting of the National Convention, though there was reason to complain that the legislative assembly was inferior in respectability to their predecessors, it was with grief and apprehension that men of sense and reflection observed it composed of the refuse of both. Petion, Robespierre, and a few of the most violent and least respectable of the constituent assembly, were re-chosen on this occasion; and Danton⁵⁶, Merlin, Chabot, and others, equally without property or rank, and totally devoid of any respectability of character, were selected from the present legislature: Foreigners were invited to become representatives of France, and, unfortunately, this invitation was offered not for the extent of their abilities, nor for the reputation of integrity, but because they had been the most active in the career of republicanism, and because they had disclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the science of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited to become a representative of a department; and a Prussian of the name of Anacharsis Cloots, whom we have before had occasion to notice (see p. 480,) as being the self-appointed orator of the human race, and who played off the ludicrous farce of the dumb ambassadors, at the bar of the former Assembly, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the solitude of Bedlam, was chosen to represent another. The department of Paris was, however, upon this as upon every other occasion, first in infamy. There the prostituted miscreant, the infamous duke of Orleans (now distinguished by the ludicrous name of Egalité, which he had assumed on the abolition of titles) was united with the equally infamous incendiary and assassin Marat; with the painter David; with Legendre, by profession a butcher; and with several other equally *pure* and *respectable* characters. Buffoons, news-writers, and men from the lowest ranks and stations, might be seen mingled with the degraded remnants of the *ci-devant* noblesse, and with such of the clergy as had sufficient laxity of principle to disavow their engagements with the head of their church. Justice, however, obliges us to acknowledge that this heterogenous mass included some men respectable for their talents, and some unim-

⁵⁶ Danton is a man of too much importance to be left out of the Convention on any account: in conformity with the principle that no one citizen should possess two offices under the government, he sent in his resignation of the office of minister of justice, and retained that of member of the Convention. He was the first who proposed that the constitution which they were about to form should be presented to the nation, and should not have force till it was accepted by the majority of the people of France, united in primary assemblies. This and another proposal of his were decreed, namely, that property and persons were under the safeguard of the nation.

peached as to their integrity. The shining abilities of Condorcet, as a writer, does not compensate for his evident inexperience and imbecility as a statesman; nor do the metaphysical talents of the abbé Sieyès appear the best adapted to the practical purposes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected in a moment of political ferment, but little of wisdom, little of unanimity, little of moderation, was to be expected. Their first movements were rash, hasty, and without deliberation; they soon divided into factions, disgracing the name of a legislature by altercation, abuse, and even by that last resort in vulgar disputes—pugilistic contests. At the first meeting Petion was elected president; Condorcet, vice-president; and Camus, Vergniaud, Lafource, Brissot, and Rabaud, secretaries.

As soon as the new Convention had gone through the ordinary business of choosing its officers, &c. the following discussion took place, which, as being productive of the most arbitrary and unjust measure that had yet been pursued, and which was no less than the total deprivation of the lawful authority of the sovereign, deserves to be recorded.

M. Tallien moved, "That the National Convention should enter into a solemn engagement not to separate until they have established a government upon the firm basis of liberty and equality."—*M. Merlin the younger*. "Let us not swear but promise to save the people."—*M. Couthon*. "We ought to do every thing to shew ourselves worthy of that confidence with which the people have honoured us. Fatal reports are now circulating among the people. Some have dared to speak of royalty. I have heard others, and I shudder at it, mention a dictator and a triumvirate—These, however, I believe to be the calumnies of our enemies. It is the duty of the Convention, therefore, to explain clearly those principles upon which they mean to found their proceedings. Let us all swear to maintain the sovereignty of the people—the whole of that sovereignty—and nothing but that sovereignty. Let us decree the punishment of death to those who shall dare to make any attempt upon the sovereignty of the people, liberty, and equality."—*M. Danton*. "Tranquillity must be restored; the tyrants are overthrown; the law then must resume its empire; and it must be as terrible in administering justice as the fury of the people has been in exercising vengeance. Let us declare, that territorial property, and the fruits of industry, are sacred. Let us place the safety of persons under the protection of the nation. Let us establish these grand bases of public felicity, and thus end our labours—we shall then have done enough."

After various propositions, which occasioned some debate, the following decree was passed by the Convention:

"The



M. TALLIEN.

Engraved for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons. N^o 21 Paternoster Row. Novem^r 23.

“The National Convention declare, that there can be no constitution but that which is accepted by the people. They also declare, that persons and property are under the protection of the laws; that they will afterwards concert the mode which the French people at large shall pursue to manifest their opinion respecting that constitution which shall be presented to them.”—It was then moved, “That the National Convention should expressly declare, that all the authorities at present in the exercise of their functions, shall be provisionally maintained until further orders.”—This occasioned some debate, and at last the principle of the motion was decreed in the following words: “1. Those laws which have not been abrogated, and those powers which have not been suspended, shall be provisionally preserved and supported.—2. The taxes actually existing shall be collected as formerly.”

M. Collot-d'Herbois. “You have just now formed a wise resolution; but there is one which you cannot defer till to-morrow, nor yet till the evening—no, not even a single moment, without being unfaithful to the wishes of the nation: that resolution is—*The abolition of royalty.*”—*M. Gregoire.* “No one certainly will ever propose to us to preserve in France the fatal race of kings. We must give perfect security to all the friends of liberty. We must destroy that talisman, the magic force of which might still have power to stupify mankind. I move, therefore, that you sanction, by a solemn law, *the abolition of royalty.*”

The Assembly here rose unanimously, and decreed, by a loud acclamation, the motion made by *M. Gregoire*.

M. Bazire. “The Assembly has manifested, by the unanimity of its acclamations, its profound hatred for kings. This sentiment, so consonant to the wishes of the whole French nation, cannot but be applauded. But it would be alarming to see an Assembly take into consideration, in the moment of enthusiasm, an object of so much magnitude. I move that the question be deferred.”—*M. Gregoire.* “What need is there to discuss it, when every one is agreed? Kings are in the moral order what monsters are in the physical.—Courts are receptacles of crimes, and the dens of tyrants. The history of kings is the martyrology of nations. When we are all perfectly sensible of this truth, what need is there for deliberating on it? I move that the Assembly shall divide on my motion.”—*M. Gregoire's* motion was then put, and unanimously carried, in the following form:

“THE NATIONAL CONVENTION DECREES, THAT
“ROYALTY IS ABOLISHED IN FRANCE.”

This decree was followed by loud and long continued applauses, and the exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* The *Proces-Verbal* of this sitting was ordered to be sent by express to all the departments and the armies, and to be proclaimed in the city of Paris.

This

Thus, after a short discussion, which did not even merit the name of a debate, was that throne overturned, which had subsisted for so many centuries; which had been for ages the glory and adoration of the French nation; the envy of surrounding states, and whose splendor, like the meridian sun, dazzled the eyes of the admiring stranger!

FIRST YEAR
OF
THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

September, 1792.] ON the day succeeding the memorable decree for the abolition of the royal authority, of the following decrees were passed, confirming that resolution:

- “1. That all the public acts shall be dated, “*The first year of the French Republic.*”—
- “2. That the state seal shall be changed, and have for legend “*French Republic.*”—
- “3. That the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; and on the exergue, “*Archives of the French Republic.*”—
- “4. And that petitioners shall not be admitted to the bar but “during the evening sittings.”

Every citizen was now declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among ordinary tradesmen. The distinction established by the constituent assembly, between *active* and *passive* citizens, was abolished. In the course of the succeeding sittings, the Convention resolved, “That the French republic no longer acknowledge princes; that, therefore, their appanages should be also suppressed.” The word “*REPUBLIC*” was also ordered to be substituted in the oaths and other public acts, instead of the word “*NATION.*” On the twenty-seventh of September, the pensions granted by the constituent assembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to cease; with an exception in favour of those above fifty years of age, whose pensions, however, were not to exceed one thousand livres (50*l.*) per annum. On this occasion, Manuel rose to propose, “*That as royalty was abolished, the order of priests, and all religious establishments, should be abolished along with it!*” The impartiality of history compels us to record, that, to the honour of the Convention, his proposal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with the utmost disdain.

The

The rage of republicanism was, at this period, carried to an excess of folly hitherto unexampled. With a frivolity totally disgraceful to a nation, the innocent and indiscriminating titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame* were relinquished, and the awkward phraseology of *Citizen* substituted in their stead. The crosses of Saint Louis, which had been bestowed on the knights of that order, were ordered to be surrendered to the state, not as patriotic donations, but as a restitution. The sudden dissolution of the judicial boards was a more serious measure, and appeared so dangerous and rash, to all persons in the least acquainted with the principles of government, and accustomed to the preservation of order, that even Thomas Paine, who is considered as an anarchist in principle, deprecated the hasty adoption of this decree, and intreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, instead of releasing the nation at once, though for a short period, from the salutary restraints of law.

The conquest of Savoy held a temptation which the convention was not possessed of fortitude to resist. Contrary to all their former professions of zeal for the liberties of mankind, this feeble and injudicious assembly annexed it to their own government, and converted it into an eighty-fourth department, under the name of Mont Blanc; thus by one false step they lost the confidence of all Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independance of France. The decree which renounced conquest, and which limited the operations of war to the simple principle of self-defence, was worthy of an *enlightened* people, in an *enlightened* age; and will ever be recorded to the honour of that body which enacted so just, so politic a law. The deviating from that principle degraded a free people to the level of despotic states, and was at once the most convincing proof of the weakness or the dishonesty of the convention. The incapacity of that body even to conduct the common business of a nation, was also soon evinced by their unworthy and ingrateful treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might fairly be said, had forfeited their confidence by avowing and adopting principles diametrically opposite to those which they thought proper to constitute as the basis of their new government. But against Luckner there was no specific charge. Yet he was denounced as an enemy to the country; the most atrocious falsehoods were asserted concerning him; and, finally, he was dismissed the service.

General Dillon had agreed to an armistice with the prince of Hesse, at a crisis when these unqualified legislators (the greater part of whom were totally ignorant of military tactics, and consequently incompetent to form any judgement on the art of war; therefore must have been unacquainted with the particular situation of Dillon) chose to credit the suggestion that he might have captured the major part of the Hessians at the time of their retreat: for this was he denounced and accused, though he afterwards had sufficient address to procure a reversal of the decree.—We have also evinced the versatility of opinion, and the indecision, which disgraced their proceedings, in the instance of

general Montesquieu, who was this day censured, the next suspended, and a day or two after dismissed the service; and yet one short week scarcely elapses ere we find this *judicious* and *consistent* body of legislators contending which was the most honourable method of rescinding their own decrees, and restoring him to all the honours of his situation. After this is it not astonishing that, without any other ostensible reason than mere party manœuvres, and after no greater lapse of time than ten or twelve days, we should see this same Convention employed in a farther consideration of his conduct, so far undoing all their former measures, as to force him to fly his country for ever, and take refuge in Switzerland, to avoid the disgrace of a public trial, and perhaps to secure his life, which, from the implacability of his enemies, would have been greatly endangered? The whole of the proceedings in this singular business, from the commencement of the discussion to the conclusion, not occupying above *seventeen days*! In short, such was the absurdity of their conduct, that they scarcely left the Republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer in whom they could place confidence. Great care is undoubtedly necessary in investing an individual with the command in chief; but when it is entrusted to him, a considerable share of confidence should always accompany it. No man of character and abilities in his profession will risk his life, happiness, and reputation, without the prospect of a competent reward: and if, after the most meritorious services, a military character has nothing to look forward to but ingratitude and detraction, his conduct must soon take an opposite direction to that of patriotism; self-preservation and private emolument will then be the principal objects of his attention, and he will rather endeavour to secure a comfortable retreat, than expose himself in a contest where every thing may be lost, and nothing can possibly be gained.

Scarcely had the Convention assembled, and commenced their operations, when the demon of discord seems to have made some successful attempts in sowing the seeds of dissension; the fruits of which speedily made their appearance in that mutual jealousy and distrust of each other, so natural to persons of their characters and dispositions. On the twenty-sixth of September, only *five days* from their first meeting, on a motion for a guard to protect the persons of the deputies, a member denounced Robespierre—and in which charge Marat was likewise implicated—of wishing to assume to himself independent authority, and aspiring at the dictatorship⁵⁶; and, at the same time, and apparently not

⁵⁶ Upon a proposal made by M. Merlin, for allotting a guard to the National Convention from the eighty-three departments, a long debate arose. M. Merlin said, that a dictatorial party had been denounced to him in the Assembly; he demanded to have this party pointed out, that he might *point out the first man* who should arrogate to himself the power of a dictator.—M. Lafource made a very able reply. He had not spoken of a dictator, or a dictatorship; but he had alluded to a dictatorial power, which some men of intrigue and ambition might aim at. At the conclusion of his speech he referred to the authors of the late disorders; and one or two members mentioned M. Robespierre.—M. Robespierre rose to defend himself, and proceeded for some time, without appearing to speak to the real accusation. Several members called upon him to speak plainly, and Lecointre said, “Robespierre,”

not upon the worst grounds, with being, indirectly at least, concerned in the horrid massacres of the second and third of September. In the course of this brief discussion much of that sanguinary temper which has disgraced several of the members of that body, made its appearance. It should, however, be mentioned, to the honour of the Convention, that a committee was appointed to enquire into the facts relative to the massacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Parisian mob deterred them from prosecuting the enquiry as far as justice demanded.

Danton having resigned the office of minister of justice, on being elected a member of the Convention, Roland requested a similar permission, but he retained his office for a short time longer, at the particular request of the Convention. The statement of the finances by the minister, Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the various departments; and, with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries. The war minister, Servan, next resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

It would only be a waste of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to register decrees too insignificant to be remembered. Those which were enacted against the emigrants are the most important. On the ninth of October it was decreed, "That all emigrants, taken in arms, should be put to death within four-and-twenty hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all foreigners who, since the fourteenth of July, 1789, had quitted the service of France, and entered into that of the enemy, should be considered as armed emigrants." The severity of this decree was, however, far exceeded by that of the twelfth of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed *reputed* emigrants, or those not immediately engaged in hostilities. By a further decree of the twenty-seventh, those unfortunate men, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the bosom of their country, were ordered to depart in four-and-twenty hours, and the penalty of death was awarded against such as should not obey within the given time. Whatever apologies may be urged for the peculiar and critical situation of France, in favour of these decrees, they

"pierre, do not tell us what you did in the constituent assembly, but say plainly whether you have aspired to a dictatorship, or a triumvirate?"

Marat, also, was accused of writings, tending to excite the people to assassination. He, with difficulty, (for the Assembly were unwilling to hear it) read a long defence of himself. At length the order of the day was called for, and carried. In the course of his defence, Marat said, "If you enquire concerning my heart, I can answer with truth, that it is pure; but as to my thoughts, they are my own; no power under heaven has a right to demand an account of them. I declare, that if the decree is carried against me, I shall here blow my brains out." As he pronounced these words he drew a pistol from his pocket: the sight of the weapon, and the expressive gestures of M. Marat, agitated the Convention considerably; but the moderate part of the Assembly called for the order of the day.—*Proces-Verbal*.

will scarcely be such as completely to satisfy the friends of freedom. It is necessary to notice another decree, as it has excited more attention than almost any other proceeding of the Convention, and has, perhaps, made them more enemies in foreign countries than any measure which could have been adopted. The decree of *fraternity* of the nineteenth of November is that to which we allude. The circumstance in which this imprudent resolution originated, was an insurrection in the balliwick of Darmstadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, who was then at war with the French nation. The people, headed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district, had declared their wishes to be united to the republic, and had solicited her protection against their former master. To have acceded to this request, would have been acting in some measure agreeably to the practice of nations; but, with their usual enthusiasm, without debate, without deliberation, the Convention passed a decree in the following terms: "The National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to *all those people who wish to procure liberty*; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals, to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering, in the cause of liberty." The attempts since made by the Convention to palliate or excuse this decree, have appeared, if possible, still more absurd than the decree itself; and only tend to shew that the Convention were in reality ashamed of their own act, and wanted spirit to extricate themselves from the difficulty by a direct repeal.

Notwithstanding the dissolution of all regular government since the tenth of August, the country was in general more tranquil than could be expected in such a season of anarchy. Happily the greatest atrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; we cannot, however, omit mentioning, that in many instances the soldiery conducted themselves in a disorderly and ferocious manner. On the ninth of October the first division of the national Gendarmerie arrived at Cambray; and scarcely had they entered that town before they proceeded in a body to the prisons, and liberated all who were confined, except one poor wretch, named Canone d'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery; the second division, who arrived on the tenth, finding him only, and understanding the nature of his crime, beheaded him. The officers of the second battalion of volunteers, who were in garrison in the citadel, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent a communication with the soldiers of the Gendarmerie; but Besambre, the second lieutenant, who was one of the most active in endeavouring to bring them back to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. A tale was invented by his own soldiers, and told to the Gendarmerie, who seized him and dragged him along the esplanade, where, after stabbing him in several places, they cut off his head. Captain Le Gros, of the sixth squadron of cavalry, likewise shared the same fate, and for a similar offence. A general insurrection immediately succeeded, nor was it quelled without the most strenuous exertions, in the course of which even the mayor incurred the most imminent personal danger.

We now turn from the consideration of the state of affairs in the metropolis, to take a slight view of the military operations of Dumourier. On the twelfth of October, that general repaired to Paris, to concert measures to be pursued in the winter campaign; and after remaining there only four days, returned to the army to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Austrian Netherlands. From the period when the siege of Lisle was raised, the Austrians had continued to retire before the French. Having arrived, however, within their own territories, they determined to make a serious stand, and they there began to collect their scattered forces. The first resistance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Bossu, which is situated about a league from the since celebrated post of Jemappe. At this place the enemy had taken an excellent position; but they were totally unable to withstand the French artillery, and the ardour of the cavalry. The force of the Austrians was from eight to ten thousand; of which number one hundred and fifty were killed, and near two hundred taken prisoners: while the French loss was only twenty. This action took place on the fourth of November; and so little did the Austrians expect an attack, at that time, that the officers had prepared a very splendid banquet, which the French arrived just in time to take possession of.

From Bossu Dumourier proceeded, the next morning, towards Mons, where he came in sight of the enemy, strongly posted on the heights of Jemappe. Their right wing was covered by the village of Jemappe, and the river; and their left by thick forests. Three rows of fortifications were erected one above another, like seats in an amphitheatre, on which were mounted near one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore trusted entirely to his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the situation was so infinitely in favour of the enemy, that a defeat must probably have been the consequence. The French army, which was principally composed of young men, had been long ambitious of a close engagement. The general perceived this disposition, and though he secretly favoured their wishes, yet he restrained their ardour, only with a view of increasing it. The French having passed all that night in sight of the enemy, at seven o'clock in the morning of the sixth a very heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, and continued till ten, without producing any effect in favour of the French: which confirmed Dumourier in his opinion with respect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to pursue. As he rode along the lines, the troops testified the utmost impatience to charge the enemy with bayonets. The general contented himself, however, with ordering colonel Thevenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carignon, in order to enable him to assail Jemappe on that side; and at the same time, by bringing his artillery nearer, to produce greater effect.

At noon a close attack was determined on. The French troops selected for this purpose amounted to near thirty thousand, and the Austrians are computed to have been about four-and-twenty thousand, three thousand of which were cavalry. The right

wing of the French, consisting of the van-guard, was commanded by Bournonville and Dampierre; and the center by Egalité junior, Despolets, Stetenboffe, and Drouet. The infantry almost instantaneously formed, and the general presenting himself in the front of the line, the music, by a signal previously appointed, began to play the celebrated Marseillois song. The soldiers, thus encouraged, rushed impetuously on, with shouts of "*Vive la Nation!*" and joined in the chorus of their favourite tune. The first line of redoubts was instantly carried. The Austrian cavalry, however, advancing at this crisis, with a view of flanking the French, young Egalité was dispatched to repel this attack, and was supported most opportunely by a detachment of chasseurs and hussars. At this time some disorder appearing in Bournonville's cavalry, Dumourier rallied them himself; while the left wing, which consisted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, obtained possession of Jemappe, and the centre carried the second line of redoubts. After some resistance on the heights, the enemy, about two o'clock, retreated with precipitation and disorder towards Mons. In this engagement the most obstinate resistance the French experienced was from the Hungarians, whose ranks were so impenetrable that they could only be forced by being cut down. The loss of both parties in this action must have been great, for seldom has there been a field more obstinately contested; the Austrian loss must have far exceeded that of the French, as the flying enemy always suffer most considerably; but Dumourier probably exaggerated the loss, when he stated it at four thousand, killed and wounded; while he estimates his own at only nine hundred: had he brought the loss on both sides more on an equality, it had, perhaps, been nearer the fact.

The business of this day could not fail to give the Austrians a respectable opinion of French valour. Several signal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité acquired great reputation; and such was the enthusiasm of all ranks, that Baptiste, Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national guards, who had been repulsed; and was the first who rushed, sword in hand, into the Austrian entrenchments⁵⁷. The victory of Jemappe was decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. Dumourier instantly summoned the city of Mons, which surrendered on the succeeding morning, and was taken possession of by general Bournonville. From Mons the general proceeded to Brussels, which place he entered on the fourteenth of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjacent to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thousand, commanded by prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a stand, but probably only with a view of fa-

⁵⁷ Baptiste, Dumourier's valet, having received a letter of recommendation from the general, attended colonel La Rue to Paris, with dispatches, containing an account of this signal victory, and was by him introduced to the bar of the Convention, where he was received with the loudest acclamations, introduced into the body of the hall, and received the fraternal embrace from the president. Being asked what reward would be acceptable to him, he only requested he might in future be permitted to wear the national uniform: a complete suit was instantly voted him; and Dumourier received instructions to take the first opportunity of promoting him to some rank in the army.

vouring the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Brussels. After a contest, which lasted near six hours, in the course of which, the French general asserts, an immense number of the enemy were killed, the Austrians followed the main army, and Dumourier entered Brussels in triumph. The moderation and wisdom of that general were equal in every respect to his military abilities. He immediately informed the citizens that it was his intention carefully to avoid all interference with the internal government of the country. A provisional legislative assembly was chosen, among whom were the duc d'Ursel, baron Walkiers, and other distinguished patriots. Happy had it been for France, as well as for the Netherlands, if the same system of moderation had continued to prevail. It is a singular fact, that Dumourier, in the course of his correspondence with the French ministers, had positively declared—though that declaration must favour very strongly of bombast—that he would be in possession of Brussels in time to spend his Christmas at that place. This assertion was really founded on an actual knowledge of the state of the enemy, though it was at the time regarded as an extravagant boast; but how much were they surprized to find that he had anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks!

While the arms of the republic, under the direction of Dumourier, were thus occupied, Tournay, Ghent, Malines, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a feeble resistance by the Austrian general, Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Ostend was captured by the French fleet on the fifteenth of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur resisted for a short time, but the former capitulated, on the twenty-eighth of November, to general Miranda, and the latter, on the second of December, to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, were subjected to the victorious arms of France before the conclusion of the year.

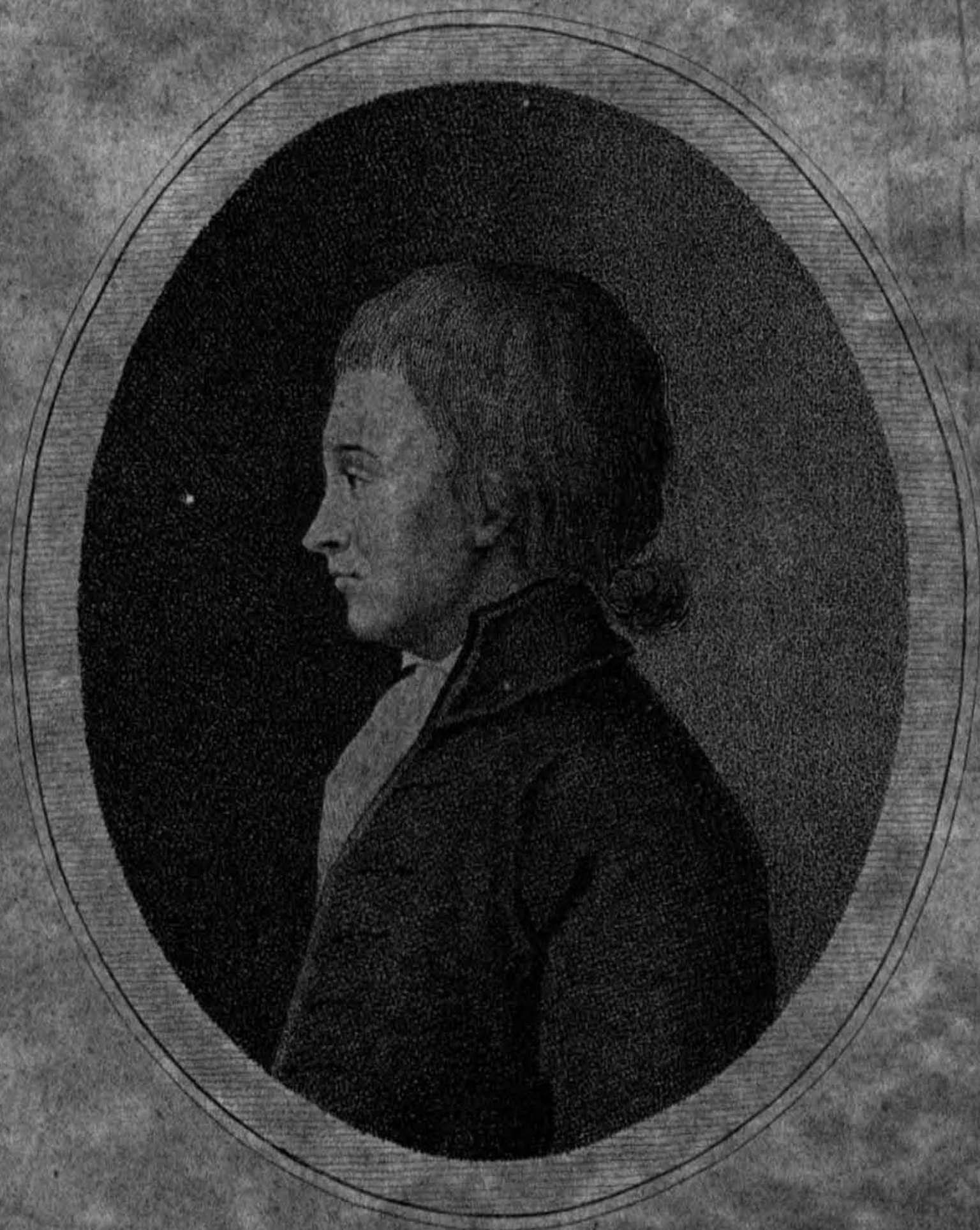
On the eighteenth of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teschen, conveying a proposal, on the part of general Clairfait, for a suspension of arms during the remainder of the winter season. To have acceded to this proposal, and to have disbanded a part of the army, and put the rest into winter quarters, would have been wise conduct in the French, and was that which there is reason to think the inclinations of the general would have led him to pursue. He however returned a verbal answer, "That he could only send general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and in the mean time should continue the operations of the campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier lost no time in following up his successes, and pursued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the twenty-first of November he proceeded, with an advanced guard of five thousand men, to Tirlemont,

where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thousand men, on the heights of Cumprich. He attacked, with his almost irresistible artillery, this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thousand men, who had remained totally inactive. At break of day on the twenty-second the whole of the Austrian army decamped from Tirlmont, after having lost in this action not less than four hundred of their best troops. Dumoutier halted only one day at Tirlmont, and on the twenty-seventh overtook again, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear-guard of the Imperialists, amounting to twelve thousand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them successively from six villages, and at last from an entrenchment. This conflict lasted ten hours, in which the Austrians lost their general, Staray, an immense train of artillery, and five or six hundred men killed and wounded, besides a number of prisoners and deserters. On the following day the French general entered Liege.

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man, a career which, as he asserts, was only arrested by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. His first victories, he observes, were scarcely announced, before he was publicly slandered and abused in the Convention, by the unprincipled faction of Marat and Robespierre. Under the influence of this party, he supposes the war minister, Pache, to have acted; and every criminal means, he asserts, were practised to distress and harass the gallant soldiers of liberty. While immense sums were voted by the Convention, the army was nearly destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided with mattresses or coverlets, or even of straw to repose on, these brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to sleep upon the damp ground; and some of them, to avoid the evils which must be consequent from such a situation, actually lashed themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept in a standing position. The soldiers were almost literally naked, without coats, without shoes, and their arms much impaired for want of cloaks to cover them, and keep them dry. The consequence was, that numbers of them perished, and still greater numbers deserted, and returned home. The general's own words are strong—"To retard and crush my successes,"—says he—"the minister, Pache, supported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than five-and-twenty thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger!"

If this statement be correct, the subsequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders may be easily accounted for. The other party, however, have not failed to recriminate on the general, and have asserted that he was bribed to betray the cause of the republic—That he entered into secret and criminal treaties with the king of Prussia, in an early stage of the contest, and solely with a view to his own advantage. He



J. G. Sculp.

M: ROBESPIERRE,

From an original Picture by Boudville

Engraved for C. Lewis and T. Parsons N^o 91 Paternoster Row Sep^r 13th 1794

He made a wanton sacrifice, it is said, of his own soldiers at Jemappe, by his injudicious disposition of the army on the commencement of the attack, and afterwards took every means to enrich himself, and injure the public cause. Of these mutual recriminations it is impossible for us at present to form a correct judgment; we can only state, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, that the army was most shamefully neglected during the whole of the winter campaign; and was certainly, as Dumourier asserts, in want of every necessary.

Though criminally inattentive to the armies of the republic, the infatuated convention was amusing itself with a petty and ignoble triumph over their fallen sovereign; and, instead of uniting with patriotism and firmness against that combination of enemies with whom they were now surrounded, they were only active to dispute, and persevering to oppress. To comprehend distinctly the origin of the violent proceedings against the deposed monarch, it will be necessary to revert to the state of parties in France at a period anterior to that of which we are now treating. It will not be forgotten that from the first assembling of the National Convention, that body appeared divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earnestly for sovereign authority. The party which first assumed the reins of government after the deposition of the king, affected a tone of moderation; and, either from policy, principle, or engagement, intended, or at least asserted that they wished, to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. The multitude, on the other hand, always sanguinary, but particularly the French populace, as has been evinced in so many fatal instances, either from an hasty or violent spirit, or from the influence of those habits which were acquired under the old government, acted on this occasion with more than usual ferocity. Many circumstances contributed to exasperate this infatuated people against the unhappy king. The insatiate revenge of those who had lost near connections or friends on the fatal tenth of August, was not yet satisfied; and a considerable share of the guilt of that day was unjustly thrown upon a single illustrious victim. These passions were industriously cherished by the great movers of faction and sedition, who had acquired a decided majority in the Jacobin club, and who governed the nation, while every thing conspired to the promotion of their views. The Girondists, or moderate party, were reduced to a singular dilemma. If the king was innocent, then they, who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the tenth of August, must appear guilty of the worst of treasons; but, if not innocent, said they, why should he escape the reward of his delinquency?

The rage of faction had arisen to an alarming excess in the Convention itself. The *Mountain* party, or anarchists, as they were called, were charged, in the persons of Robespierre⁵⁰ and Marat, with the horrid massacres of the third of September, while the

⁵⁰ Having had occasion, in a preceding part of this work, to mention this *humane* deputy, and his name still continuing to sully the purity of the historic page; we hope we may be excused for obtruding the following brief account of him:

the Girondists had repeatedly demanded a severe examination into the origin of those atrocious transactions. The intention of the Girondists in favour of the king were not unknown to their opponents, who were likewise perfectly acquainted with the public sentiments upon that subject; therefore the only means that appeared of effecting the destruction of their rivals, was to clamour incessantly for the trial and condemnation of the unfortunate monarch, as it was evident that in either event they must be finally tri-

This sanguinary wretch was born at Arras, the capital of Artois. He never derogated from the blood-thirsty honours of his family, being nephew to Damien, who was broken on the wheel, January the fifth, 1757, for attempting the assassination of Louis the Fifteenth. His situation, some years ago, was that of porter in a shop in Dublin. Returning to France, he embraced the profession of the law, which he practised in Paris, with respectability equal to a pettifogger in England. His versatile genius, desperate ambition, and unprincipled nature, directed his practice to enormities, which filled his purse, and increased his infamy. In this profession, he took the advantage of substituting his own name, instead of that of a legatee, in a will. For this mal-practice he was imprisoned. In this situation he is said to have commenced his first acquaintance with his congenial friend Marat. Plausible and insinuating in his discourse, he had the greatest powers for popular delusion. With a voice gentle, words selected, and arguments accompanied with asseverations, that seemed dictated by the purest principles, he seduced the multitude into a confident opinion of his integrity and patriotism.

His firm step and quick pace announced great activity and energy of temper. Absorbed in his boundless plans, he frequently folded and compressed his hands, as though lost in thought. Being subject to spasms in his shoulders and neck, the latter was generally in a state of convulsive motion, more especially when he was agitated with much surprize, anxiety, or opposition. He was temperate in his diet, and seldom intoxicated by the social glass of domestic entertainment, or convivial festivity. If a motion was made, displeasing to him, his vindictive temper instantly directed his eyes to observe the offender, whom he always strove to intimidate by his menacing aspect.

Livid in complexion, puny in body, and haggard in countenance, many have been surprized that he should be capable of fascinating a people, so far as to enable him to become the instrument of their own destruction. His cruel, vindictive, and rapacious aspect, disgusted the sight, at the same time that his affected patriotism extorted applause. The energy of words supplied the deficiency of voice, which was naturally weak, and enfeebled with disease. His eye-lids were affected with a constant twinkling motion, and he always carried about him medicines for temporary relief. Possessing few passions which he could not controul, he was always sufficiently collected to take advantage of those of others; except when hope left him no prospect of success but from desperation. It was his aim to deceive all, and avoid deception himself. His friendship always tended to direct the acts of others to his own advantage; and his enmity was more excited against those to whom he owed great obligations, than to his real and avowed opponents. Those who could no longer serve him, soon fell the victims of his ingratitude and disappointment. Those whom he dreaded, he attempted to delude into a confidence of his virtue; but his most open and inveterate foes have escaped his vengeance, by his not daring to lead them to sacrifice. Though he coalesced with every one who could aid his designs, and whose confidence he could obtain, yet he retained more in his interest by fear than friendship. His most intimate associates were the most jealous of his principles. He owed his rise more to the error of popular opinion, than to any brilliancy of talent. His ambition began to portray itself, when he, in 1784, expressed a desire to become procureur-general to the parliament of Paris, that he might excite public attention. In this situation, he perceived the means of gratifying his insatiate thirst of fame, and with this motive he appears to have first entered the Convention. Unassuming in success, simple in manners, negligent in dress, and moderate in his living, he appeared incorruptible to the people. Whatever he determined to perpetrate, his pretence was founded on some plea of necessity, arising from a violence he would oppose, or an injury he would avert. A stranger to humanity, he never pardoned; but always punished without remorse. His ferocity and sanguinary disposition rendered him capable of every social outrage.—Such is the outline of the character of Robespierre—a fit instrument in the hands of Egalité.

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umphant: if the king should be acquitted, the charge of inconsistency must inevitably fall upon those who operated the change in the government; if he should be condemned, the views and the engagements of the Girondists must be frustrated.

Such were, in all probability, the motives and intentions of Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and the other leaders of the Mountain party, in hurrying on the fate of the devoted Louis with unabating ferocity. In the beginning of October, the clamours of Marat, Merlin, and other incendiaries, plunged the Convention into a series of decrees, viz. one for the sale of the royal property, for the use of the nation; one for removing all royal insignia; one for erasing his majesty's picture from the assignats; and various others, the result of which must prove fatal to the king. An extraordinary commission was appointed, consisting of twenty-four members, who were authorized to examine and arrange the body of evidence against him. Louis was separated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. A committee was likewise appointed for duty at the Temple, which they regularly performed in turn.

On the sixth of November, Valazé, one of the commission of twenty-four, commenced the business with the following report of accusation against the king.

“ The proofs, which we deliver to you, were scattered in a great number of papers: we collected all we could, and have read them with great care. The difficulties which occurred in this labour were great; for we found a number of letters written in cyphers; and you will see, by our report, how much those have been deceived, who imagined that the *ci-devant* king is a simple man. There are a number of papers which prove that considerable sums were sent to the emigrants; and these papers, while they unveil the plots of Louis the Sixteenth, discover the names of his principal accomplices.

“ A port-folio, found at the house of Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list, has afforded us the principal part of our information. The papers it contained have been formed into several bundles. Among others, is a letter from Bouillé, dated Mentz, September the fifteenth, 1791. At this epoch the perfidious king, without doubt, was careful not to say that he corresponded with Bouillé; yet it appears that the above letter could be addressed to no other person but to him. Besides, the place in which it was found evidently proves it. You will see there an account of the sums given to Bouillé by Louis Capet, for the purpose of forming a camp at Montmidi. It is extremely curious, for it contains the names of some of the principal agents of the conspiracy then formed, and some of these agents will be seen making a figure at the Thuilleries in 1792, and there receiving, as at the period of the flight to Varennes, considerable sums of money, apparently destined for the like purposes.”—Bouillé's letter was here read; and stated, that the writer had received the sum of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres. Valazé then continued his report.

“ You

“ You can no longer then deny, Louis Capet, that you have participated in those plots, the blackness of which the infamous Bouillé has displayed in his insolent manifestoes. You can no longer say that you had no part in the flight of your brother; and you can no longer deny that you kept up a correspondence with the court of Berlin, and that you made every effort there to pave the way for a declaration of war against France. The accounts for the expedition to Varennes were finally settled on the sixteenth of April last. We have found that it cost the civil list more than six millions of livres. You have observed, representatives of the people, that one Gogulat is mentioned in Bouillé’s letter, as having received from him the sum of three thousand six hundred livres; and in another letter, of Choisseul-Stainville, as having received nine thousand more from him. This corrupted agent, probably a subaltern, for his name is disfigured in Bouillé’s letter, appears afterwards on the scene. On the twenty-ninth of February, 1792, he received from the civil list the sum of sixty thousand livres, for which he promises to account. You may readily judge, representatives, what account he will give, and what was the nature of the business, with the management of which he was entrusted. You will see, Louis Capet, and you will acknowledge, that you cannot blind us respecting your intentions, when we produce to you the receipts of the widow Favras, to whom you allowed a pension of four thousand livres, which continued to be paid till the month of June last; and when we shew you your promise, dated March, 1792, of giving to the *ci-devant curés* of Versailles a pension of eight hundred livres each, as long as they should be deprived of their livings. This is one of the objects upon which you enjoined secrecy; and you doubtless did not expect, imperious despot, that, after such a formal injunction, the secret could ever be divulged. Will he blush, citizen colleagues, when we clearly shew that there is no engine of corruption which he did not employ upon weak men; that he exerted his utmost endeavours to mislead the people; and that he never opened his dangerous treasures, but with the hope of accomplishing that end? when we prove to him, that the author of the *Postillon de la Guerre* received from him, in the months of May and June last, the sum of eight thousand livres, and that of the *Logographe* thirty-four thousand, in the space of three months? when we exhibit to him the note taken from the port-folio of Septeuil, in which security is given in his name for the sum of one million two hundred thousand livres, to support the booksellers of Paris? and, lastly, when we shew him a letter from La Porte to Septeuil, which I think it is necessary, representatives, that you should read, as it would be difficult to express the meaning of it?

“ Representatives, you will next see Louis a forestaller of corn, coffee, and sugar. The papers which we have seized prove this fact beyond a doubt. This forestalment was carried on in foreign countries: the treasurer of the civil list had orders to manage this traffic, and to employ on it three millions of livres. After reviewing a hundred times the papers and correspondence respecting this commerce, which was carried on

“ from

“ from the month of June 1791, till the last revolution, we at length found a piece
 “ signed “LOUIS,” and dated January the ninth, 1791, which explains the whole. Sep-
 “ teuil is there authorized to place the private property of the tyrant, either in the funds
 “ at Paris, or in foreign countries; and as the proposed commerce was exposed to evident
 “ risques, the above paper declares that Septeuil shall not be responsible for events.

“ To afford you some relaxation, legislators, and that you may participate in our
 “ amusements, we shall now entertain you with the childish means invented by the
 “ court to gain over partisans. We found in the port-folio of Bertrand, a note which
 “ attests the establishment of a new order of knighthood, under the title of *Chevaliers*
 “ *de la Reine*. The decoration of it is a medal, suspended from a scarlet ribband, hav-
 “ ing on one side a portrait of the queen, with her name, and on the other the follow-
 “ ing motto—*Magnum reginæ nomen obumbrat*. On the brevets or patents of the order
 “ is inscribed—*Dux femina facti, partoque ibid regina triumphat*. It appears, from the
 “ note in question, that several Swiss officers, unworthy of the country which gave
 “ them birth, and of the age in which they lived, suffered themselves to be seduced by
 “ this toy; and that they were not afraid to decorate themselves with it, even at the
 “ time when Lyons was convulsed by internal commotions.—Whilst we have only such
 “ children to combat, our success cannot be doubtful.

“ Other papers prove, that the Gardes-du-Corps at Coblenz were paid by Louis
 “ Capet; that the conspirators assembled at the Thuilleries; that Bouillé himself had
 “ had the audacity to go thither, even after the projected escape of the king in 1791;
 “ and, lastly, that, after a decree of accusation was passed against the count d’Artois, the
 “ king had secured to his children a pension of two hundred thousand livres.”

The reader will perceive that the principal articles of this report were drawn from an exercise of that very power with which the representative body had legally entrusted him. Acts committed anterior to his acceptance of the constitution were adduced as evidence to prove his intentions of violating it; and the precautions which he took on the night preceding the bloody tenth of August, dictated purely by motives of personal safety, were construed into premeditated plots to destroy the citizens of Paris. Papers were however produced in proof of the king having remitted sums of money to certain emigrants; but they appeared rather the dictates of compassion towards the distressed, than of treachery towards his country. And although it appeared from the papers which had been found in the Thuilleries, mentioned in this report, that money had been actually distributed to certain journalists and writers in favour of monarchy; yet these are the common, and surely in most cases the venial, practices of courts; and, in the instance before us, might be considered as the mere dictates of self-defence. The question, however, which embarrassed his accusers most, was, Whether the king was not invested by the constitution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice,

he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial? This objection was strangely and most iniquitously over-ruled by the Convention, who in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to those "Rights of Man" which the nation had solemnly proclaimed.

On the following day Mailhe delivered in a second report; wherein, after going over nearly the same ground with Valazé, but with still greater acrimony, he concludes thus:—"What shall be the tribunal whose authority and impartial equity may remove all suspicion, and dissipate every idea of violent or political prejudice?—Two methods seem to have an equality of suffrages. One is the formation of a jury, the members of which shall be chosen by the electoral assemblies of the departments. The other is, that the Convention shall reserve this trial to itself. The latter has been adopted by the committee: I therefore present to you the following plan of a decree:

"1. Louis the Sixteenth may be tried.—2. He shall be tried by the National Convention.—3. Three commissioners, chosen from the Convention by public election, shall be charged with the care of collecting all the pieces necessary for the trial, and of presenting the result of them to the Convention.—4. The commissioners shall terminate their report by an enumeration of the crimes.—5. This enumeration shall be printed and distributed.—6. Eight days after a discussion shall commence on the act of accusation, and the charges to be adopted or rejected.—7. If the act be adopted, it shall be communicated to Louis the Sixteenth, that he may provide for his defence.—8. A copy of the report, and of the papers respecting it, shall also be presented to Louis the Sixteenth.—9. If he demands the originals, they shall be carried to him by twelve commissioners.—10. The originals shall not be carried from the archives until copies of them are taken.—11. The National Convention shall fix a day on which Louis the Sixteenth shall present his defence.—12. Louis the Sixteenth shall present his defence in writing, and signed by himself.—13. Louis the Sixteenth may give answers verbally.—14. After he has made his defence, and after the expiration of the delay settled by the Convention, they shall pass sentence by public vote."

Manuel moved, that those who might speak in favour of Louis the Sixteenth, should be declared under the safeguard and protection of the law. This motion was, to their eternal disgrace, followed by murmurs and hootings!

Mailhe observed, that he had not included Marie Antoinette in his plan of a decree. Constitutional inviolability did not, he said, extend to her, and she would be tried before the ordinary tribunals. With regard to Louis-Charles, as he was too young to have participated in the crimes of his parents, he could not be considered as guilty.

So abject was already the state of the fallen monarch, that upon the following trivial requests to one of the commissioners at the Temple, that the amount of the expences to be monthly allowed them should be fixed, in order that they might not exceed them; that a physician and an apothecary, who knew their constitutions, should be allowed them, in order to administer such remedies as they might think proper; that a sum of two thousand livres, for their lesser daily expences, might be granted; and that they might be furnished with some furniture and linen from the *garde-meuble*, the Convention passed to "the order of the day, the prisoners having no want of any thing necessary, and the committee being empowered to furnish them upon all occasion⁵⁹."—But, alas! the ill-fated Lewis was reserved for much greater mortifications, and trials much severer than this!

The treatment to which the royal family were subjected in the Temple was totally a secret. Many circumstances of a public nature, however, indicated, that it was indelicate and harsh in the highest degree. A committee, appointed by the general council of the commune of Paris, sat there constantly, and, according to directions given, regulated every thing respecting the royal family. As they had been more closely confined of late, and were not seen by the guards who did duty at the Temple, a report was spread that the king had escaped, although the same number as usual continued to mount guard; it was said, that this was done merely to deceive the people, till some excuse could be thought of to avert the public indignation from the committee for their negligence and treachery. Full of this idea, a body of men from the sections of Paris, who were on guard at the Temple, insisted upon seeing the king and royal family, that they might be satisfied themselves, and be enabled to satisfy their fellow citizens, that the king actually was in the Temple, and that they were not guarding empty apartments, as was strongly suspected. The municipal officers refused to comply with this demand: the guard insisted, and threatened to force their way into the apartments. Santerre was sent for: he expostulated with those mutineers, and assured them that all the royal family were safe in the prison. This at length satisfied the volunteers from the sections; but the cannoniers persisted in their demand, and Santerre was under the necessity of appealing to the multitude assembled at the gates of the Temple, who, in character of the Sovereign People, decided against the cannoniers, and they were obliged to give up the point.

The municipal committee, to whose care the royal family were peculiarly entrusted, had made frequent reports to the general council, in which they pretended, that there ap-

⁵⁹ When Lewis was conducted to the Temple, he was literally without a penny; Petion lent him two thousand livres, for which he gave the following receipt:

"The king acknowledges having received from M. Petion the sum of two thousand five hundred and twenty-six livres; five hundred and twenty-six of which the commissioners of the municipality are to pay to M. Ha-

"who had advanced them for the service of the king.

"Paris, this 3d of Sept. 1792.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

peared to be a plan for delivering them from the Temple; and the smallest accidental circumstances which occurred without were considered as signals, which were fully understood by the prisoners. In the returns to the general council, mention was made of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight; of the songs that were sung in the streets; the expressions made use of by the common criers that passed; and it was insinuated, that by all these more was meant than met the ear. It having been represented by the committee, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of persons came to the windows of the adjacent houses, and made signals, which seemed to be understood by the prisoners, a member of the council proposed, that, to prevent this, the king and royal family should never be permitted to take the air, till it was so dark that they could not be seen; another proposed to raise the walls of the garden, and make such alterations in the Temple, as would effectually prevent the prisoners from being seen by any person without. Both these proposals were, however, rendered unnecessary by an order from the council, that all the royal family should be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of their apartments; and when they assembled at the hour of dinner, which was always in the presence of one or two municipal officers, every look, word, or gesture of the unhappy prisoners was observed, interpreted, and frequently reported to the council general, as having a mysterious meaning.

Among other circumstances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the committee, that the king continued to wear his star and ribbands, which raised the petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the subject of this memorial, expressed himself in the following indecent terms: "If Lewis had common sense, he would of his own accord have thrown aside all those feudal trappings; he would by this time have become a Republican, which is being greater than a king; for a king is only the highest slave in his own dominions."—The council general however ordered Manuel to go to the Temple, and announce to the king, that as royalty was abolished, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which passed between the king and Manuel on this occasion, has been published in some of the journals, probably by Manuel himself: even from this account it appears, that the king received this message with that manly indifference, and undisturbed resignation, which he had always shewn since the beginning of his misfortunes. It has been said, that Lewis the Sixteenth never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he possessed it in its highest splendour; he seemed to be as little affected by the loss of it; and the malice of his enemies, displayed in these paltry instances, instead of throwing disgrace on the monarch, rendered his good qualities more conspicuous.

When the royal family were first lodged in the Temple, they were treated with some degree of respect; they were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty

berty of walking in the garden of the Temple ; but this appearance of respect gradually diminished, and at last the treatment they received was, in many instances, brutal. A person who was admitted into the Temple, by means of a near relation, on duty there, declared, that at the hour at which, by a standing order from the council, the prisoners were to be confined to their apartments, he saw the keeper go to the king, who was still walking in the garden, and address him in these words : " Come along, Monsieur Veto, " you must go in.

When the royal family dined, a commissioner from the commune of Paris was always present. The queen happening one day to raise the hand in which she held her knife a little suddenly towards her breast, the commissioner seemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he feared she had an intention against her life ; which the queen observing, said, with emphasis, " No, Sir ; I reserve that honour for the Convention."

From the time that the king's process was resolved upon, the royal family were confined more closely, and watched more strictly than ever. The council ordered, that in future two commissioners should pass the night in his bed-chamber, instead of one, which had been the case before. All persons who were admitted into the presence of any of the royal family were previously searched. Orders were given, that the razors with which the king was in the use of shaving himself should be removed : this was done from a fear that he might prefer suicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the Convention ; though such an idea was totally remote from the king's way of thinking. When his razors and pen-knife were demanded from him, he said, " Do you think me such a " coward as to kill myself ?"—The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but also scissars, and all sharp, cutting, or pointed instruments, and it was extended to all the royal family. " They had better deprive us of our needles," said the queen, when it was read to her. When the king, afterwards, repeatedly applied for a razor, it was at last granted by the council, who directed, however, that he should shave himself under the inspection of the commissioners ; and the queen and princess Elizabeth were allowed scissars to pare their nails, with the same restriction.

On the third of December, after much altercation, in which Robespierre, and the rest of the sanguinary party, gained the ascendancy ; and in which Petion used his endeavours to introduce something like a regularity in the proceedings against Lewis, by demanding, " Whether Lewis the Sixteenth could be judged, and who were to be his judges ?" the Convention decreed, " That Lewis the Sixteenth be tried by them ;" thus at once did they constitute themselves his accusers, and his judges. The sitting was then declared permanent till the trial of the king should be terminated ; and with such savage ferocity did they thirst for the blood of their victim, that it was with difficulty they were induced to forego the measure of *instantly* passing sentence, without even the *form* of a trial, only the day after the decree for bringing him to the bar had passed.

On

On the sixth of the same month several motions were made of a similar tendency; some even went so far as to pre-suppose the condemnation, and even to propose the mode of execution—Sillery and Manuel moved, that nothing be pre-judged before the accused had been heard in his defence. “Brutus killed Cæsar,”—said Manuel—“but it was in a full senate; Cæsar was surrounded by legions, and Brutus had only his arm. If Cæsar had been in prison, Brutus would have demanded that he should be heard before he was judged. We are judges,”—added Manuel—“and we alone should be divested of that hatred which all the other citizens are entitled to bear the accused.” Bourdon reproached Manuel with sporting with French sensibility. “Let there be placed,”—said he—“by the side of Lewis, when he shall appear at the bar, the citizens who were wounded on the tenth of August, and, perhaps, the interest he inspires will be weakened.” Saint Just spoke on the subject, grounding his argument on the opinion of Thomas Paine, which was, “That the Convention should undertake the business on a grander scale: it was not Lewis alone they were to judge; it was monarchy itself: that, bringing in evidence the treaties of Padua and Pilnitz, there would appear a general conspiracy of kings against nations.”

The Convention, after having heard the reading of a great many projects of decrees, passed the following, which were drawn up by Quinette:

“1. The National Convention decrees, that the commission of twenty-four, the committees of legislation and general safety, shall each name three of their members, to be joined to the commission of twelve.—2. This commission of twenty-one members shall present, on Monday morning next, the act declaratory of the crimes of which Louis Capet stands accused, and shall range in due order the papers in support of that act.—3. The commissioners shall present the series of questions to be put to Louis Capet.—4. The Convention shall discuss, on Monday, the declaratory act of the crimes.—5. The next day Louis Capet shall be brought to the bar of the National Convention, to hear the reading of that act, and to answer the questions that shall be put to him by the president.—6. A copy of the declaratory act, and of the series of the questions shall be delivered to Louis Capet, and the president shall adjourn him to be heard definitively in two days.—7. The day following the National Convention shall pronounce the fate of Louis Capet, by taking the votes of the members, one by one; and each member shall present himself, successively, for that purpose, at the tribune.—8. The National Convention charges the executive power, upon their responsibility, to take all proper measures for the general safety, during the course of the trial of Louis Capet.”

On the morning fixed for the examination of Lewis, he knew nothing of its being decreed that he should appear at the bar of the Convention, but rose as usual at seven; he spent only a few minutes in dressing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums being heard, he enquired of the commissioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them so early. The commissioners pretended ignorance. "Do you not think,"—rejoined the king—"that they beat the 'generale?'" The commissioners replied, they could not distinguish. The king walked musing about the room, and sometimes stood listening attentively. "I think I hear the 'sound of horses feet in the court,'" said he. The commissioners gave no explanation.

The royal family breakfasted together that morning: they were full of alarm and inquietude at the noise, which increased every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cause was carefully concealed from them. The queen and princesses went to their own apartments after breakfast, and left the prince royal with the king. The commissioners at last informed him, that he was about to receive a visit from the mayor of Paris. "So much the better," said the king.—"But I must inform you,"—resumed one of the commissioners—"that he cannot speak to you in the presence of your son." The king then, after pressing the child to his breast, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Clery, the valet who attended the king, withdrew with the prince. The king asked the commissioner, if he knew what the mayor's business with him was, and received a negative answer. He walked about the room for some time, stopping at intervals to ask questions respecting the person and character of the mayor. The commissioner answered, That he was not particularly acquainted with him; but that he bore a good character, and, to the best of his recollection was of a middle age, thin, and rather tall. The king seated himself in a chair, and continued absorbed in meditation. Meanwhile the commissioner had moved behind the chair on which the king was seated. When he awaked from his reverie, not seeing any body, he turned suddenly round, and perceiving the commissioner close behind him, said with quickness, "What do you want, 'Sir?'" "Nothing,"—replied the other—"but fearing you were indisposed, I approached to know what ailed you⁶¹."

Monsieur Chambon, the mayor, entered soon after, and informed the king, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention; the king accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horse as well as foot, he seemed surprised at seeing some of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted. Before he stepped into the mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which his family were confined, and the tears were observed to

⁶¹ These particulars, which some may think of a nature too trifling and minute, strongly paint the state of agitation and suspicion in which the mind of the unhappy monarch was at this time.

trickle down his cheeks. The coach then proceeded to the Convention, attended by the troops.

The commissioner ascended to the queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and sorrow. He acquainted them that the mayor had been with the king. "We know that,"—said the queen—"but now—where have they carried the king now?"—"To the Convention," replied the commissioner. "You would have saved us much uneasiness,"—said the princess Elizabeth—"if you had informed us of this sooner."

The king was conducted to the Convention by the Boulevards, the new street of the Capuchins, the Place Vendôme, and the court of the Feuillans. All the streets which open to the Boulevards had guards stationed in them, with orders to prevent the multitude from assembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all those streets; patrols were ordered to prevent any kind of obstruction by groupes, or carriages along the whole of the way that the king was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different posts near the Thuilleries and hall of the Assembly. It is said, that there were near one hundred thousand men in arms that day in Paris. The glasses of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no disturbance. Great numbers of persons, however, were waiting in all the passages leading to the Assembly, and the tribunes had been filled from six o'clock in the morning.

Previous to the arrival of the king, the sitting commenced by reading the act of accusation against Louis the Sixteenth, which was presented by Barbaroux in name of the commission of twenty-one. It contained an enumeration of the principal charges made against the unfortunate monarch; and each charge was followed by a list of the pieces on which the proofs are to be founded. When it was read, several new charges were proposed by several of the members; and some, which appeared to have little weight, or to be ill-founded, were expunged.

The Convention were much surprised to hear even Marat become, in some measure, the voluntary defender of Louis the Sixteenth, by requesting that all those charges alluding to crimes committed before his acceptance of the constitution, should be omitted in the act of accusation. He spoke also of the amnesty which followed that acceptance; but the Convention paid little attention to his observations.

The Convention then decreed, that the act of accusation should serve as the ground of those questions which were to be put to Louis the Sixteenth, and that after each question, the president should say to him, *What have you to answer?* The president was authorised also to propose such questions as might arise from the King's answers, and to permit him to sit down at the bar.

It

It was ordered that no member should make any motion while Louis the Sixteenth was at the bar; and that no sign of approbation or censure should be made. It was also ordered that a chair might be placed at the bar for the use of Louis. It was then determined that the answers of Louis should be read over to him, and that he should be asked to sign them.

The President then addressed the Assembly thus: "I inform the assembly, that Louis is at the gate of the Feuillans. Representatives, you are about to exercise the right of national justice; you will answer to all the citizens of the Republic for the firm and wise conduct which you may hold upon this important occasion. Europe observes you. History receives your thoughts, your actions. Posterity, incorruptible, will judge you with inflexible severity. Let your attitude conform to the new functions which you are about to fill. *Impassibility*, and the most profound silence, become judges. The dignity of your sitting should answer to the majesty of the French people. Citizens of the tribunes, you are associated with the glory and the liberty of the nation, of which you make part. You know, that justice presides only in tranquil deliberations. The National Convention relies upon your entire devotion to the country, and upon your respect for the representatives of the people. The citizens of Paris will accept this new opportunity of shewing the patriotism and the public spirit with which they are animated⁶²."

The commandant general then informed the Convention, that Louis Capet attended their orders. The unfortunate monarch was then admitted to the bar. The mayor, two municipal officers, and generals Santerre and Wittenkoff, entered with him. The guard remained on the outside, in the hall. The president then addressed the king in the following terms:—"Louis, the French nation accuses you. The National Convention resolved, on the third of December, that you shall be judged by itself; on the sixth, it was decreed, that you should be brought to the bar. They are about to read the act which announces the crimes imputed to you. You may sit down."—Louis seated himself.

One of the secretaries read the act of accusation, charge by charge, and at each the president asked Louis what he had to say in his own defence. The unfortunate monarch delivered no speech, and contented himself with giving answers to each question in few words.

Pres. Louis, the French nation accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny, in destroying her freedom. You, on the 20th of June 1789, attempted the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assemblies of their representatives, and expelling them with violence from the places of their sittings. This is prov-

⁶² *Procès-verbal.*

ed in the procès verbal entered at the tennis court of Versailles by the members of the constituent assembly. On the twenty-third of June you wanted to dictate laws to the nation—you surrounded their representatives with troops—you presented to them two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and ordered them to separate. Your own declarations, and the minutes of the assembly prove these attempts.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. No laws were then existing to prevent me.

Pres. You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your satellites have shed the blood of several of them, and you would not remove this army till the taking of the Bastille, and a general insurrection, announced to you that the people were victorious. The speeches you made on the ninth, twelfth, and fourteenth of July, to the deputations of the constituent assembly, shew what were your intentions; and the massacres of the Thuilleries rise in evidence against you.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I was master at that time to order the troops to march; but I never had an intention of shedding blood.

Pres. After these events, and in spite of the promises which you made on the fifteenth, in the constituent assembly, and on the seventeenth in the town-house of Paris, you have persisted in your projects against national liberty; you long eluded the execution of the decrees of the eleventh of August, respecting the abolition of personal servitude, the feudal government and tythes. You long refused acknowledging the Rights of Man: you doubled the number of the life-guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; you permitted, in orgies held before your eyes, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be hoisted, and the nation to be slandered. At last, you rendered necessary a fresh insurrection, occasioned the death of several citizens, and did not change your language till after your guards had been defeated, when you renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your observations of the eighteenth of September, in the decrees of the eleventh of August, in the minutes of the constituent assembly, in the events of Versailles of the fifth and sixth of October, and in the conversation you had on the same day with a deputation of the constituent assembly, when you told them, You would enlighten yourself with their councils, and never recede from them.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I have made the observations which I thought just on the two first heads. As to the cockade, it is false: it did not happen in my presence.

Pres. You took an oath, at the federation of the fourteenth of July, which you did not keep. You soon tried to corrupt the public opinion, with the assistance of Talon, who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau, who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*, I do not know what happened at that time, but the whole is anterior to my acceptance of the constitution."

Pres. You lavished millions of money to effect this corruption, and you would even use popularity as a means of enslaving the people. These facts are the result of a memorial of Talon, on which you have made your marginal comments in your own handwriting.

writing, and of a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the nineteenth of April, in which, recapitulating a conversation he had with Rivarol, he told you, that the millions, which you had been prevailed upon to throw away, had been productive of nothing. For a long time you had meditated on a plan of escape. A memorial was delivered to you on the twenty-eighth of February, which pointed out the means for you to effect it; you approve of it by marginal notes.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I felt no greater pleasure than that of relieving the needy—This proves no design.

Pres. On the twenty-eighth a great number of the nobles and military came into your apartments in the castle of the Thuilleries, to favour that escape: you wanted to quit Paris, on the tenth of April, to go to St. Cloud.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. This accusation is absurd.

Pres. But the resistance of the citizens made you sensible that their distrust was great; you endeavoured to discard it, by communicating to the constituent assembly a letter which you addressed to the agents of the nation with foreign powers, to announce to them, that you had freely accepted the constitutional articles, which had been presented to you; and, notwithstanding, on the 21st you took flight with a false passport. You left behind a protest against the self-same constitutional articles; you ordered the ministers to sign none of the acts issued by the national assembly; and you forbade the minister of justice to deliver up the seals of state. The public money was lavished to insure the success of this treachery; and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouillé, who shortly before had been charged with the massacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote on this head, “to take care of his popularity, because it would be of service to you.” These facts are proved by the memorial of the twenty-third of February, with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the twentieth of June, wholly in your own hand-writing; by your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and by a note of the latter, in which he gives you an account of the use he made of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, given by you, and employed partly in trepanning the troops who were to escort you.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I have no knowledge whatever of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I appeal to my declaration to the commissaries of the constituent assembly at that period.

Pres. After your detention at Varennes, the exercise of the executive power was, for a moment, suspended in your hands, and you again formed a conspiracy. On the seventeenth of July the blood of citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars. A letter, in your own hand-writing, written in 1790, to La Fayette, proves that a criminal coalition subsisted between you and La Fayette, to which Mirabeau acceded. The revision began under these cruel auspices; all kinds of corruptions were made use of. You have paid for libels, pamphlets, and newspapers, designed to corrupt the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what immense sums have been made use of in these liberticide manoeuvres.—What have you

you to answer?—*Louis.* What happened on the seventeenth of July has nothing at all to do with me. I know nothing of it.

Pref. You seemed to accept the constitution on the fourteenth of September; your speeches announced an intention of supporting it, and you were busy in overturning it, even before it was completed. A convention was entered into at Pilnitz, on the twenty-fourth of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederic-William of Brandenburg, who pledged themselves to re-erect in France the throne of absolute monarchy, and you were silent upon this convention till the moment when it was known by all Europe—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* I made it known as soon as it came to my knowledge; besides, every thing that refers to this subject concerns the minister.

Pref. Arles had hoisted the standard of rebellion; you favoured it by sending three civil commissaries, who made it their business, not to repress the counter-revolutionists, but to justify their proceedings—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* The instructions which were given to the commissaries must prove what was their mission; and I knew none of them, when the ministers proposed them to me.

Pref. Avignon, and the county of Venaissin, had been united with France; you caused the decree to be executed; but a month after that time civil war desolated that country. The commissaries you sent thither helped to ravage it—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* I do not remember what delay has been caused in the execution of the decree; besides, this occurrence has no personal reference to me—it only concerns those that have been sent, not those who sent them.

Pref. Nimes, Montauban, Mende, Jales, felt great shocks during the first days of freedom. You did nothing to stifle those germens of counter-revolution, till the moment when Salliant's conspiracy became manifestly notorious.—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* I gave, in this respect, all the orders which were proposed to me by the ministers.

Pref. You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles.—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* I ought to have the pieces referring to this matter, to give a just answer.

Pref. You gave the southern command to Wigenstein, who wrote to you on the twenty-first of April 1792, after he had been recalled: “A few instants more, and I shall call around the throne of your majesty, thousands of French, who are again become worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.”—What have you to answer?—*Louis.* This letter is dated since his recall; he has not been employed since. I do not recollect this letter.

Pref. You paid your late life guards at Coblentz; the registers of Septeuil attest this; and general orders signed by you, prove, that you sent considerable remittances to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiseul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac—What have

have you to answer?—*Louis*. When I first learnt that my life-guards assembled beyond the Rhine, I stopped their pay; as to the rest, I do not remember.

Pref. Your brothers, enemies to the state, caused the emigrants to rally under their banners: they raised regiments, took up loans, and concluded alliances in your name: you did not disclaim them, but at the moment when you were fully certain that you could no longer cross their projects, your intelligence with them by a note, written by Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by your two brothers, was conceived in these words:

“ I wrote to you, but it was by post, and I could say nothing. We are two here, who make but one; one in sentiments, one in principles, one in zeal of serving you. We keep silence; because, were we to break it too soon, it would injure you: but we shall speak as soon as we shall be certain of general support, and that moment is near. If we are spoken to on the part of those people, we shall hear nothing; but if on your part, we will listen: we shall pursue our road straight; it is therefore desired that you will enable us to say something; do not stand on ceremonies. Be easy about your safety; we only exist to serve you; we are eagerly occupied with this point, and all goes on well; even our enemies feel themselves too much interested in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would terminate in their own destruction. Adieu.

“ L. S. XAVIER and CHARLES PHILLIPPE.”

What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I disowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according as the constitution prescribed me to do, and from the moment they came to my knowledge. Of this note I know nothing.

Pref. The soldiers of the line, who were to be put on the war establishment, consisted but of one hundred thousand men at the end of December, you therefore neglected to provide for the safety of the state from abroad. Narbonne required a levy of fifty thousand men, but he stopped the recruiting at six-and-twenty thousand, in giving assurances that all was ready; yet there was no truth in these assurances. Servan proposed after him to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; it was decreed by the legislative assembly; you refused your sanction.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I had given to the ministers all the orders for expediting the augmentation of the army: in the month of December last, the returns were laid before the Assembly. If they deceived themselves, it is not my fault.

Pref. A flight of patriotism made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters; you issued a proclamation, tending to stop their march; at the same time our camps were without soldiers. Dumourier, the successor of Servan, declared, that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor provisions, and that the posts were left defenceless. You waited to be urged by a request made to the minister Lajard, when the legislative assembly wished to point out the means of providing for the external safety of the state, by proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. You gave commission to the commanders of the troops

to disband the army, to force whole regiments to desert, and to make them pass the Rhine, to put them at the disposal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Austria, with whom you had intelligence. This fact is proved by the letter of Toulougeon, governor of Franche Comté.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I know nothing of this circumstance; there is not a word of truth in this charge.

Pres. You charged your diplomatical agents to favour this coalition of foreign powers and your brothers, against France, and especially to cement the peace between Turkey and Austria, and to procure thereby a larger number of troops against France from the latter. A letter of Choiseul-Gouffier, ambassador at Constantinople, verifies the fact.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. M. Choiseul did not speak the truth: no such thing has ever been.

Pres. The Prussians advanced against our frontiers: your minister was summoned, on the eighth of July, to give an account of the state of our political relations with Prussia; you answered, on the tenth, that fifty thousand Prussians were marching against us, and that you gave notice to the legislative body of the formal acts of the pending hostilities, in conformity to the constitution.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. It was only at that period I had knowledge of it: all the correspondence passed with the ministers.

Pres. You entrusted d'Abancourt, the nephew of Calonne, with the department of war; and such has been the success of your conspiracy, that the posts of Longwy and Verdun were surrendered to the enemy at the moment of their appearance.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I did not know that d'Abancourt was M. Calonne's nephew; I have not divested the posts. — I would not have permitted myself such a thing; I know nothing of it, if it has been so.

Pres. You have destroyed our navy—a vast number of officers belonging to that corps had emigrated, there scarcely remained any to do duty in the harbours; meanwhile Bertrand was granting passports every day; and when the legislative body represented to you his criminal conduct on the eighth of March, you answered, that you were satisfied with his services.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I have done all I could to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand, since the legislative assembly presented no complaint against him, that might have put him in a state of accusation, I did not think proper to turn him out of office.

Pres. You have favoured the maintenance of absolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented troubles and counter-revolutions throughout them, which took place at the same epoch when it was to have been brought about in France, which indicates plainly that you were concerned in this plot.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. If there are any of my agents in the colonies, they have not spoken the truth; I had nothing to do with what you have just mentioned.

Pres. The interior of the state was convulsed by fanatics; you avowed yourself their protector, in manifesting your evident intention of recovering by them your ancient power.

power.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I cannot answer to this; I know nothing of such a project.

Pres. The legislative body had passed a decree on the twenty-ninth of January, against the factious priests, you suspended its execution.—What have you to answer?

—*Louis*. The constitution reserved to me the free right to refuse my sanction of the decrees.

Pres. The troubles had encreased; the minister declared that he knew no means, in the laws extant, to arraign the guilty. The legislative body enacted a fresh decree, which you likewise suspended.—What have you to say to this?—To this *Louis* replied in the same manner as in the preceding charge.

Pres. The uncitizen-like conduct of the guards whom the constitution had granted you, had rendered it necessary to disband them. The day after, you sent them a letter expressive of your satisfaction, and continued their pay. This fact is proved by the treasurer of the civil list.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. I only continued them in pay till fresh ones could be raised, according to the tenor of the decree.

Pres. You kept near your person the Swiss guards: the constitution forbade you this, and the legislative assembly had expressly ordained their departure. What have you to answer.—*Louis*. I have executed all the decrees that have been enacted in this respect.

Pres. You had private companies at Paris, charged to operate movements useful to your projects of a counter-revolution. d'Aigremont and Gilles were two of your agents, who had salaries from the civil list. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to raise a company of sixty men, shall be presented to you.—What have you to answer?

—*Louis*. I have no knowledge whatever of the projects laid to their charge; the idea of a counter revolution never entered into my mind.

Pres. You wished to suborn, with considerable sums, several members of the legislative and constituent assemblies. Letters from Saint Leon, and others, evince the reality of these deeds.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. Several persons presented themselves with similar decrees; but I have waved them.

Pres. Who are they that presented you those projects?—*Louis*. The plans were so vague that I do not recollect them now.

Pres. Who are those to whom you gave money?—*Louis*. I gave money to nobody.

Pres. You suffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, Italy, and Spain; since you omitted to demand satisfaction for the bad treatment which the French suffered in those countries.—What have you to answer?—*Louis*. The diplomatic correspondence will prove the contrary; besides, this was a concern of the ministers.

Pres. You reviewed the Swiss on the tenth of August, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiss were the first who fired upon the citizens.—*Louis*. I went on that day to review all the troops that were assembled about me; the constituted authorities were with me, the department, the mayor, and municipality; I had even invited thither

a deputation of the National Assembly, and I afterwards repaired into the midst of them with my family.

Pres. Why did you draw troops to the castle?—*Louis.* All the constituted authorities saw that the castle was threatened; and as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself.

Pres. Why did you summon the mayor of Paris, in the night between the ninth and tenth of August, to the castle?—*Louis.* On account of the reports that were circulated.

Pres. You have caused the blood of the French to be shed.—*Louis.* No, Sir, not I.

Pres. You authorized Septeuil to carry on a considerable trade in corn, sugar, and coffee at Hamburgh. This fact is proved by a letter of Septeuil.—*Louis.* I know nothing of what you say.

Pres. Why did you affix a *veto* on the decree which ordained the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men?—*Louis.* The constitution left to me the free right of refusing my sanction of the decrees; and even from that period I had demanded the assembling of a camp at Soissons.

President, [addressing the Convention.] “The charges are done with.”—*[To Louis.]* Louis, is there any thing that you wish to add?—*Louis.* I request a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the pieces relating thereto, and the liberty of choosing counsel for my defence.

Valaze, who sat near the bar, presented and read to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoir of La Porte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.—*Louis.* I disown them.

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet, dated June the twenty-ninth, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution.—*Louis.* I reserve to myself to answer the contents.—*[Valaze read the letter.]*—It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been sent.

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet, of the twenty-second of April, relative to conversations about the Jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet.—*Louis.* I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, of Thursday morning, the third of March, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, with “March 3d, 1791,” implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins.”—*Louis.* I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge

of men, some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau.—*Louis*. I disown it, as well as the rest.

Valaze. Plan of a constitution, or revision of the constitution, signed “La Fayette,” addressed to Louis Capet, April the sixth, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing.—*Louis*. These things have been blotted out by the constitution.

Valaze. Do you know this writing?—*Louis*. I do not.

Valaze. Your marginal comments?—*Louis*. I do not.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte of the nineteenth of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, “April 19th, 1791,” mentioning a conversation with Rivarol.—*Louis*. I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, marked “April 16th, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the abbé Perigord, André, and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake.—*Louis*. I disown it likewise.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte of the twenty-third of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, respecting the means of his gaining popularity.—*Louis*. I know neither of these pieces.

Valaze. Several pieces without signatures, found in the castle of the Thuilleries, in the secret repository in the walls of the palace, relating to the expences to gain that popularity.

Pres. Previous to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question:—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that press?—*Louis*. I have no knowledge of it whatever.

Valaze. Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he had granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque.—*Louis*. This I own; but it consists of charitable donations which I have made.

Valaze. Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh, on the ninth of July, 1791.—*Louis*. This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid.

Pres. Louis, where had you deposited those pieces which you own?—*Louis*. With my treasurer.

Valaze. Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the one hundred Swiss, and the king's guards for 1792?—*Louis*. I do not.

Valaze. Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which

which are deposited among the records of the department of l'Ardèche.—*Louis*. I have not the smallest knowledge of them.

Valaze. Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, received of Louis Capet.—*Louis*. I disown it.

Valaze. An order for payment of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand livres, signed “Louis,” endorsed “Le Bonneirs,” with a letter and billet of the same.—*Louis*. I disown it.

Valaze. Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac, and to La Vauguyon and Choiseul.—*Louis*. I disown them as well as the others.

Valaze. Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late king, mentioned in the declaratory act.—*Louis*. I know nothing of it.

Valaze. Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul-Gouffier, at Constantinople.—*Louis*. I have no knowledge of them.

Valaze. Here is a letter of the late king to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the sixteenth of April, 1791.—*Louis*. I disown it.

Pres. Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?—*Louis*. I do not.

Pres. The seal bears the arms of France.—*Louis*. Several persons made use of that seal.

Valaze. Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?—*Louis*. I do not.

Valaze. Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter of Dufresne Saint Leon, which relates to it.—*Louis*. I know none of these pieces.

The president again announced, that he had no more questions to ask; and desired to know whether Louis had any thing farther to add. Louis replied as before, that he desired to have copies of the accusations, as well as of all papers intended to serve as proofs, and that he might be allowed counsel for his defence. Louis now retired, and after a debate on the latter part of his request, it was decreed, that he should be allowed counsel. The king was re-conducted to the Temple in the same carriage, and with the same attendants, that he had when he came to the assembly. The crowd in the streets was greater than in the morning; the continued cries of *Vive la Republique!* accompanied the coach from the assembly hall to the Temple, and the cry *A la Guillotine*⁶³! was also heard more frequently than

⁶³ Since the entire abrogation of the former code of criminal as well as civil legislation, and the ascendancy of the present prevailing party in Paris, all former methods of depriving the wretched victims of life have been found much too tedious to keep pace with the tribunals in their condemnations. An ingenious artist has therefore constructed an instrument of death on the following plan: