

than in the morning, but less so than was expected by those who had taken so much pains to irritate the populace against him.

In the coach, the king asked Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, "If he thought the Convention would allow him to have counsel." This man, by the account which he afterwards gave of what passed, answered shortly, "that his duty was to conduct him to and from the assembly, and not to answer questions." When he arrived at the Temple, and was in his apartment, he sent a message desiring to speak to the Mayor, who, being in his carriage, and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the summons, and ascended to the king's chamber. "I hope," said he to Chambon, "that you will not delay to let me know, whether I am allowed counsel." The Mayor replied, "that he might rely upon being informed as soon as possible; adding, that he was persuaded the Convention were too just to refuse to him what the law allowed to all."

Every member of the Convention did not agree in opinion with the Mayor; about thirty or forty deputies of the faction called the Mountain, were against granting that request, and opposed it by the most indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they next insisted that he should be allowed only one person for counsel. The great majority on the contrary were for allowing him three; the debate became so tumultuous, that the President was obliged to put on his hat⁶⁴: the Mountain was at last obliged to relinquish this shameful attempt: and it was decreed that the king should have counsel, without limiting the number, and that a message should instantly be sent to inform him of this. One of those who had opposed his having counsel, proposed that two of the servants of the Assembly should carry this message; but the Convention ordered four of their members for that purpose.

After the Mayor left the Temple, the king immediately examined the *Constitution*, of which he had a copy, and said to the Commissioner, who was now alone with him, "Yes,

It is in form of a painter's easel, and about ten feet high; at four feet from the bottom is a cross bar, on which the sufferer lays his head, which is kept down by another bar placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves, in which is placed an axe, with a weight, supported at the summit by a peg. The sufferer is first tied to a plank, of about eighteen inches broad, and an inch thick, standing upright, fastened with cords about the arms, belly, and legs: this plank is about four feet long, and comes almost up to the chin; the executioner then lays him on his belly on the bench, lifts up the upper part of the board, which receives his neck, adjusts his head, then shuts the board, and pulls a cord, fastened to the peg at the top of the machine, which lifts up a catch: the axe then falls, and the head, which is severed in a moment, is received in a basket ready for the purpose, as is the body in another.

The Republic cannot, however, boast of the primary invention of this machine, though they stand unrivalled in the frequent use of it: an instrument of this construction was made in England, under the name of *THE MAIDEN*, though we believe, save one instance, it never was exhibited: it has, however, been of excellent service in furnishing the hint to this nation of republicans.

⁶⁴ This is a signal to order, never given but in cases of great confusion, and is generally obeyed.

"I find

"I find that the law allows me counsel; but may I not also be allowed the satisfaction of having my family with me?" The commissioner answered, "That he did not know, but would go and consult the committee." He went accordingly, and returned soon after; he informed the king that he could not see his family.—"That is hard," said the king—"but my son, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at least: he is a child, Sir, of only seven years of age." "The committee have declared,"—replied the commissioner—"that you shall have no communication with your family—your son is of your family." The commissioner left the king, and went to the queen's apartment, where all the royal family were. The queen immediately asked, if they might not all wait on the king, who they knew was returned from the Convention. The commissioner gave the same answer he had given to the king. "At least,"—said the queen—"let him have the company of this child; pray allow his son to go to him." The commissioner replied, "That as the child could not be with both, it was best that the person who might be supposed to have the greatest courage should suffer the privation: besides,"—he added—"a child of his age has more need of the care of a mother than of a father."

The following day four members of the Convention waited upon Louis, and informed him, that it was decreed he should be allowed counsel; and requested him to name them. His choice fell upon three distinguished advocates, Messrs. Tronchet, Lamoignon Maletherbes⁶⁵, and Deseze; he had previously applied to M. Target, who excused himself on account of his infirmity⁶⁶. Louis was speedily furnished with the papers he wished for,

⁶⁵ Monsieur de Lamoignon-Maletherbes, is a man of an amiable and respectable character; of distinguished sense, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what was called the Robe in France; he is grandson of the chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth. The present Monsieur de Maletherbes distinguished himself towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth, by some very eloquent and courageous remonstrances which he drew up when he was first president of the *Conseil des Aides*, and for which he was banished. In the beginning of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth, he succeeded Monsieur de Saint Florentin in the ministry; but afterwards, for reasons which are variously stated, he desired and obtained leave to retire. This respectable man was in his seventy-second year; his generous offer to be counsel for the king gained him the applause of the public, and formed a contrast, greatly in his favour, with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties. Even the *Poissards* of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of Monsieur de Maletherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the house of Monsieur Target, to insult him in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fortunately for him, he was advertised of their intention, and made his escape.—*Memoirs*.

⁶⁶ To show, in some small degree, the clemency of the city of Paris, a deputation from the council of the commune of that city, appeared at the bar of the Convention, and proposed the following draft of a decree, which they had thought proper to pass, respecting the unfortunate monarch; but which that body, sanguinary as they were, rejected with indignation. By this decree, the king was to have no communication with his family; his valet-de-chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourse with any body else; his counsel were to be strictly examined, even in the most secret parts; and, after having thrown off the cloaths in which they entered, they



Jones Sculp

THE DAUPHIN,

*Son of Louis the Sixteenth
Born at Versailles the 27th of March*

— 1785 —

Engraved for C. Townsend and J. Parsons No. 21. Paternoster Row. 1787.

for, many of which he denied that he knew, or had subscribed, or noted, which were shewn to him as his own; some others he acknowledged, but proposed to make observations upon them. The pension to the widow Favras he acknowledged, but denied that he had patronized her husband; and said, that the letter of thanks to Bouillé, upon the affair of Nancy, was his, but that the constituent assembly had also given him marks of their satisfaction.—He was now permitted to see his family, but the children were ordered to be separated from their unfortunate mother and aunt.

We cannot forbear, in this place, to give one instance of the strictness of the watch which was constantly kept over the king; and his majesty's particular regard to the religion he professed. We shall give it in the words of the report made by one of the commissioners on duty, as inserted in the *Proces-Verbal*:

“ On Tuesday last, the eighteenth of December, you appointed me, with five of my colleagues, to be one of the guards in the Temple. As soon as we arrived in the tower, they made us draw lots, and it was my fate to be sent to the apartment of Louis. It was near half past eleven at night, and Louis was just gone to bed. The next morning he rose, according to custom, between seven and eight: after he was dressed, he took a book, and read by his fire-side. After having read about half an hour, he came to us, and desired us to cut open two leaves that stuck together. My colleague had a pen-knife, and made use of it for that purpose. While he was doing it, I looked at the book, supposing it to be the Grecian or Roman history, Velleius Paternulus or Horace, which books the commune had sent him; but judge my astonishment when I saw it was a breviary. Louis returned to his fire-side with his prayer-book, and continued reading three quarters of an hour. Breakfast was brought up, and my astonishment was as great when I heard Louis pronounce these words—“It is a fast to-day, I shall not breakfast.” Clery, the valet-de-chambre, seeing my surprise, came and whispered to me—“He not only refuses breakfast, but he will not even sup: this morning, while I was dressing him, he ordered something very light for his evening collation.” These details will appear perhaps too minute; for my part, I do not think them indifferent, as they give a key to the moral character of Louis, and prove at least, that he is devout, and certainly devotion is a virtue in a king. About eleven, two of my colleagues being arrived, Louis went up to them, and begged they would give him some news of his family. “My daughter,” added he, “is fourteen years old to-day.” He lifted up his eyes towards heaven; they seemed to be wet with

they were to be dressed in others provided for them in the Temple, and under the inspection of the commissioners who attended the king, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after sentence was pronounced. It was also an article in this decree, that the counsel should take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the Temple.

“ tears; and he repeated, in a very moving tone of voice, “ My daughter is fourteen
 “ years old, to-day !” When the time of my guard in the apartment of Louis was ex-
 “ pired, I went down into the council chamber with my colleagues, and in a few mi-
 “ nutes we heard that Louis and Antoinette had asked for scissars, one to cut her nails,
 “ and the other to cut off his beard, which was exceedingly long. We deliberated about
 “ it, and, conformably to your resolution, we refused the scissars. The three counsel
 “ of Louis, Malesherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, came in the afternoon; they shut
 “ themselves up with Louis, and remained in his chamber about four or five hours. It
 “ appears that they spoke very low, for we could not hear a single word of what they
 “ said. Having ended my service, the next day, Thursday, I passed the whole day in
 “ the council chamber with my companion. Four deputies of the National Conven-
 “ tion came to communicate to Louis some papers relative to his trial—After having ex-
 “ amined their powers, we conducted them to Louis. They did not imitate the three
 “ advocates of Louis; they spoke to him, in our presence, with the doors open: they
 “ shewed him several papers signed by him, and his brothers. “ That writing,” said he,
 “ is very like my brother’s hand, this is like mine; I cannot however affirm that they
 “ are so, as they both may be forged; and, besides, I don’t remember having signed those
 “ papers.” He answered in the same ambiguous language to all the other questions, and
 “ ever seemed to deny rather than affirm. I had returned into the council chamber
 “ with my companion, and a quarter of an hour after the arrival of the four deputies,
 “ Malesherbes came to us himself, sat down with us near the fire, and my colleague then
 “ made the following observation to him: “ The permission you have to be alone with
 “ Louis endangers our responsibility, and we are sorry to see ———” —“ I understand
 “ you,” interrupted Malesherbes, “ search me, if you desire it.” —“ The law forbids us
 “ to search you.” —“ In that case I shall do it myself.” —He then shewed us all he had
 “ in his waistcoat and breeches pockets, a few keys, and some six livre pieces, &c. “ I
 “ have in my coat-pocket,” said he, “ a great many papers, which I carry to the king;
 “ I carry him also the *Moniteur*, and several newspapers.” You are a friend to Louis,
 “ said I, how can you let him read journals and gazettes, in which he sees daily proofs of
 “ the just indignation of the people against him? “ The king” (he always used the ex-
 “ pression, *the king*, and we always said *Louis*) is a man of an elevated character, his
 “ mind is strong and courageous, and he is superior to all weakness.” —“ We believe that
 “ you are an honest man; but if you were a traitor, you might carry to Louis poison or
 “ concealed arms to destroy himself.” —“ I carry no arms, as you see; and, besides, be
 “ under no apprehension on that article; if the king were a philosopher, if he were of
 “ the religion of the ancient Romans, that affixed a sort of honour to suicide, he might
 “ kill himself; but he is of the Catholic religion, that forbids it; he is pious, and a true
 “ believer; the fear of incurring the wrath of God will stop his arm.”

On the morning of the twenty-sixth of December, the ill-fated Lewis was again
 summoned to the bar of the Convention; he left the Temple, a little before nine, in the
 mayor’s

mayor's coach, and was conducted as formerly to the gate of the Capuchins, Rue Saint Honoré, where the national guards formed a line, through which he walked to the chambre des conferences, where he again met his counsel. General Berruyer, commander in chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the field officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise on duty, accompanied the king on horseback from the Temple to the assembly hall. Berruyer informed the president, that the king was arrived. The president desired he might be conducted to the bar; which was done in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris and the procureur after them, and the king, with Messrs. Maleherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, followed. The president said, "Lewis, the Convention has decreed that you should be ultimately heard this day." Lewis replied, "My counsel is going to speak for me;" pointed to M. De Seze, and sat down.

De Seze, in an able and eloquent speech, of which the following is an abstract, said,

"CITIZENS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION,

"The moment is at length arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, and surrounded by counsel, granted to him by humanity and the law, is about to enter on his defence!—The silence which at present prevails, gives me reason to think that the day of justice has succeeded the days of prejudice. Unfortunate kings are entitled to more pity and more respect than the unfortunate in other ranks of life; and he who formerly occupied the most brilliant throne in the universe, must excite a still greater degree of interest. You have ordered him to appear before you—he has obeyed with calmness and dignity, emboldened by his innocence, and supported by the testimony of his whole life. He has revealed to us even his thoughts. In discussing without preparation, and without mature examination, charges which he did not foresee; and being obliged, as one may say, to make an extempore defence, it was impossible for Louis not to declare to you his innocence. This I shall demonstrate—I shall produce proper proofs; and I sincerely wish that this hall could be instantly enlarged, that the multitude, who have received the most fatal impressions against Louis, might come hither to receive impressions of a contrary nature. Louis knows that Europe waits with anxiety for the sentence you are about to pass. He knows that it will be handed down to posterity; but he considers only his contemporaries—like him, we forget posterity, and look only to the present moment.

"Had I to address only judges, I should be satisfied with telling them, that since the nation has abolished royalty, no farther sentence can be pronounced against Louis; but I address the people: I must examine the question under two points of view, that in which Louis was placed before he accepted the constitution, and that in which he stood after he had accepted it. In examining this affair, I first find the decree which

“ enacts, That Louis shall be tried by the constitution. Those who framed that decree
“ undoubtedly said, that Louis could not shelter himself under his inviolability. What
“ then have you done by that decree? You have constituted yourselves judges of
“ that accusation which you yourselves made. You have decreed also, That Louis
“ should be heard. If he ought then to be heard, he has a right to defend himself;
“ the judge must not circumscribe the means; the Convention will examine them ac-
“ cording to their just value when produced. If Louis deceives himself, you must re-
“ fute his errors.

“ Nations are sovereign: they have a right to give themselves whatever form of go-
“ vernment they think proper. I shall not contest this principle, and it is not yet for-
“ gotten, that the efforts of one of the counsel of Louis contributed to make it be in-
“ serted in the constitution. But the nation itself cannot exercise its sovereignty: it
“ must therefore delegate the exercise of it. In 1789, the nation chose a monarchical
“ government—a monarchical government required inviolability in the chief; it was
“ necessary he should command that respect which enforces the obedience required by
“ the law. The nature of this inviolability has been fully discussed. It has been pre-
“ tended, that it was not a synallagmatic contract; but the delegation of the sovereignty
“ was a contract as long as it was not revoked. It was a *mandamus*, if you choose; but
“ a mandatory could not submit to other conditions, or other punishments, than those
“ mentioned in the *mandamus*. On opening the second chapter of royalty, I find that
“ the person of the king is inviolable; there is no exception, no modification what-
“ ever: but there are certain circumstances in which the chief might lose that character
“ of inviolability. The first case is, as follows:

“ Art. 5. sect. 1. chap. 2. of the third title. If the king has not taken the oath, or
“ if, after taking it, he retracts, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.”

“ The nation here imposes on the king the duty of taking the oath. To retract this
“ oath, is a crime against the nation. The nation guarded against this crime, and ap-
“ pointed a punishment for it. I express myself incorrectly—it was not a punishment,
“ it was not a forfeiture, the word is not once mentioned; it is only a supposition, that
“ the king should be considered as having abdicated the throne. You see that the
“ constitution establishes no tribunal, that it speaks not of a trial, and that it does not
“ pronounce the word forfeiture. The king, however, without retracting his oath,
“ might betray it—he might favour criminal and hostile enterprises against the state.
“ The constitution provided also against this case.

“ Art. 6. If the king shall put himself at the head of an army, and direct its force
“ against the nation, or if he does not oppose, by a formal act, such an enterprise
“ which

“ which may be undertaken in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.”

“ Weigh well, I beseech you, the nature of the crime provided against by this article. None more criminal can exist. It supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the scourges, all the horrors, and all the calamities, of a bloody intestine war; and yet what does the constitution pronounce? A presumption of the king having abdicated the throne.

“ Art. 7. If the king quit the kingdom, and does not return, after being invited to do so by the legislative body.—What does the constitution declare in this case? A presumption that he has abdicated the throne.

“ Art. 8. States, that, after an express or legal abdication, the king shall be tried, like other citizens, for all crimes posterior to his abdication. It results, then, that the king had a particular existence, absolutely different from that of other citizens; and whence arose this particular, this privileged existence, but from the law, which conferred upon him that character of inviolability, which he could not lose, but by an express and legal abdication? It is after being guilty of the most atrocious crime a king can commit against the nation, that it supposes him to have entered the class of citizens? In short, the law here is perfectly equal with regard to the legislative body and the king. The legislative body might also betray the nation—It might invade the national sovereignty. The nation had a right to establish a punishment for the deputies, and yet this has not been the case.

“ Louis is accused—He is accused in the name of the nation—he is accused of various crimes. These crimes are either provided against by the constitutional act, and then the punishment there established is to be applied to them, or they are not provided against, and in that case there exists no punishment which can be applied to them. I will go still farther, I say they have been provided for—The most atrocious of all, that of a criminal war against the nation, has been provided for. In whatever manner that article may be understood, the crimes are there—they are all there; but the law only declares, the presumption of the throne being abdicated. I am well aware, that the nation having at present abolished royalty, the punishment cannot be applied; but could it change the condition of Louis? Has he not a right to say, I was the prisoner of the nation, why did you not bring me to trial? You have abolished royalty; I do not dispute your right: but what—because you have abolished royalty, do you wish to punish me? And, because you know no law applicable to me, do you wish to create one for me—for me alone? You are doubtless invested with every power; but there is one which you have not—that of being unjust.

“ It

“ It has been said, that Louis ought to be tried, as an enemy. But is he not a very
“ cruel enemy who could put himself at the head of an army against the nation?—It
“ has been said, that he was inviolable only in regard to every citizen individually.
“ According to this principle, would not the representatives of the people be more in-
“ violable in regard to the people, for whatever they might have done, said, or written,
“ during a session? I shall here quote to you the following passage from Rousseau :—
“ Where I see neither the law which prosecutes, nor the law which condemns, I will
“ not refer to the general will ; for the general will cannot pronounce as the general will,
“ either against any man, or any fact.”—But if you take from Louis the right of being
“ inviolable, you cannot take from him the right of being tried as a citizen : and in the
“ latter case I would ask you, where are those protecting forms ; where are those ju-
“ ries, which are as it were hostages for the lives and honour of citizens? I would ask
“ you, where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely established?
“ Where is that silent ballot, which encloses in the same urn the conscience and the opi-
“ nion of the judge? I speak to you with the openness of a son of freedom. I wish
“ to find among you judges, and I see only accusers—you wish to pass sentence upon
“ Louis, and you have been his accusers—you wish to pass sentence upon Louis, and
“ you have already expressed your sentiments on his case. You wish to pass sen-
“ tence upon Louis, and your opinions are well known all over Europe.

“ I now proceed to the act of accusation. You go back to the month of June, 1789 ;
“ I shall go back to the same period. But how could you accuse Louis of having then
“ attempted to dissolve the Assembly? Do you forget that it was he who convoked it?
“ Do you forget, that for above a century and a half, princes, more jealous of their au-
“ thority than he, constantly refused such a convocation? Do you forget that had it not
“ been for Louis, and the numberless sacrifices to which he consented, you would not be
“ here deliberating on the interests of the state? He is accused of having surrounded
“ Paris with troops ; but I can say, that these troops were destined only to protect Paris
“ from those who wished to disturb the public tranquillity. I had occasion to see the
“ orders given to them when I undertook the defence of the commandant, whom the na-
“ tion without any hesitation acquitted. I shall not here take notice of the memoire
“ in which Talon is mentioned as acting a part in a plan formed for a counter-revolu-
“ tion, nor of the papers subjoined to that memoire. Had I to defend a person of or-
“ dinary rank, I would observe, that a citizen cannot be condemned from papers pro-
“ cured by attacking his habitation, unless they have been previously sealed up, and an
“ inventory taken of them.

“ The habitation of Louis was attacked, and his drawers were broke open. None of
“ them were sealed up, no inventories were taken ; and papers which might have been op-
“ posed to others may have been concealed. The letters of a deceased person are quoted ;
“ but can the letters of a person deceased be adduced as proofs? These letters, it is said,
“ mention

“ mention money distributed; but even supposing that this fact, which they do not
“ clear up, were true; and supposing it true, that greater or smaller sums had been ex-
“ torted from the beneficence and sensibility of Louis, do you not know with what un-
“ happy facility kings may be surprised and deceived? The plan of a letter to La
“ Fayette and Mirabeau is mentioned; but this letter was never sent. Mirabeau and
“ La Fayette were at that time the two most popular characters; they both loved the
“ constitution, and nothing was meant in that letter but the good of the state. Louis is
“ accused also of having written a letter to Bouillé: in regard to this, he has no occa-
“ sion to justify himself; the National Assembly had before voted thanks to Bouillé for
“ his good conduct.

“ You accuse him for the assemblage on the twenty-eighth of February; but popu-
“ lar rumours had attracted at that time a number of violent persons around the palace,
“ and Louis ordered them to lay aside their arms. You accuse him with the massacres
“ in the Champ-de-Mars; but do you forget that this unhappy prince was then suspend-
“ ed from his powers, and watched as a prisoner? The nation has decreed that it shall be
“ a republic, but this was not the form of government it wished for then. Did not the
“ legislative assembly declare against a republic in the month of July last? Had Louis
“ betrayed the interests of the nation at that period, or had he abused its confidence, you
“ ought to have pitied him—you ought to have bewailed the fate of kings—but he ought
“ not to have been tried. I have not yet pronounced the word which would have made
“ that chain of accusations fall. I have not said, that since all these facts, Louis accept-
“ ed the constitution—the constitution was the contract of alliance between the people
“ and the king—there was no longer any doubt—the past was forgotten. Let us now
“ examine what Louis has done since his acceptance. The act of accusation compre-
“ hends facts for which Louis was not bound to answer personally, and facts for which
“ he was personally responsible. By the constitution, the king was not responsible
“ for what might be done by his agents; on the contrary, it made his ministers responsi-
“ ble. At present one has no right to accuse the king and his ministers for the same act.

“ Louis is accused of having left the National Assembly ignorant of the convention
“ of Pilnitz. But this convention was a secret treaty between the emperor and the
“ king of Prussia. There was no reason of state that could make it a rule for ministers
“ to communicate to an assembly, whose deliberations were public, an act which was
“ not public. You have accused Louis of retarding, for a month, the transmission of
“ the decree relative to Avignon. That, citizens, was one of the charges against the
“ minister Delessart, who had declared, that his defence, which he was preparing in his
“ prison, would leave no doubt of his innocence. And can you, after his death, prefer
“ the same charge against the king? You have charged him with the troubles of Nîmes
“ and of Jales. Was the king responsible for all the troubles inseparable from so great
“ a revolution? A letter of Witgenstein is imputed to him as a crime: all that he could
“ do,

“ do, was to give Witgenstein no appointment after his recall. The situation of commandant of Corsica is talked of, but that command he never obtained. It is said, that he had an appointment in the army of the North: La Fayette may have asked it, but the letter that gave him such an appointment remained in the war office.

“ Louis is accused of the account given by Narbonne. I shall answer but a word. When Narbonne quitted the ministry, the legislative assembly decreed, that he carried with him the regret and the confidence of the nation. The surrender of Longwy is made a charge against him, but the inhabitants alone were guilty. The surrender of Verdun is made a charge against him—who then but Louis appointed the commandant, so celebrated for his heroism, who preferred death to surrendering? He is accused of having retained the Swiss guards, although the constitution forbade it. Mark the facts: a decree said, that the king should be requested to present a new formation of his regiment of Swiss guards, and in the mean time the Assembly had directed that it should be kept up provisionally till the period of this formation. On the third of July 1792, the Assembly ordered the departure of the three battalions of this regiment. On the seventeenth, the letter of d’Affry, remonstrating against the decree, and appealing to the capitulation—a new decree which ordered the departure of two battalions—D’Affry, hesitating between the decree and the capitulations, addressed new remonstrances to the Assembly. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, and the battalions left Paris.

“ I come now to the facts that may be considered as concerning him personally. Louis is first attacked for not having sanctioned the decree respecting the priests, and that respecting the camp at Paris. I might say, that the constitution gave him the free and absolute power of sanction; and that, if he erred, his error could not be imputed to him as a crime. But if a great number of citizens seemed to support the latter decree, a still greater number seemed to oppose it. He thought it prudent to refuse his sanction; but, at the same time, by a wise measure, he directed the formation of the camp at Soissons; and this camp was more useful to our armies than that at Paris could have been.

“ His letter to the bishop of Clermont is objected to him: but that letter contains only an opinion purely religious, and was prior to his acceptance of the constitution. When he accepted the constitution, he did not think it free from blemishes; for, in the very act of accepting it, he speaks of legal reforms. He is accused of having paid his guard; but the Assembly, in decreeing its discharge, had said that it should be organised anew; it was therefore incumbent on his justice and his humanity to pay it till its new formation. He is accused of having given aid to the emigrants, and of having protected, by his ambassadors, the coalition of foreign powers. He is accused of
“ his

“ his influence at the court of Vienna: I answer, that Louis constantly opposed the efforts of the emigrants.” Respecting this I will cite a fact: Louis was informed, by his resident, of an attempt of the emigrants to obtain arms and ammunition at Frankfurt, and of the refusal of the magistrates of that place to comply with their demand. He directed his resident to thank the magistrates, and to invite them to persevere in their refusal.

“ There is not a single emigrant that received aid from him. He provided for the maintenance of his nephews; the eldest was fourteen, the youngest eleven years of age; there was no law that fixed the age at which emigration was a crime: the Convention has made one. The nephews of Louis were without resources: must he stifle the sentiments of humanity? Must he, for being a king, cease to be a kinsman? He gave money to the governess of his children; but she *was* the governess of his children, and had left France since 1789. Choiseul Beaupré had been in Italy since 1789, and had never borne arms against France. He gave aid to Rochefort, but Rochefort was not an emigrant. He is accused of having remitted money to Bouillé: Bouille’s letter says, “ Pay to Monsieur, the king’s brother, by his order.” The truth is, that he never remitted pecuniary aid to Monsieur, and the order in question was the order of Monsieur, and not of the king. All that he did was to give security for his other brother for a sum of four hundred thousand livres; but this was in 1789, and he was induced to it by motives of humanity.

“ He is accused of the manœuvres of Dumoustier at the court of Berlin; but Dumoustier was not the agent of Louis, but of the princes, his brothers. A letter of Choiseul-Gouffier is objected to him. It is supposed, that because he was the ambassador of Louis, to Louis must his projects be imputed; but the very letter of this ambassador proves that it was three days after his recall, and on account of that recall, that he formed an intrigue against the national ambassador sent to replace him. It was Choiseul who wrote, who acted, who spoke of his services to the princes, the king’s brothers. The billet proves that Louis had no connection with him.

“ I come now to the charges of the subornation of several members of the legislative assembly. This plan reduced the liquidation of offices ten millions; he eased the national treasury to that amount, and charged the civil list with the interest. We understand the corruption that turns to the profit of personal interest; but a corruption that leaves us all the shame, and gives to another all the profit, we cannot easily comprehend. The fact is, as it appears from the papers communicated to Louis, that it was he alone who prevented the decree from being proposed to the Assembly, and that he expressed displeasure and indignation at it.

“ A charge is brought against him which has excited the indignation of the people, and which could not but appear a very heavy one. He is accused of having paid his body-guards at Coblenz. This charge I own struck me with grief; I was led to suspect the good faith of Louis; the proofs appeared to be clear. I come this day to make the reparation in the eyes of Europe which I feel that I owe to him. All the papers refer to the month of October 1791. Mark what the administrators of the civil list wrote to the treasurer in November: “ The intention of his majesty is to continue the pay of his body-guards till they be replaced; but his majesty means that the amount of this pay shall not be delivered in total to the *etat-major*, but to each individual at the pay-office of the civil list, on his particular receipt, and certificate of residence within the kingdom.” All the papers have been made as public as possible—Louis has been denounced to France, to all Europe. All the articles of accusation have been ordered to be printed; and the only paper that refutes these charges, is the only one that remained unknown. This paper must have been among the rest: By what strange fatality is it not to be found among them? At last Louis, after much pains, obtained from the offices an authentic copy of this paper: he has produced it to the eyes of Europe.

“ I come at last to the disastrous day of the tenth of August. Had we believed that Louis had committed the crimes of which he is accused, you would not see us at this bar to give him the aid of our courageous veracity. All your successes since that day have given you the power of being generous—we ask you only to be just. He dreaded the invasion of his palace; he maintained a more exact correspondence with the popular authorities—In fine, the people came thither. The *procureur-syndic* reads, with regret no doubt, the first article of the law, which directs to repel force by force. The cannoniers, for answer, discharge their cannon before him; then the *procurator-syndic* invites Louis to go to the Assembly; he goes thither: *one hour after*, our misfortunes commence. How began the action? I know not: history, perhaps, will know no more than I. He is accused of having reviewed the troops—Granted. Accuse the mayor also of having visited the posts. Was not Louis a constituted authority? Was not his authority a deposit in his hands, of which the law forbade him the least infringement? I know it has been said that Louis excited the insurrection, to effect the execution of his projects; but who is now ignorant that this insurrection was combined, matured; that it had its agents, its counsel, its directors; who is ignorant that acts, that treaties on the subject, had been signed?

“ In this hall men have contended for the glory of the tenth of August. I come not to dispute that glory; but since it has been proved that that day was premeditated, how can it be made a crime to Louis? And you accuse him, and you would give judgment against him; against him, who has never given a sanguinary order; against him, who at Varennes preferred returning a captive, to exposing the life of a single man; against him,

him, who on the twentieth of June refused every kind of aid, and preferred remaining alone in the midst of the people. Hear history speak—Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty; he exhibited on it an example of morals, of justice, of œconomy; he abolished servitude in his domains; the people desired liberty, he gave it. [*Murmurs.*] We cannot deny to Louis the glory of having always anticipated the wishes of his people.—I do not conclude; I appeal to history; recollect that history will judge your judgment.”

Fermond, the president, then asked Louis if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counsel.

Louis rose, and with mixed sensibility and firmness said, “Citizens, my means of defence are laid before you. I shall not repeat them. *In speaking to you, perhaps for the last time*, I declare to you that my conscience makes me no reproach, and that my defenders have told you nothing but the truth. I have never dreaded the public examination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in the act of accusation, the imputation of having wished to shed the blood of the people; and, above all, that the misfortunes of the tenth of August are attributed to me. I own, that the many proofs I have given upon all occasions of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, appeared to me sufficient to prove, that I did not fear to expose my own person to spare their blood, and to exempt me for ever from such an imputation.”

The keys found at the Garde-Meuble were then presented to him, and he was asked if he knew them. “I know”—said he—“that I delivered keys to Clery; I know that my house was forced, and all my furniture broken. I had no more occasion for keys; but I know not whether those now presented to me are the same that I delivered. From the time that has elapsed I cannot recollect them.” He then retired with the same calmness that had attended him since he was first brought to the bar; but on going out a sudden flush overspread his countenance, and a few tears fell.

A decree was immediately passed, that he should be re-conducted to the Temple; a second, that the defence of his counsel should be signed by them, and by him, and laid on the table; and a third, that the words, “*The people desired liberty, he gave it,*” which had excited murmurs in the Convention, and which the counsel had struck out of their notes, should be replaced. It was also decreed, that a minute of the defence should be prepared, with the assistance of the counsel; and, on the application of the counsel, that they should assist in correcting the printed proofs of the defence, copies of which were ordered to be sent to the eighty-four departments.

On the way from the Temple to the Assembly, some person in the carriage with the king made mention of some of the Roman historians, which gave him occasion to say, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy: he accused the latter of having composed speeches for the generals, which certainly had never been pronounced. On his return from the Assembly, he preserved the same serenity. The procureur had his hat on, which had not been the case when he was in the carriage with the king the first time he went to and from the Convention. The king took notice of this piece of rudeness, by saying to him, "You had forgot your hat the last time you attended me; but you have been more careful of your health on this occasion." Observing that the procureur bowed and waved his hand with a look of familiarity to some persons in the streets, the king said, "I suppose these are citizens of your section?" The procureur answered, "No, they do not belong to my section; but they were members of the general council of the tenth of August, *whom I always see with pleasure.*" The mayor held his snuff-box in his hand: the secretary of the municipality, looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the usual observation, that the original was handsomer than the portrait.—The king also desired to see it; which having done, he said, that M. Chambon was happy in possessing a woman more beautiful than such a portrait.—The king arrived at the Temple in safety, though the cries of the rabble were more noisy and frequent than on the former day.

His majesty had no sooner withdrawn, than the Convention was convulsed with a variety of passions—Some moving for instant sentence—others for delay; and at last one of the most disgraceful scenes was exhibited that ever was witnessed in any assembly even of Indians or Hottentots. We give it in the words of their own *Proces-Verbal*:

Thuriot, who but two days before had said at the Jacobin club, that rather than Louis should escape, he would *blow out his brains* with his own hand, moved that the Convention should continue to sit till judgment was pronounced. Couthon moved, that the discussion should be opened immediately, and continued, in preference to all other matters, till judgment was given. Petion rose to explain Couthon's proposition, and to shew that it did not pre-judge the question. The Mountain, seconded by the clamours of the galleries, which had been on their side during the whole debate, endeavoured to prevent his being heard. The majority at last lost their temper, and forgot their dignity. They advanced with menacing gestures to meet their antagonists, and a *brawl, in which blows were exchanged, ensued!!!* The president put on his hat, and declaring that he would instantly exert the utmost rigour of his authority, order was restored, and Petion was heard. He spoke with grief of the scandalous scene that had just passed; of the facility with which men's motives were calumniated; of the atrocity of forcing the consciences of men, and compelling them to decide without discussing. "We wish"—said he—"to examine every thing, because we all wish to be just. The friends of liberty and of
" justice

“ justice are not those who shew themselves the most eager for blood, but those who wish “ to judge on entire conviction.” He concluded with shewing that Couthon’s motion did not narrow the discussion, and sat down amid the applauses of the members; but not a single mark of approbation from the galleries, to him whose every word was formerly applauded.—The Convention decreed Couthon’s proposition.

A. D. 1793.] On the fourth of January the Convention decreed, that all future acts, &c. should bear date the SECOND YEAR of the French Republic; hereby giving another notable instance of the stability of opinion in that sapient Assembly, the FIRST YEAR having lasted a few days above three months—their own decree for the abolition of royalty, and declaring France a republic, bearing date about the twenty-first of September.

On the fifth, the counsel for Lewis transmitted to the Convention some observations on a charge made against him by a member of the Convention, of having constantly kept two ministers, one ostensible, the other private; and for having, in consequence of this secret ministry, sent Hayman to Prussia. They reminded the Convention that Louis, at the time when he projected his journey to Montmidi, had transmitted to Bouillé the sum of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, of which he ordered him to give an account, after his return to Paris. Bouillé having retired to Luxembourg, Monsieur, who went thither also, finding himself without resources, took from Bouillé the sum of six hundred and seventy thousand livres. It was from this sum that the princes took three thousand four hundred livres for the expence of Hayman’s journey to Prussia *on the king’s service*. This expression was the consequence of a very extraordinary affectation in the princes, when they formed regiments, or entered into negotiations with foreign powers. Louis could not prevent his brothers from abusing his name. “ You “ will remember,”—said the counsel—“ that in the denunciation made on the thirty-first “ of March to the National Assembly, in the name of Louis, by the minister, Dumourier, of a treaty between the emigrant princes and prince Hohenloe, Dumourier was “ particularly charged to testify to the Assembly how much Louis was afflicted and distressed on account of this step. You will recollect also, that on the fifth of July, Louis “ denounced a loan of eight millions, negotiated by the princes in Holland, by one “ Harel-la-Verter. The following remark will serve as a compleat refutation of the “ above charge: Had there existed a secret ministry, some proofs of it would have been “ discovered among the papers found at the Thuilleries, when the palace was attacked, “ as Louis was in the habit of preserving all his papers.”—The Convention ordered that this letter, and some other pieces, should be printed.

For several days after the defence, the Convention was mostly occupied in hearing the opinions of the members, all of whom prefaced their discourses, by declaring a conviction of the king’s guilt. They differed however with respect to the penalty he had incurred

curred; many being of opinion that justice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandists, Brissotines, and Girondists, were of this number. Danton's and Robespierre's party argued for IMMEDIATE DEATH; and became so impatient at the delay, from attending to the different harangues, that they repealed the decree they had passed a few days before; and, instead of hearing every member from the tribune, they resolved that the discourses should be printed, and laid on the table, to be read by those who chose, and the fourteenth of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately. It was not till the fifteenth, however, that the first appeal was made, owing to the long and warm discussions which took place, before it was determined in what terms, and in what order, the questions should be stated, on which the Convention was to decide: at last, it was decreed that the following questions should be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appeal:

1. Is Louis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the State? Yes, or No.
2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Louis, be submitted to the ratification of the people in the primary assemblies? Yes, or No.
3. What punishment has he incurred?

These questions appear to have been artfully arranged in this order, to render the king's condemnation more certain.

As the sittings had been declared permanent till the Convention should come to an ultimate decision on the fate of the fallen monarch, the topic was several times resumed, previous to the day of final consideration. To attempt to convey an idea of the proceedings, would only be to give a disgusting detail of sanguinary and ferocious harangues on the one side, headed by Egalité, Marat, Robespierre, &c. all tending to the same point, and insisting, and violently clamouring for the blood of their devoted victim; on the other hand, the Girondists and Moderates contending that smaller punishments, such as imprisonment, banishment, &c. best befitted the nature of the offences committed, and the rank of the offender. But to the disgrace of that Assembly, there was no party to be found leaning to the side of mercy, nor scarcely a single member who had not in his own mind already pre-condemned the illustrious prisoner.

As the Convention could proceed no further than proposing the form of each member delivering his opinion on the fourteenth, on account of the extreme length of debate to which those proceedings gave rise, the business was necessarily deferred to the succeeding day, when the Convention passed the following decree, That in voting on the several questions relating to the trial of Louis, the answer of each member shall be entered after his name; that this list shall be printed and sent to the eighty-four departments

ments; and that absent members shall be allowed to give their opinion on their return to the Convention.—The first question was then put to the vote: “Is Louis guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general safety of the state?” One of the secretaries called over the names in the alphabetical order of the departments. The names being called over, Vergneaux, the president, said, of seven hundred and thirty-five voters, six-and-twenty have been absent by leave; five by illness; one for cause unknown; six-and-twenty have made various declarations, and six hundred and ninety-three have voted for the affirmative⁶⁷. I do declare, in the name of the Convention,

“THAT LOUIS CAPET IS GUILTY OF CONSPIRACY AGAINST
“THE LIBERTY OF THE NATION, AND OF ATTEMPTS AGAINST
“THE GENERAL SAFETY OF THE STATE.”

The second question was then put to the vote: “Shall recourse be had to the appeal to the people before inflicting punishment?” A great number of members assigned reasons for voting against the appeal. Almost all of them seemed to dread it, as a source of civil war. Many of the members expressed their indignation at having seen the nearest relation of Louis vote against him. To which he replied, “*I think only of my duty, and I say—No!*”—This second vote of Egalité brought the following remark from Barbaroux: “It is time for the French people to resume the exercise of their supremacy, to crush a faction, in the midst of which I see Philip d’Orleans, whom I denounce to the whole Republic. I know that I expose myself to all their poinards; but, as the life of man is uncertain, I think it my duty to make this declaration⁶⁸.”

The calling over of the names was not concluded till eleven o’clock. Twenty members were absent by leave; ten did not vote; three were indisposed; three were absent without known cause; four hundred and twenty-four voted for the negative, and two hundred and eighty-three for the affirmative. The president declared,

“THE NATIONAL CONVENTION DECREES, THAT THE JUDG-
“MENT WHICH IT SHALL PRONOUNCE UPON LOUIS CAPET,
“SHALL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.”

⁶⁷ Among these was Egalité!!!

⁶⁸ So daring and violent had been the endeavours of the faction to promote the designs of Egalité, that the members of the Convention could not but be sensible of his infamous intention of subverting the monarchy, in order either to possess the government himself, or to have it dependant on his influence; and he was thus openly accused of criminal endeavours to obtain the crown, or at least the regency.

Previous to the discussion of the third question, several members observed, that as the Convention wished to exercise the functions of judges, they ought to adopt the form generally used, of not condemning an accused person but by a majority of two-thirds of the votes. After some debate the Convention determined, that the majority should be simple, that is, that *one* should be a majority. At a quarter past seven at night, the Convention proceeded to the nominal appeal⁶⁹ upon this question: "What punishment ought to be inflicted on Louis Capet?"—Although we have anticipated the sentiments of the Convention in general, we trust a sketch of the opinions of a few of the most leading members of both parties, as individually delivered on this memorable occasion, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

Maillé, who spoke first, voted for death; and requested, at the same time, that the Convention would take into consideration, whether they ought to retard, or to hasten that punishment.—*Genfonne*, after having demanded that they should apply to Louis the punishment awarded to high treason in the criminal code, expressed his desire, in order to prove to Europe that the representatives of the French people made no exception in favour of any guilty persons, that they should give orders for the ministers of justice to prosecute the assassins of the second of September. This proposal of Genfonne did not intimidate the sanguinary faction to which he alluded.—*Philippe Egalité*, in pronouncing the sentence of death, said, "Insensible to every sentiment but that of my duty, convinced that those who conspire against their country deserve death, I vote for death."—*Salles*. "All we have left is the choice of the evils which threaten our country—for-
"tunately Louis the Sixteenth leaves after him a man who, of all others, is the fittest to
"disgust us with royalty."—*Condorcet*. "I do not vote for death, as I never shall give
"my voice for it: I do not vote for imprisonment, because I am a judge, and the sen-
"tence of imprisonment is to be found in no law; but I vote for the discussion of the
"most important point after the sentence of death; whether it will be expedient to defer
"or accelerate the execution of the sentence."—*Jabreau*. "It is as much repugnant to
"my character as to my principles, to pronounce sentence of death against any man ex-
"cept a tyrant⁷⁰, for a tyrant appears to me not to be a man. At present it is not I
"who pronounce that sentence, but the law. This shall be the first and the only time
"of my life, that that terrible word shall proceed from my mouth; for I should not con-

⁶⁹ The *Nominal Appeal*, adopted by the Convention, on the present and several subsequent occasions, in order to individuate the opinions of the members, was a regulation conducted in the following manner: The secretary called over the names of the members, in the order of the departments, and every one in his turn ascended the tribune, from whence he delivered his vote, and those who thought proper explained the reasons which induced their decision.

⁷⁰ It may be proper to remark here, that no other style was adopted, since the first meeting of the National Convention (when speaking of his majesty) than, "THE TYRANT," "CAPET," "LOUIS THE LAST," "THE PRISONER," &c. &c. together with every other degrading or ironical epithet which the malicious ingenuity of these partial and merciless legislators could invent. Even the patronimic name of *Bourbon* was cautiously omitted, probably as carrying a popular sound, and reminding the people of their favourite Henry the Fourth. On the first adoption of this insulting mode, Louis appeared to be much hurt: but his feelings soon subsided, and he received that, as he did every reiterated insult, with calmness and resignation.

"tinue in existence had my country another king to condemn. I vote for the punish-
 "ment of death"—*Desligoyte*. "I will not enter into any composition with tyrants.
 "I vote for death, and a speedy execution of the sentence."—*Garçon de Goulon*. "I am
 "of opinion, that we cannot exercise, at the same time, the functions of accusers,
 "judges, and jury. The people did not delegate to us the right of pronouncing with-
 "out their ratification. I consider it to be tyranny, when men place themselves above
 "that ever-sacred law, the Sovereignty of the People. I respect the opinions of those
 "who entertain sentiments different from mine, but I cannot adopt them."—*Pons de*
Verdun. "Louis has gone beyond the bounds of his constitutional inviolability. I see
 "the same difference between those crimes provided for by that constitution which he
 "first annihilated, and those of which he has rendered himself guilty, as between poi-
 "soning and assassination. As he has exceeded the measure of the crime, the punish-
 "ment incurred should be the greater. The king, as an individual, has placed himself,
 "in regard to punishment, on a footing with unprivileged conspirators; for, in regard
 "to criminality, he has been always privileged. He is more criminal than they—Should
 "this be a reason for treating him with less severity? The Rights of Man loudly ex-
 "claim against such injustice. They would reproach me with disguising it under the
 "name of policy; with covering it under the pusillanimous pretence of false incom-
 "petence; and with weakness, should I suffer myself to be frightened with vain phantoms.
 "Louis has been accused by the whole nation of having conspired against it. We have
 "declared him guilty. My conscience bids me open the penal code: it pronounces
 "against Louis the sentence of death, which several of his accomplices have already
 "suffered."—*Cambacères*. "The National Convention, in my opinion, ought to de-
 "cree, that Louis has incurred the punishment pronounced by the law against conspira-
 "tors. The execution of this decree ought, however, to be suspended till the cessation
 "of hostilities, when the Convention, or the legislative body who shall succeed it, may
 "finally determine respecting the fate of Louis; who, in the mean time, should be kept
 "in confinement. But in case the enemies of the republic shall invade the French ter-
 "ritories, the decree ought that instant to be put in execution."—*Robespierre*. "Be-
 "cause you have established yourselves the judges of Louis, without the usual forms,
 "are you less his judges? You cannot separate your quality of judge from that of legis-
 "lator. These two qualities are indivisible. You have acknowledged the crimes of
 "the tyrant; it is your duty to punish them. No consideration should make you hesitate
 "respecting the punishment reserved for the greatest criminal that ever existed. I vote for
 "death."—*Danton*. "I am not one of those statesmen who know not how to deter-
 "mine but from political considerations. I am a republican, and do not hesitate respect-
 "ing the choice of the punishment reserved for Louis the Last. You ought to strike a
 "terror into tyrants by an inflexibility of character. I vote for the punishment of
 "death."—*Manuel*. "Some have spoken to us of the Romans: their example has been
 "cited; but ought we, can we dispense with acknowledging this eternal truth, that the
 "right of death belongs only to nature. Had Louis been brought before ordinary
 "judges,

“ judges, they could not have avoided pronouncing the punishment of death ; but we,
 “ representatives of the people, who are not bound to consult a penal code, ridiculously
 “ atrocious—We, whom the nation has sent to discover error, and to proclaim truth, do
 “ not hesitate to say, that the life of a man, though criminal, is not at the disposal of
 “ society. I vote for the imprisonment of the tyrant, during the continuance of the war,
 “ in that place where the victims of his despotism languished ; and for his expulsion
 “ when peace shall be secured.”——*Condorcet*. “ I declare that no circumstance, except
 “ the present, could induce me to pronounce sentence of death against any one. I re-
 “ quest that the severest punishment, next to death, may be inflicted on Louis ; but in
 “ case death shall be pronounced against him, I request that the political consideration,
 “ presented by Mailhe, viz. “ Whether the punishment ought to be accelerated or re-
 “ tarded?” may be discussed.”——*Ducos*. “ At a time when I am about to pronounce on
 “ the fate of Louis, the *ci-devant* king, my duty to my constituents and to my con-
 “ science, requires that I should declare those principles which have directed my judg-
 “ ment and opinion. I never thought that the National Convention ought to judge
 “ Louis. I never doubted that they had a right to do so ; but I thought it was not proper
 “ for them to exercise that right. They decreed, that they would try him. Had a sense of
 “ my duty, and of my incompetence, rejected that decree, no power on earth could have
 “ forced me to have executed it. It was repugnant only to my opinion, and my opinion
 “ was silent before that of the majority. I voted against submitting the sentence to the
 “ sanction of the people, because this appeared subversive of every principle of represen-
 “ tative government under which I wish to live and die ; for it is clear to me as demon-
 “ stration, that there can be no liberty but under such a government ; and because the
 “ people cannot at the same time preserve and delegate the exercise of their powers—have
 “ representatives and be unrepresented. With regard to the forms employed in conduct-
 “ ing this business, I am of opinion they have gone beyond the usual rules. As the
 “ trial ought to have gone beyond them, on account of the singular state of the ac-
 “ cused, and the particular nature of the accusation, I thought it necessary to examine
 “ whether they were conformable to the laws and usages of the tribunal ; but if they
 “ were sufficient to convince me, the division of the judiciary functions into those of ac-
 “ cusers, jury, and judge, by the law, is at once a precaution, and means taken by society
 “ for the better administration of justice—this division, however, is not justice. Justice
 “ consists in a just application of law to facts—This is what I look for in the present
 “ trial. I declare, that the extraordinary state of the accused could alone make me con-
 “ ceive and approve the extraordinary form of the sentence, which should be singular,
 “ as is the case which it is about to determine. I declare, besides, that if the Conven-
 “ tion should wish to pass sentence against a common citizen, by employing the same vio-
 “ lation of forms, I should consider it as criminal and tyrannical, and I should denounce
 “ it to the French nation. Citizens, it evidently appears to me, from an attentive exa-
 “ mination which I have made of the conduct of Louis during the course of the legisla-
 “ tive assembly, and from the papers found either in the Thuilleries, or at the house of
 “ the

“ the intendant of the civil list, that Louis, the *ci-devant* king, is convicted of having
 “ conspired against the general safety of the state, and against the liberty of the nation ;
 “ and that he consequently ought to undergo the punishment appointed by the penal
 “ code for crimes of that nature. Citizens, to condemn a man to death is, of all the
 “ sacrifices which I have made to my country, that alone which ought to be accounted
 “ as any thing ”——*Thomas Paine*. “ I vote for the provisional confinement of ~~Louis~~,
 “ and for his expulsion after the war.”——*Brissot*. “ It would have been desirable that
 “ the punishment to be inflicted on Louis should have been pronounced by the whole
 “ nation. It would have been the best method of carrying along with us the sentiments
 “ of neighbouring nations, and of defeating the projects of the tyrants of Europe, who
 “ desire the punishment of Louis, in order to excite, with more success, indignation and
 “ hatred against the National Convention. But as the Assembly have thought proper
 “ to reject the appeal to the people, I am now clearly of opinion, that the only way of
 “ avoiding the dangers which threaten us, is to pronounce the punishment of death
 “ against Louis, and to defer its execution to the moment when the people shall have
 “ sanctioned the constitution which we shall present to them. I know that, in some
 “ sense, the opinion which I deliver may be calumniated ; I have only to offer, in reply to
 “ my enemies, my honourable poverty. The moment, perhaps, is not far distant, when
 “ I shall bequeath it to my children ; but while I live, I will exert myself, with all my
 “ power, for the maintenance of order ; without which, a republic can only be a combi-
 “ nation of ruffians. I declare, as a man who has a profound knowledge of our success,
 “ of our resources, and of those of the powers who threaten us, that we have nothing
 “ to fear from kings, and their satellites ; and I add, that if we do not destroy that system
 “ of disorganization which has raised its audacious head, the republic is lost.”

The discussion was now interrupted for a while by the receipt of a letter from the de-
 fenders of Louis ; on reading which it was decreed, that they should be heard after the
 result of the nominal appeal should be proclaimed. The president then announced that
 he was going to proclaim the result of the nominal appeal. The most profound silence
 prevailed for several minutes. He then said, “ The Assembly is composed of seven hun-
 “ dred and forty-five members—one of these is dead, six indisposed, two absent without
 “ cause, and censured in the minutes conformable to the decree, eleven absent upon com-
 “ missions and four who do not vote ; making, in all, twenty-three members who have given
 “ no opinion. The number of votes is thus reduced to seven hundred and twenty-one.
 “ In order that there may be a majority, it is necessary that there should be a union of
 “ three hundred and sixty-one suffrages. Twenty-one members have voted for death,
 “ with the demand of a discussion on the period of his execution ; one has voted for
 “ death, with the reserve of its commutation or delay ; two for death, not to be carried
 “ into execution till peace, unless in case of an invasion of the French territory, in which
 “ instance, to be inflicted within twenty-four hours after such invasion has taken place ;

“ two

“two for imprisonment in chains; three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment and banishment; three hundred and sixty-six for death!” The president then proceeded to pronounce the following sentence:

“I DECLARE THEN, IN THE NAME OF THE CONVENTION,
“THAT THE PUNISHMENT WHICH IT PRONOUNCES AGAINST
“LOUIS CAPET IS—*DEATH!*”

The three defenders of Louis Capet were then admitted to the bar. One of them (De Seze) said, “Citizens representatives, the law and decrees have intrusted to us the sacred function of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

“I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation, from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the National Convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sittings.

“Given at Paris, Jan. 16th, 1793.

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

De Seze then resumed his speech. He reminded the Assembly that the decree of death had only been pronounced by a majority of five voices, while the other part of the Assembly were of opinion, that the safety of the country required another decision. He warmly conjured them to examine anew the question of appeal, and to grant to humanity, to the interest of the state, all that justice might not seem imperiously to claim.

Tronchet, another of the defenders of Louis, protested against the decree, by which the Assembly had declared that the sentence should be passed, like its other decrees, by an absolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the decree, observing, that as the penal code had served as the basis of the opinion of those who had pronounced the punishment of death, the Assembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce the punishment, except by two-thirds of the voices.

Lamoignon Maleherbes, the third counsel of Louis, begged the Convention to allow him till to-morrow to present some observations on the kind of majority which to him seemed necessary, before sentence should have been pronounced. He regretted that he could not speak extempore with sufficient facility to enable him to explain his ideas.

The president informed the counsel ⁷² that the Convention would take their requests into consideration, and invited them to the honours of the sitting.

On a motion made by Robespierre, the Convention decreed—1. That the appeal interposed by Louis Capet is null, being contrary to the rights of the people, and to the power of national representation; and that all citizens are forbidden to support this appeal, under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity.—2. That there are no grounds for attending to the remonstrances of the counsel of Louis, in regard to the nature of the majority which passed sentence upon him.

The discussion of the question, Whether it would be proper to suspend the execution of the sentence passed against Louis Capet, was adjourned to next day. The Convention rose at eleven at night, after a sitting which continued thirty-six hours. At this sitting the Spanish court, through the medium of its minister, made a becoming interposition on the part of the unfortunate Louis; but the reading of the letter was rejected with equal haughtiness and imprudence.

The day following Breard moved,—1. That the secretaries should retire, and make out a copy of the minutes, that it might be presented to the Convention to-morrow, at the opening of the sitting.—2. That the Convention should order an address to the people, on the trial of Louis Capet, to be drawn up.—*Thuriot*. “I oppose the second proposition, as contrary to the dignity of the Convention, and to the glory of the French people; since it would, on the one hand, represent the trial of Louis as an illegal act, which had need to be justified; and would, on the other, be supposing that a number of the French people were partizans of the tyrant. I move, that the secretaries shall immediately present the exact result of the *appel nominal*; and that the Convention shall not separate, until they have determined on the respite demanded in favour of Louis.”—*Tallien*. “I second this motion from motives of humanity. Louis knows that he is condemned; would it not be the height of barbarity to suffer him to remain long in the horrible agony of suspense?”—*Couthon*. “I request, in the name of hu-

⁷² It should be mentioned here, that, exclusive of the counsel chosen by Louis for his defence, several of his former adherents made various efforts to establish his innocence. Among these stood M. Cazalés, so distinguished in the first Assembly by his zeal for monarchy and aristocracy, and who was then in England: he solicited, though he knew it must be at the risk of his life, a passport, to enable him to appear as counsel for Louis; the same offer was made by M. Narbonne, ex-minister of war, and M. Lally-Tolendal: a more feeble effort was made by M. de Bouillé, who transmitted an attestation in his favour, respecting the flight to Montmidi, and a letter of M. Choiseul, testifying the king's displeasure at the money which remained in the hands of Bouillé on that account, having been paid to his brothers. M. Bertrand also, ex-minister of the marine, then an emigrant in England, offered to appear as an evidence. He transmitted papers to prove that both parties negotiated with the king in secret; but these papers were not produced, because they would have proved fatal to the character of Danton, La Croix, and other of the leaders, both of the Jacobin and Gironde parties.

" *manity*, that Tallien's motion may be adopted. Louis is informed of his fate, every
 " moment of delay is a punishment, and, to many people, such a punishment would be
 " worse than death. Every sentence in criminal cases ought to be executed in four-and-
 " twenty hours. I well know, that by this grand example of justice, we shall draw
 " down upon our heads the fury and vengeance of tyrants; but these reflections have no
 " weight here; and such is the service we render to *humanity*, that we tear aside the
 " veil, give to the people of all nations an idea of their force; and, by striking off the
 " head of Louis, strike all tyrants. I support, then, the motion of Tallien, and request
 " that the following article may be added to the sentence of death, viz.—The execu-
 " tive council shall immediately send the present decree, by express, to the eighty-four
 " departments. It shall be executed in the Place de Caroussel, and an account of its exe-
 " cution shall be delivered in four-and-twenty hours."—*Robespierre*. " We have voted
 " for the death of the tyrant—we must no longer think of negotiating with tyranny.
 " I cannot allow myself to imagine, that there is in this Convention a single man who
 " will refuse to participate in the *glory of that courage* by which we shall secure the ad-
 " miration of posterity!! With regard to the question of a respite, I think you ought to
 " set it aside through *humanity*. If you do not determine in the course of this sitting,
 " I request that your utmost delay may only be an adjournment till to-morrow."—After
 much altercation this request was complied with. Before the Convention adjourned, a
 silly report was spread, of attempts having been made to set fire to the apartments of the
 late king. It was, however, added, that they had been perceived time enough to pre-
 vent any bad consequences.

On Saturday, the nineteenth, Marat demanded that the Assembly should decree that
 there is no room to deliberate on the question of delay, and that the tyrant be sent to
 punishment within four-and-twenty hours.—*Pons de Verdun*. " The question pro-
 " posed to you to-day has been already completely discussed. You have several times
 " taken up the question of delay upon political considerations, and likewise in the dis-
 " cussion on the appeal to the people, and that which preceded the last *appel nominal*; so
 " that they propose to you to recur to a question which has been already three times de-
 " cided. They propose to you to entail upon yourselves, with respect to foreign na-
 " tions, the scandal of having pronounced sentence of death before you had examined
 " whether, upon political considerations, it ought to be executed."—*Genfonne*. " I
 " approve of the opinion of Pons; but if it is not proper to occupy a long time in the
 " discussion of the delay, at least it is necessary to take the measure calculated to ensure
 " the general safety, before we carry into execution the sentence of death. The Con-
 " vention ought to summon to its bar the constituted authorities, in order to obtain in-
 " formation whether the state of Paris gives reason to apprehend any disturbance, if the
 " execution should take place within four-and-twenty hours. It is proper to provide
 " for the security of persons and property, and particularly to put under the protection
 " of the laws the children of the condemned sufferer; for the execution ought not to
 " dishonour.

“dishonour the National Convention. I demand, then, that the information which I
 “require on all these points, be immediately ordered.”——*Bazot* represented the per-
 sonal dangers which threatened those who approved of a delay: he was insensible to
 such considerations. The Assembly, in order to abridge the trial of Louis, had been
 compelled to neglect some customary forms. This deficiency of forms, which in the pre-
 sent moment was of little consequence, might be matter of serious reproach to the Con-
 vention with posterity; if, by the delay, they did not prove that the whole of their pro-
 ceedings had been influenced by justice, and not by precipitancy. “I conclude”—said
 he—“that the execution of the sentence of death be deferred till the expulsion of *all*
 “the Bourbons. If you do not remove the persons connected with the tyrant, you will
 “soon have a king. It is not enough that Louis singly perish. If you do not exter-
 “minate the faction who might give him a successor, you are undone.”——*Thuriot*. “The
 “decree is passed, it must be executed. They tell you to dread the resentment of the
 “departments against an improper majority; but have they forgot that all the members
 “of this Assembly are agreed with respect to the crimes of Louis? They are forced to
 “confess, that the city of Paris has but one opinion in regard to the tyrant, and yet they
 “insinuate doubts of the dispositions which may be testified in the sequel. No—I am
 “not afraid to say, that there is not one Parisian who is not ready to shed his blood for
 “the execution of your decree. Paris does not wish for a new despot. What then is
 “this strange system of sacrificing all the Bourbons?—sacrificing those who have done
 “nothing against their country; while they have not the courage to speak to you of those
 “infamous men who conspired against liberty; and, while they knew all the crimes of
 “the tyrant, attempted to save him. I conclude with demanding, that Louis be exe-
 “cuted within four-and-twenty hours, and that the executive council be charged to
 “take the measures necessary to ensure the public safety.”——*Barbaroux*. “It is evident
 “that if the French republic perishes, the establishment of liberty in Europe will be
 “retarded several centuries. They are little acquainted with the politics of courts, who
 “think that the death of Louis will furnish a pretext to foreign powers for declaring
 “war against us. The execution of the sentence ought to be hastened from many con-
 “siderations, and I think the expulsion of all the Bourbons is a measure of general safe-
 “ty. I vote, then, for the execution of the sentence; and move, that before the defi-
 “nitive sentence be pronounced, the Convention shall pass sentence of banishment
 “against all the Bourbons.”——*Condorcet*. “Whatever course you pursue, there are
 “doubtless dangers which you cannot avoid. I think I can prove, that for the dangers
 “of respite there are sufficient remedies, or remedies which may at least lessen them.
 “Hitherto we have had only to combat kings, and armies attached to the cause of ty-
 “rants by severe discipline. The people have remained in a state of uncertainty, the
 “effect of which has been favourable to us. Kings are endeavouring to instigate them
 “against us; to gain their end they will take advantage of the execution of Louis, and
 “they will succeed if you are not on your guard. Let us prove to the whole world that

“ we are not barbarians: and that if we wish for the death of the tyrant, we wish also
 “ for the happiness of mankind.—Let us strike the *ci-devant* king, but let us abolish the
 “ punishment of death for all private crimes, and reserve it only for treason. Let us
 “ hasten to revise our system of taxation, to establish beneficent laws, to form a system of
 “ public instruction, and to meliorate the management of our hospitals. We may then
 “ answer tyrants, if they reproach us with the death of Louis; and we may rest assured,
 “ that with such dispositions he may then be executed without danger in four-and-twenty
 “ hours.”—*Brissot*. “ Such has been the influence of the French Revolution, that
 “ at London, Vienna, Berlin, and every where, great deference is paid to public opinion;
 “ It is consulted, it is feared, and attempts are made to corrupt it. The public opinion
 “ of Europe is of more importance to us than armies. In this state of things, the im-
 “ mediate execution of Louis must be very unfavourable to us. There are in Europe two
 “ classes of men: the first, consisting of philosophers and friends of liberty, will not see
 “ the necessity for the death of Louis, and will think, that a great nation ought to dis-
 “ dain sanguinary vengeance; the other, composed of the slaves of prejudice, will con-
 “ sider the punishment of a king as the greatest of crimes—and both will unite to
 “ condemn us. On these considerations I vote for a respite till the new constitution
 “ shall be ratified. If you pursue another course, you must declare war against Eng-
 “ land, Spain, and Holland. Give an example of moderation, and a revolution will be
 “ accomplished throughout all Europe.”

The discussion being closed, the Convention proceeded to the nominal appeal on the question, “ Whether the execution of the sentence passed against Louis Capet should
 “ be delayed?”

Several members wished that the term of the delay to be voted upon should be first decided. Legendre observed, that the first question should certainly be, Whether there ought to be any delay? and that the Convention could afterwards easily fix the term. Some members, when they voted, wished to assign their reasons; but this was opposed by the Convention, and the members were permitted to pronounce only, YES, or NO. When the nominal appeal was terminated, the president announced, that, after calling over the votes upon the question, “ What punishment should be inflicted on Louis?” and after the explanations given by several who had voted for death with restrictions, it was found that the sentence of death pronounced upon Louis had been carried by a majority, not of *five*, but of *twenty-seven*, votes.

The president then declared the result of the nominal appeal on the question, “ Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed?” Of seven hundred and forty-eight members, seventeen were absent by commission, twenty-one from sickness, eight without any assigned reason, twelve did not vote, three hundred and ten voted for delaying the execution of the sentence, and three hundred and eighty for carrying it into
 immediate

immediate effect. The Convention then ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account the next day, at eleven o'clock, of the measures taken to put it in execution within four-and-twenty hours.

Cambaceres then said, "Citizens, by pronouncing sentence of death against the last king of the French, you have done an act, the remembrance of which will not pass away, and which will be recorded by the graver of immortality in the annals of history. Public safety could alone prescribe to you that awful decree. Since it is passed, I stand up, in the name of humanity, to call your attention to the person who is the object of it. Let us allow him every possible consolation; and let us take proper measures to prevent the execution of the national will from being sullied with any stain. I move, therefore, the following propositions:

"1. The executive council shall be immediately summoned, and a copy of the decree which pronounces sentence of death against Louis shall be delivered them.

"2. The executive council shall be charged to notify this decree to Louis in the course of the day; to cause it to be executed within four-and-twenty hours *after it has been notified to him*; to take every measure of safety and police which to them shall appear necessary, during the execution; to be careful that no insult be offered to the remains of Louis; and to give an account of their mission to the National Convention.

"3. The mayor and municipal officers of Paris shall be enjoined to suffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he may desire in his last moments.

These propositions were unanimously adopted, with an amendment by Brissot, that the executive council should not be called till eleven o'clock in the morning. The sitting rose at two o'clock in the morning.

On the twentieth the executive council met for the execution of the decree, and summoned the commissioners of the directory of the department, the mayor, the commandant-general, the public accuser, and the president of the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris, to attend. After having concerted some measures with them, the minister of justice, the president of the council, another member, and the secretary of the council, accompanied by two members of the department, and the mayor, repaired, at two o'clock precisely, to the apartment of Louis. The president of the council informed Louis, that he was charged by the executive council to notify to him an extract of the minutes of the sittings of the National Convention of the fifteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of January. The secretary of the council read the extract to him as follows:

"1. The

“ 1. The National Convention declares Louis Capet, *last king of the French*, guilty of
 “ a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of a crime against the general safety
 “ of the state.

“ 2. The National Convention declares, that Louis Capet shall undergo the punish-
 “ ment of DEATH.

“ 3. The National Convention declares, that the act of Louis Capet, brought to the
 “ bar by his counsel, and termed an appeal to the nation on the sentence passed against
 “ him in the Convention, is null ; and forbids every person from giving it authority, on
 “ pain of being prosecuted, and punished, as guilty of a crime against the general safety
 “ of the republic.

“ 4. The temporary executive council shall notify the present decree, within the day,
 “ to Louis Capet, and shall take the necessary measures of police and safety, to secure
 “ its execution within *four-and-twenty hours*, reckoning from the notification, and shall
 “ render an account of the whole to the National Convention immediately after its
 “ execution.”

When the secretary had finished reading, Louis made a reply nearly to the same effect as the contents of a paper which he drew from his port-folio. The minister of justice answered, that the members of the council then present would withdraw to deliberate on his demands : but not being able to come to any resolution by themselves, they returned to lay them before the council, who, after hearing them read, resolved that they should be communicated to the Convention. They are as follow :

“ I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing
 “ before God: I demand, for this purpose, to be permitted to see freely the person whom
 “ I shall point out to the commissioners of the commons ; that this person may be se-
 “ cure from all fear, and from all uneasiness, for the act of charity which he shall per-
 “ form to me. I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inspection which the coun-
 “ cil general has established for some days past. I demand, during this interval, leave
 “ to see my family when I shall desire it, and without witnesses. I could wish that the
 “ National Convention would consider with all speed of the lot of my family, and per-
 “ mit them to retire, freely and conveniently, wherever the Convention shall think
 “ proper. I recommend to the benevolence of the nation, all the persons who were at-
 “ tached to me ; there are many of them who expended their whole fortune on their si-
 “ tuations, and who, having no longer any appointment, must be in necessity ; and even
 “ some of them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the pen-
 “ sioners are many aged persons, women, and children, who had no other means of
 “ subsistence.

At the Tower of the Temple, Jan. 20th, 1793.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

“ As we were retiring,”—added the minister—“ he delivered a note to one of the
 “ commissioners

“ commissioners, of the commons, in a hand-writing different from his own, containing
 “ the name of his confessor: it is M. Edgeworth, or de Fermon, No. 483, Rue du Bacq.”

The Convention decreed, that Louis should be allowed to call whatever minister of religion he might think proper, and to see his family without witnesses. They authorised the executive council to inform him, that the nation, always great, and always just, would attend to the lot of his family. Respecting the demand made in favour of those who depended on him for their subsistence, the Convention *passed to the order of the day*, because such persons had a right to appear, and to request payment, or some other indemnity, if debts were due to them. They *passed also to the order of the day*, on the demand made by Louis, that the execution of the sentence might be delayed three days. The Assembly then *passed to the order of the day*, on the demand of Louis to be freed from the perpetual inspection of the council general. The minister of justice observed, that the commissioners of inspection always remained in an apartment contiguous to that of Louis. After this, the provisional executive council made the necessary preparations for the execution; and immediately issued the following proclamation:

“ Jan. 20th, 1793. *Second Year of the Republic.*

“ The provisional executive council, deliberating on the measures to be taken for the
 “ execution of the decree of the National Convention, of the fifteenth, seventeenth,
 “ nineteenth, and twentieth of January, 1793, enacts the following regulations:

“ 1. The execution of the sentence of Louis Capet shall take place to-morrow,
 “ (Monday, the twenty-first of January.)

“ 2. The place of execution shall be *La Place de Revolution*, heretofore *Louis XV.*
 “ between the pedestal and the *Champs-Elisées*.

“ 3. Louis Capet shall set out from the Temple at eight o'clock in the morning, so
 “ that the execution shall take place at noon.

“ 4. The commissioners of the department of Paris, the commissioners of the muni-
 “ cipality, and members of the criminal tribunal, shall assist at the execution; the
 “ secretary-register of the tribunal shall draw up the minutes; and the said commissioners,
 “ and members of the tribunal, as soon as the execution is over, shall return and give an
 “ account to the council, who shall continue in a state of permanent sitting during the
 “ whole day.

“ By the provisional executive council.

“ ROLAND, CLAVIERE, MONGE, LE BRUN, GARAT, PACHE.”

When the minister of justice returned to the Temple, he informed the king, that the Convention acquiesced in most of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general answer which had been given to that respecting the lot of his family; but added, that *the delay was refused*. “ It is immaterial,” replied Louis, “ we must submit.”

There

There is something infinitely harsh and revolting to humanity in the refusal of this last request, which there is every reason to believe, from the character and conduct of the king, proceeded from the pious motive which he assigned, and not, as his enemies have suggested, from a weak desire of prolonging a wretched existence.

When the minister of justice had retired, the king gave to one of the commissioners a letter, addressed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the person he wished to attend him in his last moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a protestant clergyman, of a good family in Ireland, but was converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and had established himself in France, where he bred his son an ecclesiastic, in the faith which he himself preferred. The son recommended himself so much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was chosen by the princess Elizabeth as her confessor; by which means he became known to, and highly esteemed by, the king; of which he gave the strongest proof, by sending for him on this awful occasion.

The king's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three soldiers, sent by the council of the commune. The contents of the letter were requesting his attendance; but if he found himself, from apprehension of the consequence, or any other cause, averse to accept that melancholy office entreating him to find another ecclesiastic who had not the same reluctance. Mr. Edgeworth informed the soldiers, that he would attend them directly. His mother and sister were then at a small distance from Paris; he desired madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, because he perceived that lady was greatly alarmed, and feared she might communicate her apprehensions to them. Mr. Edgeworth was conducted first before the council in the Temple, and then to the king. On his being introduced, he instantly shewed such marks of respect and sensibility, as affected the unfortunate prince so much, that he burst into tears, and was for some moments unable to speak: at length he said—"Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed, of late, to the company of men like you."

After passing some time with his confessor, the king thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The queen, the princess Elizabeth, with the prince and princess royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together—Imagination cannot picture a scene more affecting than this interview—Persons, so lately placed in the most brilliant situation that the world can give—hurled from the summit of human splendour to the depth of human misery. A sister, children, and wife, in a prison, taking their last leave of a brother, father, husband, and a king, rendered more dear by his past sufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day. The king, though affected at different times beyond the power of expression, retained his recollection to the last.

Anno
1793



H. Singleton del.

J. Jones fecit

*The last interview of Louis
the Sixteenth with his Family*

Published at the Old Burying by C. Lowndes Entry Lane 27 April 1793.

last. When they were to separate, the princess Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of seeing him again in the morning, which he permitted her to expect. The queen was inconsolable; no consideration could prevent her pouring forth her indignation, in the most violent expressions, against the enemies of her husband. In the bitterness of her soul she beat her breast and tore her hair; and her screams were heard, at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After his family had withdrawn, the king remained some time with his eyes fixed on the ground without speaking; then with a profound sigh he pronounced—"It was indeed 'a dreadful moment!'" But the misery of his own fate did not so entirely engross his mind as to exclude all solicitude for the fate of others; he enquired in a most affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for several whom he considered as his friends, and particularly for the ecclesiastics, who had been persecuted with the greatest cruelty; and expressed satisfaction at hearing that many of them had escaped to England, where they were received with kindness and hospitality. Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for four hours. He rose at five; and expressing an inclination to hear mass, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council, who were sitting in the Temple, of the king's request. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, saying that the usual ornaments, and all the requisites for the ceremony, could be procured from a neighbouring church. Mr. Edgeworth shewing great solicitude that the king should be gratified, one of the commissioners said, he had heard of people who had been poisoned taking the sacrament. To this horrid insinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him "That the committee were to procure the host."

The necessary apparatus being provided, Mr. Edgeworth said mass, and administered the sacrament to the king; and then mentioned that his family expected to see him before he left the Temple. The king, fearing that he had not sufficient fortitude for a second interview, wished to spare them the agony of such a scene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight Santerre arrived, and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing a few minutes in private with his confessor, he came to the outer room, where Santerre had remained, and addressing him, said, "Let us go, I am ready." In descending to the court, he begged the commissioners to recommend certain persons who were in his service to the commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he bade him adieu; but the other said, his attendance was not yet over. "What!"—said the king—"do you intend to adhere to me still?" "Yes,"—replied the confessor—"to the last."—The king walked through the court with a firm step, and entered the mayor's coach, attended by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two commanders of the national guards.

The king recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution. When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the king said, "We are now arrived." He instantly pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold with steadiness, and surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude; then approaching the edge of the scaffold, and as there was a great noise, made a motion with his hand for silence, which instantly took place; then raising his voice, he said, "Frenchmen, I die innocent. I pardon all my enemies, and I wish that France——" Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, and the executioners to perform their office. The king's voice was quickly drowned in the noise of the drums and trumpets.

Three executioners then approached to lay hold of him: at the sight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to bind his arms, the king for the first time shewed signs of indignation, and seemed as if preparing to resist. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied: he no sooner pronounced this, than the king became passive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and placed him on the guillotine. The confessor then kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven?" The blow was given—Mr. Edgeworth's face was sprinkled with the king's blood. The executioner walked round the scaffold, holding up the head to the view of the people. The crowd then shouted, "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Republique!*"⁷³

After

⁷³ The following account of the last moments of the unfortunate Lewis is truly interesting: It is extracted from the Letters of an English Lady at that time in Paris.

"The French king received the intelligence of his approaching fate without dismay. He displayed far more firmness upon the scaffold than he had done upon the throne, and atoned for the weakness and inconsistency of his conduct in life, by the calmness and fortitude of his behaviour in death. The evening before his execution, his family, from whom he had been separated since the commencement of his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the sad indulgence of a last interview, unmolested by the presence of his guards. Alas! when imagination pictured the anguish of such an interview, it was not necessary to look back upon the former elevation of the sufferer, in order to pity the gloomy transition in his fate! It was not necessary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to suffer death upon the scaffold, was once the first monarch in Europe, and would be led to execution through the streets of his own capital! It was enough to consider this unfortunate person as a man, a husband, a father! Ah, surely, amidst the agonies of final separation from those to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of nature and affection! surely, when we cling to those we love, in the unutterable pang of a last embrace!—in such moments the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of disappointed ambition must be unfeeling amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart. That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the king, the queen, and his sister; the princess his daughter has attained that age when perhaps the soul is most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility most exquisite. Even the young prince, who is only in his ninth year, caught the infectious sorrow, and, while his eyes were bathed in tears, cried, sobbing, to Santerre, "Oh! let me run through the streets—I will go to the districts—I will go to all the sections, and beg for my papa!"

"Louis had sufficient firmness to avoid seeing his family on the morning of his execution. He desired the queen might be told that he was unable to bear the sight of her and his children in those last moments. He took a ring off his finger, which contained some of his own hair, of the queen's, and of his two children, and desired it

After his execution many persons seemed eager to obtain some part of his cloaths. His blood was taken up on paper, and on white handkerchiefs, by persons who had not the air of attaching any political superstition to it. Among these were observed two young men, one of whom, apparently a foreigner, gave a boy fifteen livres to dip a very fine white handkerchief in the blood; the other gave a louis-d'or for the hair-ribbon and some of the hair.

it might be given to the queen. He called the municipal officers round him, and told them, it was his dying request, that Clery, his valet-de-chambre, might remain with his son. He then said to Santerre, "Let us go;" and after crossing, with a hurried pace, the inner court of the Temple, he got into the mayor's carriage, which was in waiting, and was attended by his confessor.

"The calmness which Louis the Sixteenth displayed on this great trial of human fortitude, is attributed not only to the support his mind received from religious faith, but also to the hope which it is said he cherished, even till his last moment, that the people, whom he meant to address from the scaffold, would demand that his life might be spared; and his confessor, from motives of humanity, had encouraged him in this hope. After ascending the scaffold with a firm step, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to speak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard, by ordering the drums to beat immediately. Alas! had he been permitted to speak, poor was his chance of exciting commiseration! Those who pitied his calamities had carefully shunned that fatal spot; and those who most immediately surrounded him, only waited till the stroke was given, in order to dip their pikes and handkerchiefs in his blood!

"Two persons who were on the scaffold assert, that the unhappy monarch, finding the hope he had cherished of awakening the compassion of the people frustrated, by the impossibility of his being heard, as a last resource, declared that he had secrets to reveal of importance to the safety of the state, and desired he might be led to the National Convention. Some of the guards who heard this declaration cried, "Yes, let him go to the Convention!" Others said, "No!"—Had the king been conducted to the Convention, it is easy to imagine the effect which would have been produced on the minds of the people by the sight of their former monarch led through the streets of Paris, with his hands bound, his neck bare, his hair already cut off at the foot of the scaffold, in preparation for the fatal stroke—with no other covering than his shirt. At that sight the enraged populace might have melted into tenderness, and the Parisian women, among whom were numbers who passed the day in tears of unavailing regret, might have rushed between the monarch and his guards, and have attempted his rescue, even with the risk of life. Santerre, who foresaw these consequences, and perceived the danger of the rising dispute among the guards, called to the executioner to do his office.—Then it was that despair seized the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance assumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, "I am undone! I am undone!" His confessor meantime called to him from the foot of the scaffold, "Louis, son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven!"—and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality.

"The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried "*Vive la Republique!*" Some dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood—but the greater number, chilled with horror at what had passed, desired the commandant would lead them instantly from the spot. The hair was sold in separate tresses at the foot of the scaffold; and, as if every incident of this tragedy had been intended to display the strange vicissitudes of human fortune, as if every scene were meant "to point a moral," the body was conveyed in a cart to the parish church of Saint Madeleine, and laid among the bodies of those who had been crushed to death on the Place of Louis XV. when Louis the Sixteenth was married, and of those who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries on the tenth of August. The grave was filled with quick-lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot to which, shrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit.

Before

Before Louis left the Temple, he delivered a packet in charge to one of the commissioners, containing a duplicate of his will; of which the following is a copy, literally translated, and certified by a municipal officer to have been collated with the original:

“ In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
“ this day, the twenty-first of December, 1792, I, Louis, the Sixteenth of the name,
“ king of France, having been for more than four months imprisoned with my family
“ in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of
“ all communication whatsoever, even since the eleventh instant, with my own family;
“ moreover, being implicated in a trial of which it is impossible to foresee the issue, on
“ account of the passions of men, and for which no pretext or means can be found in any
“ existing law; having only God for the witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can
“ address myself; here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

“ I leave my soul to God, my creator; I pray him to receive it in mercy, and not to
“ judge it according to its deserts, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who
“ offered himself a sacrifice to God his father for us men, however unworthy, and for
“ me the most unworthy. I die in the union of our mother, the Catholic, Apostolic,
“ and Roman church, who holds her powers by an uninterrupted succession from Saint
“ Peter, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted them. I firmly believe and acknowledge every
“ thing contained in the commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and
“ mysteries, such as the church teaches, and hath always taught them; I have never
“ pretended to make myself a judge of the different modes of explaining the dogmas
“ which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have conformed, and will always con-
“ form, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the higher ecclesiastics of the Holy
“ Catholic church give, and shall give, conformably to the discipline of the church fol-
“ lowed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with all my heart, our brethren who may be in
“ error, but I pretend not to judge them, and I love them no less in Jesus Christ, ac-
“ cording to what Christian charity teaches us: I pray God to pardon me all my sins;
“ I have endeavoured to know them scrupulously, to detest them, and to humble my-
“ self in his presence. Not being able to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic
“ priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made, and above all my pro-
“ found repentance for having put my name (though it was against my will) to acts
“ which may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic church, to which
“ I have always remained sincerely united in heart; I pray God to accept of my firm
“ resolution, if he grant me life, to make use, as soon as I can, of the ministry of a
“ Catholic priest, to confess myself of all my sins, and to receive the sacrament of re-
“ pentance; I request all those whom I may have offended through inadvertence, for I
“ do not recollect having knowingly offended any one, or those to whom I may have
“ given bad example or scandal, to forgive me the evil which they may think I have
“ done them.

“ I entreat

“ I entreat all charitable persons to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God
 “ the pardon of my sins. I forgive, with all my heart, those who have made themselves
 “ my enemies without my having given them any cause; and I pray God to forgive
 “ them, as well as those who, through a false or mistaken zeal, have done me much evil.

“ I recommend to God, my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and
 “ all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatso-
 “ ever. I pray God particularly to look with the eyes of mercy on my wife, my chil-
 “ dren, and my sister, who have long been the partners of my sufferings; to sustain
 “ them by his grace, if they should lose me; and as long as they shall remain in this
 “ perishable world. I recommend my children to my wife; I have never doubted her
 “ maternal tenderness for them. I recommend to her, above all, to make them good
 “ Christians, and honest members of society; to make them consider the grandeurs of
 “ this world, if they are condemned to prove them, but as things dangerous and perish-
 “ able, and to turn their views towards the only and solid glory of eternity. I request
 “ my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them,
 “ if they should have the misfortune to lose their own.

“ I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which she suffers on my account, and
 “ the uneasiness which I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may
 “ be assured, that I remember nothing against her, if she thinks she has any thing to re-
 “ proach herself with. I earnestly recommend to my children, next to their duty to
 “ God, which they ought to prefer to every thing, to maintain mutual union, submis-
 “ sion and obedience to their mother, and gratitude for all the cares which she incurs for
 “ them, and in memory of me. I entreat them to consider my sister as a second mother.
 “ I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune to become king, to think
 “ that he owes himself entirely to the good of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to for-
 “ get all hatred, and all resentment, and especially whatever relates to the misfortunes
 “ and uneasiness which I experience; that he cannot promote the good of the people,
 “ but by reigning according to the laws; but, at the same time, that a king cannot make
 “ the laws respected, and do the good he wishes, but in proportion as he has the neces-
 “ sary authority; and that, without this, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring
 “ no respect, he is more injurious than useful. I recommend to my son to take care of
 “ all the persons who were attached to me, as far as his circumstances shall give him
 “ the means; to think that this is a sacred debt which I have contracted to the children
 “ or relations of those who have died for me, and next to those who are unfortunate on
 “ my account. I know that there are many persons, of those who were attached to me,
 “ who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and who have even
 “ shewn me ingratitude; but I forgive them (often, in the moments of trouble and ef-
 “ ferverence, a man is not master of himself;) and I entreat my son, if he should have
 “ the opportunity, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wish to be able to tes-

“ tify my gratitude to those who have displayed a true and disinterested attachment to
 “ me. On the one hand, if I was sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of
 “ persons to whom I had never shewn any thing but favours, to them, their relations,
 “ or friends; on the other, I have had the consolation of seeing the gratuitous attach-
 “ ment and interest which many persons have shewn to me. I entreat them to accept
 “ of my thanks; in the situation in which things still are, I should be afraid of bring-
 “ ing them into danger if I were to speak more explicitly; but I recommend particular-
 “ ly to my son to seek all occasions of discovering them.

“ I should, nevertheless, think that I calumniated the sentiments of the nation, did I
 “ not openly recommend to my son, Messrs. de Chamilly and Hu, who were induced
 “ by their true attachment to shut themselves up with me in this mournful residence,
 “ and who were near falling the unhappy victims of that resolution. I also recommend
 “ to him Clery, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since
 “ he has been with me. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I request
 “ Messieurs of the commune to deliver to him my cloaths, my books, my watch, my
 “ purse, and the other little effects which have been deposited at the council of the
 “ commons.

“ I also most willingly forgive those who guarded me the ill-treatment and severity
 “ which they thought it their duty to make me suffer. I have found some feeling and
 “ compassionate souls; may they enjoy the tranquillity of heart which ought to spring
 “ from their delicacy of sentiment.

“ I entreat Messrs. de Maleherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, to receive here my thanks,
 “ and the expression of my sensibility, for all the care, and all the pains, which they
 “ took for me.

“ I conclude, by declaring, before God, and ready to appear before him, that I reproach
 “ myself with none of the crimes which are alledged against me.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.”

Done in duplicate at the Tower of the Temple, Dec. 25, 1792.

The following is an extract from the register of the Temple, of the twenty-first of January; and we believe the last which occurred respecting the unfortunate Louis:

“ There appeared before us the citizen Clery, valet-de-chambre of Louis Capet, who
 “ wished to make a discovery of three articles, which he had been this morning intrust-
 “ ed with by Louis Capet, in presence of several commissaries, who bore witness there-
 “ to; which articles are, a gold ring, in the inside of which are engraved the letters
 “ ‘M. A. A. A. 19th Aprilis, 1770,’ which ring Louis directed to be given to his spouse,
 “ saying,

“ saying, at the same time, that it was with regret that he parted with it. Moreover, a
 “ gold watch-seal opening on three sides, on one of which were engraved the arms of
 “ France, on the second ‘L. L.’ and on the third the head of a child, with a helmet on,
 “ which seal he ordered to be given to his son: and, lastly, a small paper, upon
 “ which was written, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, ‘*Hair of my wife, my sister,*
 “ *and my children;*’ and containing four small parcels of hair, which he ordered Clery to
 “ deliver to his spouse, and to tell her, that he begged her pardon for not having sent for
 “ her this morning, which was only done with a view to save her the grief of so cruel a
 “ separation.—The council, deliberating upon the demand of citizen Clery, have left
 “ him depositary of the articles before mentioned, till it shall be otherwise ordered by
 “ the council general of the commune, to whom the matter is referred.”

Thus fell Louis the Sixteenth, to whom, with some propriety, has been applied an expression of our own Shakespeare—“ A man more finned against than finning !” He was born in difficult times, and in his connections was peculiarly unfortunate. That he was possessed of good talents, was known to all who enjoyed his intimacy, and is evident from his long and unpremeditated examination before the Convention, which, in justice to his memory, we were happy to insert. During the first years of his reign, however, the indolence of his disposition, and his habits of self-indulgence, operated to cast his abilities into shade, whence they were only called forth by the severe trials of adversity. He was undoubtedly of a benevolent temper, and always appears to have had the good of his people at heart; but it must be added, that he desired it in his own way, for he always appears to have been tenacious of power, and to have parted with it reluctantly. It would have been happier for him if, from the first of the Revolution, he had acted a more decided and manly part on one side or the other: but this may, perhaps, be excused, from considering the habits of intrigue in which he was educated in the old court, and from the persuasion of corrupt courtiers by whom he was surrounded. But it was unfortunate: for the assembling of the troops near Paris, in 1789, and the flight to Varennes, appear to have made an indelible impression upon the minds of the people, and to have generated a degree of suspicion which was not to be eradicated.

Of his guilt or innocence, with respect to the grand charge of corresponding with the emigrants, and exciting a foreign war against his country, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution, the documents are too slight to enable us to form a decisive opinion. Thus far it may, perhaps, be right to concede, that his intended flight to the frontiers, and the proclamation which he left behind him, too certainly evinced that he was not satisfied with the limited share of authority which the constitution of 1789 allowed him; and the insults and disgusts which he afterwards experienced, were not calculated to reconcile him to it. The charge relative to the defence of the Thuilleries, on the tenth of August, 1792, appears extremely ill-founded. That a faction existed who were desirous of establishing a republic in France, *by any means*, we cannot possibly doubt;

what were the intentions of the court party, we have not yet been able to fathom: but, judging from external appearances only, self-defence most certainly justified the opposition to the armed mob, who assailed the royal residence on that fatal day.

If, however, the Convention were completely convinced of the criminality of the king: if the forcible objections drawn from the inviolability attached to his person by the constitution, and the incompetency of the tribunal at which he was arraigned, were determined, upon the best principles, to be nugatory and unfounded, still they ought not to have condemned him upon such evidence as was brought against him. To take away life is a serious act; and the clearest and most decisive evidence of legal criminality is absolutely required. He who has a single doubt upon his mind, and yet condemns a fellow creature to death, is guilty of MURDER. The conduct of Petion and the Girondists, who declared him guilty upon the evidence, and yet wished, by subterfuges, to rescue him from punishment, was even more inconsistent than that of his implacable adversaries; but both evinced their total ignorance of the principles of justice, of the nature of evidence, and of the very forms which ought to be preserved in all judicial proceedings⁷⁴.

Some

⁷⁴ From an eminent French writer on the state of parties at this period, the following particulars are extracted:

"Opinions in France have undergone an extraordinary change within the last month. But a few weeks ago, the general opinion, and the wish, undoubtedly, of the far greatest part of the people, was, that the king's punishment should not be capital; and it seemed a settled point, that even the judgment itself, whatever it might be, should be referred to the primary assemblies.

"This was the sentiment of a majority in the Convention: in order to penetrate into the intrigues and manoeuvres by which that majority was worked into a minority, it is necessary to be acquainted with the state of parties, and of factions, in Paris.

"Though it must be presumed, that all the representatives of the French nation are now republicans, or at least assume the character, the majority in the Convention was distinguished by the appellation of the *Republican Party*. Of this party the most eminent men for character and abilities were Kersaint, who has lately resigned, Vergniaud, Buzot, Genfonne, Barbaroux, Brissot, Guadet, and Rabaut.—The opposite party to this is well known by the name of the *Montagne*, because they, for the most part, sit at the extremity of the hall, on the right of the president, where the benches rise above each other. In this class one need scarcely mention Robespierre, Thuriot, Chabot, Bazire, Billaud, Danton, Camille, Desmoulins, Tallien, with other violent Jacobin leaders. This faction, as to numbers, was not formidable. In the Convention they were not more than sixty or seventy; but they were really formidable from their violence, their connection, the private support which they received from the purse of Egalité, and the supplies of Pache, the war minister, as well as from the attachment of the leaders in all the sections of Paris, the municipality, and their hired mob.

"The minority thus relied upon the force of the capital; with the majority were all the departments: the former were supported by the minister of the war department, the latter by the minister of the interior, who divided between them the greatest part of the power and patronage of the executive government. Besides these, there was another set of men in the Convention, neutral or undecided. They were supposed to amount to about ninety or an hundred, and of course not connected. The most remarkable among them was Petion and Condorcet. Just before the trial of Louis the parties tried their strength; and the triumph of the majority was shewn in a decree, by which the whole family of the Bourbons was to be banished from the territories of the republic. This decree gave rise to those intrigues and movements which in a few weeks turned the scale of power, and brought the unfortunate Louis to the scaffold.

"Egalité,

Some of those members of the Convention who had been most strenuous in their endeavours to save the life of the king, immediately resigned their seats, particularly Kerfaint and Manuel. The minister, Roland, also resigned on this occasion, and for this cause; the war minister, Pache, was soon after dismissed, and Bournonville succeeded to that department. The resignation of both Roland and Pache are, however, represented by Dumourier⁷⁵ as a compromise between the Gironde and Jacobin parties; and Pache was soon after placed in a still more important situation, that of mayor of Paris.

It has been believed by some persons of great political sagacity, that had the powers of Europe, or even those who were still neutral, interposed in favour of the king with the same magnanimity as the court of Spain, and with a proper degree of frankness, and unequivocal marks of good faith, his life, at least, might have been saved; but so hostile from the beginning of the Revolution had almost every court appeared, that we wonder not that the French considered themselves as insulted and deserted, and looked with a

"Egalité, against whom the decree seemed principally to be levelled, collected all his strength, made an appeal in his usual way to the passions, and to the corruption of the lower class of the people; and finding that he must either prevail, or fall to rise no more, used his utmost efforts, by manœuvre within the Convention, and by intimidation from without, to obtain a repeal of the decree. The majority of the republicans were still against him; but, by the interposition of Petion, and the neutral party, he carried his point so far as to procure a suspension of the decree till after the trial of the king should be finished. Then came on the trial of Louis, and with it the secret movements and plots that kept Paris in a state of perpetual agitation, and threatened either an insurrection, or a renewal of the bloody scenes of the first week in September. The majority in the Convention appealed to the eighty-four departments; and from most of the departments an armed force was sent to protect the Convention, to give freedom to its deliberation, and force to its decision. About this time it was thought that the Orleans' faction was on the point of being crushed; the forces of the federate body being so greatly superior to the *Sam Culottes*, or the armed mobs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau: but all on a sudden the Jacobins contrived to get over a great part of the Federates: they met and fraternized with the *Sam Culottes* of Paris; and the majority in the Convention, thus deprived all at once of its support, was obliged to give way to the menaces of the opposite faction, and to condemn Louis. Thus the Jacobins, whose power for some months past had been at a very low ebb, were again possessed of the ascendancy; a proof of which was given in the election of the committee of general safety, to whose discretion the lives and property of the citizens of Paris is committed. All the members of this committee are chosen from among the most furious of the Jacobins.

"The people of Paris seemed to be rather indifferent about the fate of the king; but they are inured to blood, and horrors now are not displeasing to them." In the sections, they were decidedly for the death of Louis; but their sittings being permanent, the councils are held only by a few violent men in each section, who exclude the rest. We may judge how little their acts are those of the body of the people, from this circumstance: at the last election of deputies for Paris, when Robespierre and Co. were returned, only four thousand persons attended to give their voices; and there are in Paris no less than one hundred and twenty thousand citizens who have a right to vote.

"The circumstance of handkerchiefs being dipped in the blood of Louis, I believe to be strictly true; though I have reason to believe a false construction may have been put upon it. They were most probably royalists, who wished to have some precious relic of their deceased sovereign; and it has already been reported, that one of these handkerchiefs has been conveyed to Frankfort, and is to be the red flag to animate the soldiers of the combined armies against France in the spring."

⁷⁵ See Dumourier's Memoirs.

suspicious eye upon the motions of every other state. At this unfortunate period too they were elated with their temporary successes; and if it was really the wish of any other nation to preserve peace and neutrality, no time could be more improper to employ towards this impetuous people the language of arrogance and insult.

Soon after the condemnation of the king, M. Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, a deputy of the Convention, who had voted for his death, was assassinated by a person of the name of Paris, who had formerly been one of the gardes-du-corps. As he was dining at the Garden de l'Egalité, in a coffee-house kept by one Fevrier, six persons came from an adjoining apartment, and one of them said, "There is that scoundrel, Pelletier Saint Fargeau." "My name is Pelletier,"—replied the deputy—"but I am not a scoundrel." "Did you not vote for the death of the king?"—"Yes, I did; but that was a duty imposed upon me by my conscience."—Scarcely had he pronounced these words, when Paris thrust a sabre into the lower part of his belly, which occasioned a large and deep wound. Pelletier requested that no hurt might be done to the assassin: he even had the courage to draw up an account of the manner in which the crime he fell a victim to was committed. He was carried to his father's house in the Place Vendôme, and expired next morning. The Convention decreed public honours to the memory of Pelletier; but the assassin, who appeared to be insane, escaped to the country, where he soon after destroyed himself.—The family of Pelletier de Saint Fargeau appeared at the bar of the Convention—"The daughter of Michael Le Pelletier,"—said one of her uncles—"comes to testify to you, as well as to the French people, her gratitude for the eternity of glory to which you yesterday raised her father." Then, raising the child in his arms, and turning her face round to the whole assembly, he added, "My niece, behold thy father—people, behold thy child!" Barrere moved, that the Convention, in the name of the French people, should adopt this child: it was also decreed, that a competition of artists should be established for erecting a statue, representing Pelletier on his death-bed—and also for a painting of the same scene, to be afterwards hung up in the hall of the Convention.

To conciliate the people of the Belgic provinces, whose prejudices had been outraged, and whose rights had been invaded, the French Convention, in November 1792, conceived a project for opening the Scheldt from Antwerp, in contradiction to one of the articles of the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, and contrary to the supposed interests of the United Provinces. The labours of the historian are little more than a record of the inconsistency of human nature, and the versatility of statesmen. When Joseph the Second, in the year 1716, entertained a similar project, it is asserted that the British ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, "went purposely to Antwerp, to instigate the inhabitants of that city to petition the emperor to insist on the free navigation of the Scheldt⁷⁶." It

⁷⁶ See "*Memorien dienende tot Opheldering*," or "*Memoirs relating to the War between England and Holland*."—By the Hon. J. Rendorp.

is truly singular, therefore, that what appeared so reasonable at a former period, should now be considered as a sufficient cause for involving the nation in the calamities of war; and what is more singular is, that the British ministry should appear more deeply interested in the prevention of the measure than the states of Holland themselves. Lord Auckland was directed to assure their High Mightinesses, that as the theatre of war was brought so near to the confines of their republic, his majesty was both ready and determined to execute, with the utmost good faith, the treaty of 1788. The States, in their answer to this declaration from the British court, professed the strongest belief, that no hostile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers against them. The native phlegm of the Hollanders begat, in the more peaceful and steady, a real reluctance to believe activity necessary to save their country; an insuperable hatred of the court party induced the more active to dissemble their expectancies of what they most ardently wished. If we may credit universal report, the Hollanders were equally indifferent with respect to the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt; and calmly replied, that if such an event was to take place, they could carry on their commerce at Antwerp as well as at Amsterdam.

The absurd and impolitic decree of the French Convention, passed on the fifteenth of November, 1792, in which they propose "to grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty," &c. constituted another ground of complaint and alarm, though there was not the smallest token of any intention to invade the territories of Great Britain; though there was not a possibility that such an attempt would have been successful; and though the obnoxious decree can only be considered in the light of a ridiculous gasconade, proceeding from a body of men intoxicated with their late unexpected successes, while in reality they had too much serious business on their hands to admit of their engaging in any new quarrels.—Wishing to explain their conduct on these occasions, and seemingly desirous to prevent a misunderstanding between the two nations, M. Chauvelin, ambassador from the French nation, at London, delivered the following official note to lord Grenville, one of his Britannic majesty's secretaries of state:

"The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of France has the honour to communicate to lord Grenville the instructions which he has received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, in case he should think he could not speedily enough obtain an interview with the minister."

"The French government, by continuing, since the recall of lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London a minister plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic majesty an unequivocal proof of the desire they had to remain in good intelligence with the British court, and to see all those clouds dissipated, to which events, necessary and inseparable from the internal regimen of France, seemed then to have given birth."

"The

“ The intentions of the executive council of France towards England have never
“ ceased to be the same; but they cannot see with indifference the public conduct
“ which the British ministry observe at present towards France. It is much to be re-
“ gretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indisposition which they still force
“ themselves not to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the
“ French nation, not to leave it much longer in that state of uncertainty in which it
“ has been thrown by several measures lately adopted by the British government—an
“ uncertainty in which the English nation must share, and which must be equally un-
“ worthy of both. The executive council of the French republic have consequently
“ authorised the minister of France, at London, to demand, with openness, of the mi-
“ nisters of his Britannic majesty, Whether France ought to consider England as a neu-
“ tral or hostile power? and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a de-
“ finitive answer. But in demanding from the ministers of his Britannic majesty an
“ open and candid declaration of their intentions towards France, the executive council
“ do not wish that the smallest doubt should exist respecting the dispositions of France
“ towards England, and of its desire to remain at peace with it. They even wish to
“ answer previously to all those reproaches which may be thrown out against France, in
“ order to justify England. Reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Bri-
“ tannic majesty to break with the French republic, the executive council can see them
“ only in a false interpretation, given, perhaps, to the decree of the National Conven-
“ tion of the nineteenth of November. If the British ministry are really alarmed by
“ that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The
“ National Convention never intended that the French Republic should favour insur-
“ rections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should
“ endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an
“ idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot without injustice be imputed to
“ the National Convention. This decree, then, is applicable only to those people, who,
“ *after having acquired their liberty*, may request the fraternity and assistance of the
“ French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the *general will*. France
“ not only ought, and wishes, to respect the independence of England, but that also of
“ its allies, with whom it is not at war. The undersigned, therefore, has been charged
“ to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland whilst that power confines
“ itself, on its part, within the bounds of strict neutrality. The British government
“ being thus assured respecting these two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can
“ remain, but on the question for opening the Scheldt—a question irrevocably decided
“ by reason and justice, of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of Eng-
“ land, and perhaps even of Holland, is too well known to render it difficult to make it
“ seriously the sole cause of a war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this
“ last motive to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be proba-
“ ble that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take
“ advantage

“ advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression,
 “ long ago meditated?

“ In this fatal supposition, which the executive council rejects, the undersigned
 “ would be authorized to support with energy the dignity of the French people, and to
 “ declare, with firmness, that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel,
 “ with indignation, an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so unprovoked on their
 “ part. When all these explanations, necessary to demonstrate the purity of the inten-
 “ tions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory measures shall have been ex-
 “ hausted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight and the whole re-
 “ sponsibility of the war, will sooner or later fall upon those who have provoked it.
 “ Such a war would really be the war only of the British ministry, against the French
 “ republic; and should this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not, perhaps,
 “ be impossible for France to render it soon evident to a nation, which, in giving its con-
 “ fidence, never renounced the exercise of reason, and its respect for justice and for truth.

“ Such are the instructions which the undersigned has received orders to communicate
 “ officially to lord Grenville, inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic
 “ majesty, to weigh, with the most serious attention, the deliberations and demands
 “ which they contain. It is evident that the French nation desires to preserve peace
 “ with England. It proves this, by endeavouring, with candour and openness, to re-
 “ move every suspicion which so many passions and various prejudices are continually
 “ labouring to excite against it; but the more it shall have done to convince all Europe
 “ of the purity of its views and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will
 “ have to a claim of not being longer misunderstood.

“ The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note: he
 “ hopes that the ministers of his Britannic majesty will be induced, by the explanations
 “ which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good understanding between the two
 “ nations; and will have no occasion, in order to return to them, to consider the terrible
 “ responsibility of a declaration of war, which would incontestably be their work; the
 “ consequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and
 “ in which a generous and free people could not long consent to betray their own in-
 “ terests, by contributing to assist and support a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed)

“ CHAUVELIN.”

To this note lord Grenville returned the following answer;

“ I have received, Sir, from you, a note, in which, styling yourself minister-plenipo-
 “ tentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the in-
 “ structions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the

“ French republic. You are not ignorant, that since the unhappy events of the tenth
“ of August, the king has thought proper to suspend all official communication with
“ France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the king, than in the name of
“ his Most Christian majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by
“ any other authority or power in France, would be a new question, which, whenever
“ it occurred, the king would have the right to decide according to the interests of his
“ subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general
“ system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, Sir, in express and formal
“ terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of minister from
“ his Most Christian majesty, and that, consequently, you cannot be admitted to treat
“ with the king’s ministers, in the quality, and under the form, stated in your note.

“ But observing that you have entered into explanations of some of the circumstances
“ which have given to England such strong grounds of uneasiness and jealousy, and that
“ you speak of these explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer,
“ I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification above stated, without at the
“ same time explaining myself clearly and distinctly on the subject of what you have com-
“ municated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

“ Your explanations are confined to three points:—The first is that of the decree of
“ the National Convention of the nineteenth of November, in the expressions of which
“ all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new prin-
“ ciples of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all
“ countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you repre-
“ sent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well jus-
“ tified by the conduct of the Convention itself. And the application of these princi-
“ ples to the king’s dominions, has been shewn unequivocally, by the public reception
“ given to the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them
“ precisely at the time of this decree, and since, on several different occasions.

“ Yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances which are
“ but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here
“ such explanations, and such a conduct, as would have satisfied the dignity and honour
“ of England, with respect to what has already passed, and would have offered a suffi-
“ cient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the rights, the
“ government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account
“ a right to expect.

“ Neither this satisfaction, nor this security, is found in the terms of an explanation
“ which still declares, to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are the
“ cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France; and
“ which

“ which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs,
 “ whenever she shall judge it proper ; and on principles incompatible with the political
 “ institutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much
 “ a declaration like this is calculated to encourage disorder and revolt in every country.
 “ No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due
 “ from independent nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the king has
 “ followed, on his part, by abstaining, at all times, from any interference whatever in
 “ the internal affairs of France. And this contrast is alone sufficient to show not only
 “ that England cannot consider such an explanation as satisfactory, but that she must
 “ look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an un-
 “ easiness and jealousy.

“ I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general
 “ disposition of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of
 “ the Convention and its officers relative to the Scheldt. The declaration which you
 “ there make, “ That France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall ob-
 “ serve an exact neutrality,” is conceived nearly in the same terms with that which you
 “ was charged to make in the name of his Most Christian majesty, in the month of
 “ June 1792. Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be
 “ employed in the service of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neu-
 “ trality of the republic, in going up the Scheldt, in order to attack the citadel of Ant-
 “ werp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to grant this passage,
 “ and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was
 “ made, the Convention has thought itself authorised to annul the rights of the repub-
 “ lic, exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the
 “ same treaties by which her independence is secured. And at the very moment when,
 “ under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the same terms the
 “ promise of respecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you
 “ announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open
 “ and injurious aggressions. It is not certainly on such a declaration as this, that any
 “ reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

“ But I am unwilling to leave, without a more particular reply, what you say
 “ on the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little
 “ importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward
 “ only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neu-
 “ trality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to
 “ maintain. But you cannot be ignorant, that here the utmost importance is attached
 “ to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those
 “ consequences which would naturally result from them ; and that not only those prin-

“ ciples, and those consequences, will never be admitted by England, but that she is,
“ and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

“ France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless
“ she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers
“ of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can have no
“ pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the so-
“ vereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

“ England never will consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at
“ her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes
“ herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties,
“ and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the
“ maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with in-
“ difference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the
“ Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France
“ is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew
“ herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine
“ herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without dis-
“ turbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

“ With respect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the
“ conduct of England towards France, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in
“ general terms only, without alledging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice
“ and the generosity which have characterized the conduct of the king: his majesty has
“ always been desirous of peace: he desires it still, but such as may be real and solid, and
“ consistent with the interest and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general
“ security of Europe.

“ On the rest of your paper I say nothing.—As to what relates to me and my col-
“ leagues, the king’s ministers owe to his majesty the account of their conduct; and I
“ have no answer to give you on this subject, any more than on that of the appeal
“ which you propose to make to the English nation. This nation, according to that
“ constitution by which its liberty and prosperity are secured, and which it will always
“ be able to defend against every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign
“ powers connection or correspondence, except through the organ of its king; of a king
“ whom it loves and reveres, and who has never, for an instant, separated his rights,
“ his interests, and happiness, from the rights, the interests, and the happiness of his
“ people.

(Signed)

“ GRENVILLE.”

On the refusal of the British ministers to treat with M. Chauvelin, as minister from the French republic, the executive council confirmed the explanation he had previously offered in an official note, on the fourth of January ⁷⁶.

In that note the executive council unequivocally disclaim the construction which the ministers of his Britannic majesty had affected to put upon the decree of the sixteenth of November, viz. "That the French Convention had held out encouragement to excite to rebellion the seditious of all nations." They declare that the decree in question "Could not be applicable, but to the *single case*, when the *general will* of a nation, clearly and *unequivocally* expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation." With respect to the opening of the Scheldt, they observe, "That it is a question absolutely indifferent to England; that it is little interesting to Holland; but that it is of the utmost importance to the Belgians." They assert the natural right of that people to the navigation of the river; and observe, that though the emperor and the house of Austria thought it proper to surrender this right, the people ought not to be bound by an authority they no longer acknowledged. They declare, however, "As the French nation has renounced all conquest, and only occupies the Netherlands during the war; that as soon as the Belgic nation shall find itself in full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland shall affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negociation with the Belgians themselves. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it."

Whatever may have been the errors or the crimes of the French, the candid and reflecting mind cannot compare the temperate language of this and the other memorials from the executive council of France, with the harshness which appears in the official communications of lord Grenville, without drawing a conclusion to the disadvantage of the latter. While these questions were thus in agitation, hostile preparations were made by Great Britain, and, at once departing from the idea of neutrality, an order was issued prohibiting the exportation of even foreign corn to France, while it was permitted to every other country; and two vessels which had already taken in their lading for Bayonne were compelled to disembark it.

If the language of lord Grenville was not that of conciliation, that which was employed by lord Auckland, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at the Hague, in a memorial presented to the States General of the United Provinces, on the twenty-fifth of January, was totally without a precedent in history, as proceeding from one state which

⁷⁶ See Appendix.

wished to be at peace with another. "*Wretches* assuming the title of philosophers, who "had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society," and to "realize a dream of vanity;" who "destroyed all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion," were the terms in which the legislature of France was described in an official public paper. They were further charged in this enormous production with "imbecility and villany."—"Property, liberty, security, even life itself," were said to be "playthings in the hands of these infamous men, the slaves of the most licentious passions of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

While the dispute still continued unadjusted, the bill, which authorized the secretaries of state to arrest and imprison aliens, or to order them out of the kingdom at their discretion, was introduced into parliament. As this measure was a direct infraction of the commercial treaty with France, M. Chauvelin, with much candour and moderation, remonstrated against the bill, as likely to produce suspicion and dissatisfaction in France, and as a violation of the fourth article of the commercial treaty. In remarking on the injurious reproaches which had been cast on the French nation as enemies to the British constitution, M. Chauvelin observes, "The executive council has already repelled, with indignation, such suspicions. If some men, cast out from the bosom of France, have spread themselves in Great Britain, with the criminal intention of agitating the people, and of leading them to revolt, has not England laws to protect the public order? Could she not punish them? The Republic would, assuredly, not have interposed in their favour. Such men are not Frenchmen." M. Chauvelin's note was instantly returned, because in it he had styled himself minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic. About the same time the bill was passed, prohibiting the circulation of assignats.

On the seventeenth of January, a few days after the passing of the alien bill, M. Chauvelin, waving the question of his being accredited as the minister of the French Republic, solicited, in very humble terms, an interview with lord Grenville; but this request was unaccountably refused; and M. Chauvelin himself was one of the first on whom the powers vested in ministers by this statute were enforced. For on the twenty-fourth of January, he received the following order to quit the kingdom within eight days; and that no publicity might be wanting to the affront, the order was inserted by authority in the London Gazette.

"I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his Most Christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

"The

“ The king can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his majesty in his privy council has given to this effect.

“ I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister-plenipotentiary from his Most-Christian majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed)

“ GRENVILLE.”

It however appears that while the British ministry refused to negotiate with an authorized agent of the French republic, they yet held communications with inferior persons on these affairs, and even authorized lord Auckland to enter into a negotiation with general Dumourier. Dumourier insinuates, “ that it is probable the British ministry had no other design than to amuse him, in order to gain time to make the necessary preparations for war;” and he adds, that “ the treaty entered into by the court of Saint James’s with the court of Turin, at that very period, confirms the opinion.” This negociation, which was carried on through the medium of M. Le Maulde, a confidential friend of Dumourier, was however totally unproductive of the happy consequences which it was hoped might have resulted from it.

Perceiving an apparent reluctance in the English ministry to treat with M. Chauvelin; while the negotiations were still depending, M. Maret, under secretary for foreign affairs, was dispatched from France to treat with the British ministers. “ It is confidentially reported,”—says an eminent writer—“ that M. Maret had it in his instructions unequivocally to offer to our ministry these three points: first, that the navigation of the Scheldt should be given up; secondly, that the French troops should not approach the Dutch territories within a given distance; and, that the decree of the sixteenth of November should be either altered or repealed.

As the first mission of M. Maret was, however, not attended with any effect, he was sent again from the executive council with enlarged powers. It was asserted at that time, that his object was to propose to the British ministry the cession of some of the most valuable of the French West India islands, and the annexing of the Netherlands to the Dutch republic, provided this arrangement should prove mutually agreeable to the States-General and the Belgic congress. M. Maret was, however, we believe, never permitted to produce his credentials. He arrived in England at the very eve of
M. Chauvelin’s

M. Chauvelin's departure, and was also ordered, without further ceremony, to depart from the kingdom ⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ The following letters were delivered to Lord Grenville (No. I. and II.) on Friday, the twenty-sixth of April, 1793, by Mr. John Salter of Poplar, at his lordship's office, Whitehall, on his lordship's requisition, after having perused Mr. Salter's authority.

NUMBER I.

"MY LORD,

"The French republic being desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war which, by the manner it is otherwise likely to rage, cannot fail to bring miseries dreadful to humanity on both nations; I have the honour to demand of your lordship, as minister of his Britannic majesty, a passport and safe conduct for a person possessed with full power to repair to London for that purpose.

"Mr John Salter, notary public in London, will deliver this to your lordship, and, on the condition of its being requisite, another letter, containing the name of the person who will have the confidence of his nation.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

"The minister for foreign affairs,

"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.

"Second year of the French Republic.

"To his excellency Lord Grenville."

NUMBER II.

"MY LORD,

"Agreeable to the intimation given in my first letter, and which has for its object the restoration of peace, I have the honour to inform your lordship that Mr. Maret will be deputed to give to our nation that desirable event.

"I need not remind your lordship, that it will be necessary to attach to him three persons, as his secretary, valet-de-chambre, and a courier: but I claim of your lordship the necessary protection for them.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"The minister for foreign affairs,

"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.

"To his excellency Lord Grenville."

Copy of the Minister's letter to Mr. Salter.

"SIR,

"You will deliver to his excellency lord Grenville, minister and secretary of state to his Britannic majesty for foreign affairs, the enclosed letter, No. I. and, if his lordship demands it, also the enclosed letter, No. II. on behalf of the French Republic.

"I am, with consideration, sir,

"Your very humble and obedient servant,

"The minister for foreign affairs,

"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.

"Second year of the French Republic.

"To Mr. Salter, Poplar, London."

"And I do attest the truth of the before-mentioned copies of letters, No. I. and No. II. as also the letter to Mr. Salter, to have been signed by Mr. Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs in France, in my presence; to have received the letters so delivered to lord Grenville (as also copies of the same) from the said minister, and to have delivered the same into the hands of Mr. Salter; and I do hereby authorize and desire the publication thereof.

"Biggin-House, Surrey, May 21, 1793.

"JAMES MATTHEWS."

Perhaps

Perhaps it might have been most prudent, notwithstanding these affronts, in the French Convention to have abstained from declaring war, and to have thrown the whole odium of aggression upon their adversaries. Yet when we reflect that it was asserted in the British senate, "that the two nations were already in a state of war," which assertion was suffered to pass without any contradiction on the part of administration; that an order had been issued for prohibiting the supply of corn to France, while her enemies were allowed a free commerce in that article; that acts had passed in the British parliament, directly violating the commercial treaty; that the ambassador was dismissed with ignominy⁷⁸, and the door, apparently, closed against all fair and open negotiation, it cannot much surprise us that the French should conceive that every hope of accommodation was at an end; and, as the possession of Holland must have greatly facilitated their success, that they should endeavour to anticipate the hostile intentions of Great Britain. On the first of February, therefore, upon the motion of Brissot, the National Convention passed the following decree:

"The National Convention, after having heard the report of their committee of general defence, on the conduct of the English government;

"Considering that the king of England has persisted, especially since the revolution of the tenth of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being ill-disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads;

"That, at the period aforesaid, he ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the provisional executive council, created by the legislative assembly;

"That, the cabinet of Saint James's has ceased, since the same period, to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore king of the French;

"That, since the opening of the National Convention, it has refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the powers of this Convention;

"That, it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credence in its name;

"That, it has endeavoured to impede the different purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens, or the agents of the Republic;

"That, it has caused to be stopped several boats and ships laden with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free;

"That, in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of

⁷⁸ By an article of the commercial treaty, the dismissal of an ambassador from either court is to be considered as a declaration of war.

“ the Republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the circulation
“ of assignats;

“ That, in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1789, it obtained another
“ act, in the month of January last, which subjects all French citizens, residing in, or
“ coming into England, to the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous forms;

“ That; at the same time, and contrary to the first article of the peace of 1783, it
“ granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs
“ of the rebels, who have already fought against France; that it has maintained with
“ them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution; that
“ it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West India colonies;

“ That, in the same spirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers
“ are at peace with England, the cabinet of Saint James's has ordered a considerable na-
“ val armament, and an augmentation of the land force;

“ That, this armament was ordered at a moment when the English minister was bit-
“ terly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French revolution in Eng-
“ land, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover
“ the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English
“ nation, and of all Europe;

“ That the object of this armament, intended against France, was not even disguised
“ in the English parliament;

“ That, although the provisional executive council of France has employed every
“ measure for preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and has replied
“ to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles
“ of justice, and expressed with the dignity of free men, the English minister has perse-
“ vered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and sent
“ a squadron to the Scheldt, to interrupt the operations of the French in Belgium;

“ That, on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the
“ French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the
“ British territory within eight days;

“ That, the king of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that trai-
“ tor, and his design of supporting it, by different resolutions adopted at the moment of
“ his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to par-
“ liament for a considerable addition of land and sea forces, and putting ships of war in
“ commission;

“ That his secret coalition with the enemies of France, and particularly with the
“ emperor and Prussia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with the first, in the month
“ of January; that he has drawn into the same coalition the stadtholder of Holland;
“ that that prince, whose servile obsequiousness to the orders of the courts of Saint James's
“ and Berlin is but too well known, has, in the course of the French revolution, and
“ notwithstanding the neutrality which he professed, treated with disdain the agents of
“ France, received the emigrants, harassed the French patriots, counteracted their op-
“ rations,

“ rations, released, in opposition to established usage, and notwithstanding the demand of
 “ the French minister, persons who had been guilty of forging assignats; that, in the
 “ mean time, with a view to concur in the hostile designs of the court of London, he
 “ gave orders for a naval armament, named an admiral, appointed Dutch ships to join
 “ the English fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a stop to ex-
 “ portations to France, while he favoured sending supplies of provision to the Prussian
 “ and Austrian magazines :

“ Considering, in fine, that all these circumstances no longer leave to the French re-
 “ public any hopes of obtaining, by means of amicable negociation, the redress of their
 “ grievances, and that all the acts of the British court, and of the stadtholder of the
 “ United Provinces, are acts of hostility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the Na-
 “ tional Convention decrees as follows :

“ Art. 1. The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation,
 “ that, considering the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression of the above-mention-
 “ ed powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England and the stadtholder
 “ of the United Provinces.

“ 2. The National Convention charges the provisional executive council to call forth
 “ such forces as may appear to them necessary for repelling their aggression, and for main-
 “ taining the independence, the dignity, and the interests of the French republic.

“ 3. The National Convention authorizes the provisional executive council to dis-
 “ pose of the naval forces of the republic in such a manner as the interests of the state
 “ may appear to them to require; and it revokes all particular dispositions ordered in this
 “ respect by preceding decrees.”

During the winter, general Dumourier had proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which, he alledged, he could neither defend the Meuse, nor the territory of Liège. He purposed to take and hold the place without entering into further hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifesto, to restore it at the end of the war. The place was not then provided with a proper garrison; and Dumourier being at that time in great force in the neighbourhood of Liège, there was every probability that he would have succeeded. The executive council, however, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the United Provinces. But, as hostilities had actually commenced, the possession of Holland was an object of the utmost importance to the French, and must, indeed, have been decisive of the war in their favour. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is little doubt but that the project might have been attended with success. Both parties were probably deceived in the commencement of the war: the French flattered themselves with the immediate capture of Holland; while the allies might look with confidence to no less an object than the immediate subjugation of France.

Circumstanced

Circumstanced as Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to ascertain what might be his plan of the campaign. He has himself intimated that it was long his fixed intention to effect an escape into some other country; and, with such a design predominant in his mind, there is no probability that he would be very earnest in promoting the success of his expedition. The general himself has in his Memoirs stated two plans; the first of which was proposed by the refugee Hollanders, who had formed a small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand; the other was the plan which the general himself gives, as that which he really meant to pursue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops posted at Mardyck, and masking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maestricht, but was instructed by Dumourier not to attempt a regular siege at so unfavourable a season, but to assault the place with bombs and red-hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief had passed Mardyck, to leave the continuance of the siege to general Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmost expedition to Nimeguen, and in passing the duchy of Cleves endeavour to intercept the Prussians, should they have anticipated his arrival there. Venloo was at the same time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer.

It will remain for our military readers to determine, whether, as so much of the success of Dumourier's expedition depended on the rapidity of his movements, and the surprising of Holland at once by the invasion of a considerable force, it was advisable or prudent to divide his army into many detachments, or to waste any part of his time or force in besieging places which did not lie directly in his route. Maestricht was invested early in February, by general Miranda, with twelve thousand men on the banks of the Meuse, and six thousand on the right; and by the twenty-third of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general summoned the prince of Hesse, who commanded there, but his answer was a direct refusal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries; and, according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in several places. While the French were constructing their works, the garrison made two sallies, but with little success.

In the mean time Dumourier assembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he published a manifesto, addressed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them, in extravagant terms, to emancipate themselves at once from what he called the tyrannical yoke of
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the stadtholder⁷⁹. The French army under Dumourier consisted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which, however, were troops of the line; he estimates them himself at about thirteen thousand seven hundred men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the seventeenth of February, but it was not till the twenty-second that the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His first movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right division, under general d'Arçon; and colonel Le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the same time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of those places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a state of inundation.

On the twenty-third of February, count Byland, the governor of Breda, was summoned by the French commander to surrender; and on his refusal, general d'Arçon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the side of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued for some hours, but ceased at night. On the succeeding day the French renewed the attack with great spirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being dispatched to renew the summons, with assurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garrison was allowed the honours of war; and only twenty men were lost on both sides.

The fort of Klundert was taken by general Dumourier on the twenty-sixth. It was defended with great valour by lieutenant-colonel Westphalien; but his garrison amounted to only one hundred and fifty men. Dumourier next dispatched general Berneron to the attack of Williamstadt, and general d'Arçon to Gertruydenberg, and on the fourth of March the latter place surrendered on capitulation.

At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. The sieges of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-Zoom were however vigorously pressed by generals Berneron and Le Clerc; and the commander in chief, by means of a number of craft which he procured at Gertruydenberg, was preparing at Mardyck a naval equipment to transport his little army to Dort. He was interrupted in his career, if we may credit his own account, by the unfortunate change which took place in the Netherlands; but so confidently was the arrival of Dumourier expected in Holland by the republican party there, that, it is positively asserted, an hotel was actually fitting up at Utrecht for his reception.

While these affairs were transacting, the committee appointed by the National Convention for the revival of the constitution, were sedulously employed in the completion of their task. On the fifteenth of February, the new constitution was presented to the

⁷⁹ See Appendix.

Convention by Condorcet, who was generally supposed to have had the principal share in its composition. The features which particularly distinguished it from the former constitution, besides the abolition of royalty, were as follow: The electoral assemblies were abolished, and the members of the legislature were to be appointed immediately by the primary assemblies. The executive council, or in other words the ministers, were to be elected by the people at large; and only to be dismissed on the verdict of a special jury, on the prosecution of the National Assembly. To prevent too frequent elections, a number of supplementary candidates for each department of office were however to be elected at the same time with the actual functionaries. The office of minister of justice was to be suppressed; and the home administration divided into three departments. The administration of districts, and the small municipalities, were also suppressed.

As this constitution was never decreed, and was almost immediately supplanted by another, it would be utterly superfluous minutely to criticise its principles or institutes. Perhaps a more impracticable scheme of government was never invented by man; and it will remain on record a strong proof how inconsistent the studies of the metaphysician are with the principles of common sense, and how little conducive to any of the useful purposes of human life.

The next important business in which the Convention was engaged, was a rupture with Spain. We have already censured the arrogant and insolent manner in which that monarch's truly liberal application in favour of Louis was treated. Pride, however exercised, is always disadvantageous to the character of individuals, nor is it less prejudicial to the interest of nations. After such an event, it may well be supposed that the king of Spain could not be very cordially disposed towards the French nation; and, pressed by the other combined powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hostilities. The Convention, however, with that singular precipitancy which characterized all their measures, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the seventh of March passed a decree of war against his Most Catholic majesty, couched in the following terms:

“ The National Convention, after having heard the report of its committee of general defence, with respect to the conduct of Spain towards France, considering,

“ That, the king of Spain, ever since the nineteenth of July, 1792, in all communications with his own government, has constantly spoken with disrespect of the sovereignty of the French people, and has always persisted in considering Louis Capet as sovereign of the nation:

“ That, by an edict of the twentieth of July, 1791, he has exposed the French in his dominions to infinite vexations; has condemned them to arbitrary imprisonment and unjust exile; has subjected them to injuries and persecution, for which they have in vain sought redress, and by the same edict has compelled them solemnly to renounce their country; and his governors and his troops have unremittingly favoured the re-

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“ volt of the negroes in Saint Domingo, by furnishing them with necessaries, and exchanging with them victuals, arms, and ammunition, by refusing an asylum to the French who fled, and even, in many instances, giving up Frenchmen, who had claimed their hospitality, to the negroes, by whom they were immediately massacred ;

“ That on the tenth of August, 1792, he ordered his ambassador to withdraw from Paris, choosing not to acknowledge the provisional executive council appointed by the legislative assembly ;

“ That, he has not thought fit to renew the customary correspondence between the two courts, ever since the appointment of the National Convention ;

“ That he has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, though confirmed by letters of credence from the National Convention ;

“ That, instead of furnishing to France the contingent of succours stipulated by the several treaties, he has caused the raising of armaments both by sea and land, which can have no other destination than to combat the independence of that nation, and join the powers combined against her ;

“ That, while he was most eagerly preparing this naval armament, he hypocritically represented it as only a necessary precaution with a view to England, whose probity he pretended to suspect, though he was at the same time, in contempt of all treaties, making an alliance with her ; that while he was arming his frontiers, he gave open protection, as well as succours in money, to the emigrants, and the chiefs of the armies in rebellion against France ;

“ That, in spite of a constant endeavour on the part of the French provisional council, to preserve, by every means in their power, consistent with the dignity of Republicans, peace and fraternity with the Spanish nation, the Spanish minister, on the contrary, has pursued one system of dissimulation, malevolence, and hostility, has continued arming both by sea and land, and has sent a numerous train of artillery to both the extremities of the Spanish frontiers towards France ;

“ That, when required to explain the precise object of his armaments, his answers have constantly been evasive and dilatory ;

“ That, he has uniformly manifested an attachment to the cause of Louis, and a design to support it by arms, if he could effect nothing by his mediation ;

“ That, upon the news of the death of Louis, he took every opportunity to insult the French republic, refusing its ambassador any answer, and instantly breaking off all communication with him ;

“ That, he positively refused to receive two official notes from the executive council of the fourth of January, in answer to his own of the seventeenth of December, thereby refusing to bind himself to the observance of a strict neutrality towards France, to disarm, and to name commissioners to concert together about the disbanding the respective forces ;

“ That, since his refusal, he has collected together the chiefs of the emigrants ; has connected himself more closely than ever with the court of England, actually at war

“ with the French republic; and that he stirred up, and now countenances, public preachings, and persecutions, against the French in his dominions.

“ Considering, finally, that all these circumstances, taken together, leave the republic no longer any hope of obtaining, by means of friendly negotiations, the redress of those grievances; and that all the acts of the court of Madrid are true acts of hostility, in concert with the coalesced powers, which acts are equivalent to a declaration of war;

“ The National Convention decrees, That, in consequence of the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression, above enumerated, the French republic is at war with the king of Spain.”

Before we review the reverse of fortune which the French nation experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the unfortunate expedition which was undertaken against Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A French fleet, under the command of admiral Truguet, which had sailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade against it on the twenty-fourth of January; but as all the transports with the land forces were not yet arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to cease on the twenty-ninth. The volunteers, however, being impatient to land, after using every argument to convince them how dangerous it must be to make an attempt without a sufficient force, M. Truguet at length consented, and gave orders for their landing on the fourteenth of February. Four ships and two bomb-ketches were posted before the town, and nearly the same force was placed between the town and a small mountain defended by batteries: another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ships and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all these ships the Themistocles alone did execution; but she was set on fire by a red-hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg, and died four days after. In the night the Themistocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, some of them dangerously. The Juno frigate had only seven wounded.

The descent was effected under the command of general Casa-Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thousand national volunteers; another descent was to be made at some distance, and a certain signal was agreed on. The same signal was observed in the island, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a speaking trumpet: “*Citizens, come on shore; we have put to flight the enemy.*” The troops, however, suspected the delusion, especially as they could observe with their glasses that the invitation came from persons in the Sardinian uniform. The second descent therefore was countermanded. Casa-Bianca, however, formed a camp at the distance of half a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and some mortars; but the troops were seized with an instantaneous panic, they mistook the word of command, and the patrols fired upon each other: the soldiers imagined themselves too weak in number,

er, and requested to be re-embarked, and some of them without orders began to retire towards the shore. In this disagreeable situation the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to save his cannon. When the troops returned on board, Truguet immediately set sail. The *Leopard*, a ship of the line, ran on shore, but the crew were saved. A tartan, which ran on shore also, was burnt by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune in comparison with the hasty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. Although the French force had been considerably reduced, partly by the return of the volunteers and national guards, but principally by the gross neglect of the ministers, yet, as they were still numerous, general Miranda continued to press the siege of Maestricht with a considerable force; while general La Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Hervé. The head-quarters of general Valence were at Liege, while his out-posts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle, and to the banks of the Roer. On the first of March, general Clairfait, having passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts as well on the side of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of two thousand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. The following day the archduke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the third, the prince of Saxe-Cobourg obtained a signal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of four thousand killed, sixteen hundred prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. The French force seems indeed at this period to have been too much divided to make an effectual resistance; and their officers appear not sufficiently informed of the motions of the enemy. The defeat of the third was the signal for raising the siege of Maestricht. On the fourth, Miranda learned that the enemy was advancing with more than thirty-five thousand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing succours into Maestricht. The general, therefore, had scarcely time to withdraw the body of three thousand men, which were posted there, under the command of general Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy. The bombardment was however continued in the usual manner, and Maestricht suffered considerably from the conflagration. At twelve o'clock at night Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having sent before him all the artillery, which happily arrived at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of four thousand men, whom the allies were unable to discompose. On the succeeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and Saint Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a junction; the former having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the enemy. They were also joined by troops under generals Isler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the eighth,

to refresh, and having repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy, who attempted to dislodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical situation of affairs general Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterprise against Holland, and moved with his whole force to the support of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of general De Flers, "whom"—he says—"he knew to be incapable of discharging the trust," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally dispirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was reinforced, and the Prussians advanced by the way of Bois-le-Duc. Instead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp.

The satisfaction expressed by the army in Liege on being re-joined by their former victorious commander is scarcely to be described; order and confidence seemed to be at once established; and the hopes of the soldiery anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The strength and vigour, however, of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the same Dumourier, who had triumphantly over-run the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the fifteenth of March the Austrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obstinate resistance, the town being large, and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven from that place by Dumourier, and compelled to retreat to Saint Tron. The first attempts were attended with success; and the Austrian advanced posts were forced to retire to Saint Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already passed. On the eighteenth a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued, with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, as well as by the superior skill and discipline of their enemies. Dumourier himself, in a letter to general Duval, says of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Neerwinden, and fought the whole day with his right wing and center. The left wing, which was commanded by general Miranda, he asserts, not only fought ill, but abandoned him, and fled beyond Tirlemont. In his Memoirs the general asserts, that general La Marche committed the first error of the day. He entered the plain of Landen, according to his instructions; but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwinde, and thence was thrown into confusion by the second column. General Valence, who commanded the
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French cavalry, was wounded, and obliged to retire to Tirlemont, but they were still victorious over the Austrian horse. He repeats the charge against general Miranda, of having retreated while his troops were quite fresh, and attributes this defection to a jealousy of general Valence.

Miranda, however, in a confidential letter to Petion, dated the twenty-first of March, very directly intimates his suspicion of treachery in the commander in chief. He says that Dumourier, who had never failed to consult him upon every other occasion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him. "At eleven at night,"—says he—"my orders were delivered in writing, and I learnt in a conversation with him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy fifty-one thousand strong, very advantageously posted, and a formidable train of artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy. Miranda proceeds to assert, that he made a vigorous attack in five different columns, three of which were led on by himself; and that at last his troops, after fighting a considerable time with various success, were obliged to give way to superior force: and that they did not abandon the field in a cowardly manner, the loss which this division suffered may be cited as a proof, since it amounted to not less than two thousand in killed and wounded. The whole of the loss Dumourier states at more than three thousand, and that of the Imperialists at fourteen hundred. The French also lost a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, besides the loss above stated, the general observes, that upwards of six thousand men immediately deserted, and proceeded towards Brussels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued skirmishing till they reached Godseuoven, about a league south of Tirlemont: Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies rested the whole night upon their arms. On the nineteenth little was attempted, and on the night of the twentieth Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumptich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had time to withdraw his magazines.

As the general, however, if we may trust his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himself in this position, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Brussels, he availed himself of the twentieth, while the Austrians still remained before Tirlemont, to pass the Welpe, and encamp near Boutersem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in the front of Zuellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy, who were however repulsed. While the general was engaged in repelling this assault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commissioners from the Convention; and after receiving

ing some explanation from him, relative to a letter which he had written to the Convention on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the twenty-first Dumourier judged it proper to take post nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked by the enemy. The action was bloody, and lasted the whole day; but the Imperialists were compelled to retreat with great loss. On the evening preceding this action, general Dumourier sent colonel Montjoye to the headquarters of the prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and the prisoners. "He there"—continues Dumourier—"saw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms." Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the twenty-second, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening, and the following articles were verbally agreed to: first, That the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary.

Either distrustful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives, the Imperialists, under general Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, posted at Pellenberk; in consequence of which the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and general Dumourier transported his wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. The French army effected their retreat towards Brussels in the night, otherwise, Dumourier himself states, to the honour of his new allies, "That, notwithstanding the verbal stipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy, or entirely disperse, the French army."

Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to observe, on his part, the terms of this agreement; and he also allows that the prince of Cobourg so far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, sending only small detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French. On the twenty-fifth general Dumourier, with his army, passed through Brussels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place he was able to keep, which he garrisoned with two thousand men, and six months provisions, in order to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left in Breda and Gertruydenberg. His design, he says, was to have formed a strong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the necessary evacuation of Namur.

On the twenty-seventh the general arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the Convention to arrest the colonel of the seventy-third regiment of infantry, and general Miranda. On the same day colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier; the terms of which were—"That the French army should remain some time longer in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harassed by the Imperial army; that general Dumourier, who *did not conceal from colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who should only act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was to be greatly desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this concession; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy (not a counter-revolution,) he himself should indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which should be entirely under Dumourier's direction."—Dumourier made colonel Mack acquainted with his design of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of general Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray. It was finally decided, that in order to combine the operations of the Imperial troops under the prince of Cobourg, and those under the prince of Hohenloe, at the time when Dumourier should march to Paris, Condé should be put into the hands of the Austrians as a pledge; that the Austrians should garrison the town, but without any pretensions to the sovereignty; and on the condition that it should be restored to France at the conclusion of the war, and after an indemnity should have been settled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France should, in the case of the constitutional party needing the assistance of the Imperialists, receive garrisons, one half of which should be French troops, and the other half Imperialists, under the orders of the French. General Valence, general Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, and colonel Montjoye, assisted at this conference.

Dumourier arrived on the twenty-eighth at Tournay; and there he learned that general Neuilly's division had abandoned Mons, and thrown themselves into Condé and Valenciennes. Here he found madame Sillery and madame d'Orleans, whom, he says, he had never till then seen. From hence he addressed a letter to Bournonville, dated the twenty-eighth of March, in which he gave an account of the retreat of a part of the army, under generals Neuilly and Ferrand, who, by the desertion of a great number of volunteers, were obliged to evacuate the city of Mons during the night. General Marasse, military commander of Antwerp, capitulated, and by that method, though not the most honourable, yet indispensably necessary, saved a body of ten thousand men. He added, that colonels Saint Clair and Thouvenot were attacked without means of defence; that the military convoys were detained at Bruges; that he had dispatched some

troops in order to liberate those convoys; and that he had sent forces to garrison Saint Omer, Cambray, and all the places on the line from Dunkirk to Givet. At this period Dumourier described the army as in a state of the utmost disorder, and as not having provisions for more than ten days. He said that the pretended succours of men from the departments of the north consisted only of old men and boys, who, so far from being useful, served only to consume the provisions, and increase the confusion. He declared, that if order and discipline were not restored—that if fifty authorities, each more absurd than the other, continued to direct all political and military operations, France would be lost; and he added, that with a small number of brave men, he would bury himself under the ruins of his country. He affirmed, that it was impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, might, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. He concluded this melancholy representation with bestowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Austrians, who, he observed, were entitled to the more praise, as from the examples of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. “I have always affirmed,”—says he—“and I repeat, that a *republic* can only be founded on virtue, and that *freedom* can be maintained only by order and wisdom.” The frequent reproachful addresses to the Convention from the general, were at length construed by them into insult and treason. He had been too much accustomed to the stratagems of war, and the finess of political transactions, not to be previously informed of the design of the Convention to order him a prisoner to their bar.

Three commissioners from the executive power had been dispatched, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of sounding his intentions. They found him at Tournay, in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, and surrounded with deputations from the district of Cambray. The interview was violent: Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the Jacobins. “They will ruin France,”—said he—“but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk.” The commissioners carried the conversation no farther: they departed, and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he said that the Convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence; that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. “As for the rest,”—added he—“there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the Convention will not exist three weeks longer.” The commissioners asked him by what means he would replace the Convention? His answer was, “The means are already formed.” They asked him, whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, that it was a foolish one; he expected a better from

Condorcet:

Condorcet: the first constitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable. When they asked him whether he wished to have a king, he replied, "We must have one." He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negotiation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions, which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that those negotiations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wished to procure for France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Jemappe, he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. Dubuiffon, one of the commissioners, then proposed to communicate to him the plan of a counter-revolution: but he said that his own was better; that he would make the conquest of Belgium for himself, which he would rule under the protection of the house of Austria.

The conversation of Dumourier with these commissioners was no sooner made public in Paris, than the suspicions of those who entertained apprehensions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himself had been previously ordered to the bar of the Convention; he was to be superseded by Bournonville, the minister of war; and four commissioners were sent to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and bring them to the bar.

As the commissioners wished to proceed with caution, they halted at Lisle; and dispatched a summons to the general to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. The general, however, had already arranged his plan; the Rubicon was passed; and he returned only for answer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—and that he would only enter Lisle to purge it of those traitors who infested it.

On the twenty-ninth of March, Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had stationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following day, he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he sent orders through colonel Mack to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He also ordered general Miaczinski, who was at Orchies, to march with his division to Lisle, and arrest the commissioners of the Convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him; he was sent to Paris, and brought to the scaffold. By the patriotism of generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was also frustrated in an attempt to render himself master of Condé and Valenciennes.

The attempt to arrest an able general at the head of his army was bold at least, and indeed did not argue a superior degree of wisdom in the agents of the Convention. The commissioners, nevertheless, proceeded, on the first of April, to Saint Amand, the head quarters of Dumourier, and, being admitted to his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general observed, smiling, "That he valued his head too much to submit it to an *arbitrary tribunal*;" and finding that he could not persuade them to favour his intentions, he gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the minister of war, Bournonville (who was sent to supersede him) and the commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Dumourier, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. However they might be disposed to resent the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; yet when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty, in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general lost no time in dispatching colonel Montjoye to acquaint colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he composed a manifesto, addressed to his army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the third he went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to Saint Amand, in which place was the corps of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At Saint Amand general Dumourier thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among some of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the succeeding day he left general Thouvenot at Saint Amand, and departed himself for Condé; but he had not approached that fortress within half a league, before he was met by an officer dispatched by general Neuilly to inform him that the garrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to general Neuilly, to send the eighteenth regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to molest him. While they were yet in sight it was that general Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had

had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and a universal exclamation of "Stop, stop!" The general now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his associates.

Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and passed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the Imperial territory. From this place he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth, with that of general Dumourier. It was also agreed in this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians, to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by Dumourier.

The proclamation of Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practised by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon as he had effected that purpose, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow citizens.

The manifesto of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of general Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but merely to co-operate with general Dumourier in giving to France her constitutional king, and *the constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honour he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified. The prince declared further, that any strong places which should be put into his hands should be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as general Dumourier should demand them.

On the fifth of April, at day-break, general Dumourier proceeded, with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons, to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groupes assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to Saint Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an aide-de-camp, who informed him, that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general, and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier had placed some dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himself at Rumegies, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his personal safety. He mounted his horse, attended by general and colonel Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his staff. He was followed in the course of the day by about seven hundred horse and eight hundred infantry; these were the whole that could be prevailed on, by the utmost solicitations of their officers, to desert to the enemy, and several of these afterwards returned.

The military chest which Dumourier had removed, was recovered by a party of French chasseurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury general Dumourier found colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialists should immediately lay siege to Condé. The rank of feld-zeugmeister [general of artillery] was conferred on Dumourier; but he did not long enjoy the new office conferred upon him; for, as it was the price of treachery, he was ever regarded with a suspicious eye, which compelled him very soon to lay it down, and attempt to withdraw to some place of retirement. In this, however, the fugitive general was frustrated, not being permitted to acquire even a temporary residence in any of the places to which he retreated for that purpose, except under restrictions the most mortifying and humiliating—a salutary lesson to mankind, be their station or rank in life what it may, never to deviate from the path of integrity, to wander in the mazes of duplicity and deceit⁷⁹.

Had the combined powers made a prudent use of this opportunity; had they offered reasonable terms at this crisis to the French; had they extended the olive-branch, and

⁷⁹ It has been confidently asserted that Dumourier is at present confined in an Austrian prison; but this intelligence we have reason to think is not strictly accurate, having lately seen accounts which mention his being permitted to reside in one of the cantons of Switzerland.

said to them—"Model your internal government as you please, but establish once more the ancient boundary of the Netherlands; restore your other conquests; act with liberality; set free the queen and the royal family; do justice to the unfortunate emigrants, and allow them at least a moiety of their property, and we will withdraw our forces:" had they addressed the nation in these terms, there can hardly be a doubt but a stop would have been put to the effusion of human blood, and France might ere this have had a monarchy again, or at least a regular and established government.

A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at Antwerp on the eighth of April. At this congress were present the prince of Orange and his two sons, and his excellency Vander Spiegel; the duke of York and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the prince of Saxe Cobourg, counts Metternich, Starenberg, and Mercy Dargenteau, with the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys. On their decision the fate of nations and the peace of Europe depended. The particulars of what passed on this important occasion have never yet transpired—We only know that it was resolved to commence a plan of active operations against France.

The situation of France at this moment was singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in part disbanded; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well-disciplined, and victorious. On the side of the Rhine, the Prussians advanced in immense force, and threatened the siege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed. But however formidable the attack from that quarter might appear, it was perhaps less to be dreaded than those alarming internal commotions which took place about this period. To effect completely the subversion of republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by a bold and instantaneous effort the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the Convention, immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly resorted thither in the winter of 1792; and the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded a fair prospect of fresh supplies of men and military stores, as well as of the co-operation of the naval powers.

It appeared like a concerted plan, that this insurrection should break out almost at the instant of Dumourier's defection; as if by two such tremendous explosions the new republic was at once to be overwhelmed in ruin. The first disturbances were considered by the Convention as merely the result of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the latter end of March the insurgents assumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the result of previous arrangement. They were distinguished by white caps, and other counter-revolutionary ensigns, and their watch-words were "*Vive*

"*le Roi! Vivent les Anglois!*" They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the regent of France; and in several rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately succeeded by the plunder of that city.

On the twenty-third of March the Convention was informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and that they had defeated general Marcé, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantz was at the same time in a state of siege, and the number of rebels encamped before it were estimated at not less than forty thousand. In the beginning of April general Berruyere was appointed to command against the rebels. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Convention, however, before the end of that month they possessed themselves of an extent of fifty leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and a number of prisoners. To resist with success the force of these combined misfortunes required no common resources, and no trifling share of spirit and of energy. The Convention, on receiving the intelligence of the defection of Dumourier, and the arrest of the commissioners, decreed a permanent sitting; they offered a large reward for the fugitive general, and decreed that all who appeared connected with him should be put under arrest.

The commissioners, in the meantime, who had been sent to the army, omitted no means of restoring order, and invigorating the spirit of the French army. The standard of the republic was no sooner set up, than the battalions which had dispersed from the camp of Maulde resorted to it; and general Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotism by his resistance to the orders of Dumourier, was provisionally appointed by the commissioners to the chief command. In less than a week Dampierre had restored order and discipline to the disorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory.

On the thirteenth of April the advanced posts of the French army under that general were attacked in six different points, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Dampierre at the same time was enabled to resume the camp of Famars. On the fourteenth and fifteenth the advanced guard was again assailed by the enemy: on the former of those days they were compelled, by superior numbers, to give way, but on the succeeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening with great violence.

On the twenty-third the Austrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours, were repulsed with considerable loss; and on the first of May general Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages, of which
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they were in possession, but in his turn experienced a repulse. On this occasion the Austrians had six hundred killed and two thousand wounded, and the French had three hundred killed and six hundred wounded.

An action of a more serious nature took place on the eighth of May. Dampierre on that day advanced to dislodge the enemy, who were posted in the woods of Rheme and Vicoigne; but the ardour of the general having prompted him to too great an exposure of his person, his thigh was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he expired the following day, leaving the command in the hands of general La Marche. In this action the Austrians lost in killed and wounded five hundred men, and the Prussians three hundred: of the English troops, who were engaged, and who suffered greatly, no official return was made. The loss of the French was estimated at four thousand. From this period to the twenty-third nothing of importance occurred. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the British and Hanoverians assembled, under the command of the duke of York, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops; and they soon experienced a tremendous fire from the entrenchments of the French. The contest, as Sir James Murray states, was very severe, and in the field the French were defeated. The duke of York then advanced within a small distance of the works; but observing, from the disposition of the French, that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he determined to defer the attack till next morning at day-break. In the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired by Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loss of the allies; but it must have been considerable on both sides.

The success of the twenty-third enabled the allies to lay formal siege to Valenciennes. Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-establish that communication was the object of general Dampierre on the eighth, when he received the fatal wound that deprived him of life.

While these affairs were transacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May general Custine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a design of cutting off a body of the enemy of seven or eight thousand men, who had advanced as far as Rheinzabern; but, to ensure success it was necessary to amuse the Prussians in all parts, and to destroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had stationed near Landau. Had he been to retain the command,

he said, he should have deferred that enterprize till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exercised, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the North, he determined to hazard an action, in order to prevent the Prussians taking advantage of their good position. He therefore sent orders to general Houchard to attack Limberg and Calberg in the rear with the army of the Moselle, which Pulli should keep in check, and attack with the rest of the corps des Vasaes, a Prussian corps who had advanced; and while general Sulek, with nine battalions and some cavalry, should advance towards Anweiler to molest the enemy. The same day the garrison of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nusderff, with several other posts, and to give the Prussians reason to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in case they should attempt any movements. He also caused a report to be spread in the Prussian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moselle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Strasbourg. In the mean time general Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to shew himself to the enemy till he should be certain that the engagement had commenced, and then to attack them in the wood of Rheinzabern, and the Austrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithstanding these orders, Custine observes, that he did not see his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Diermann had commanded a retreat, because the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure provisions nor drink. The general himself began to march, at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-six battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Insheim; but several unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the forest of Germerheim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Austrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itself to the heights of Rulheim, and proceeded as far as that village. Custine charged two divisions of dragoons with vigour, who fled, after sustaining considerable loss. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general observed, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who mistook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have terminated happily for the troops of the republic; they answered all attempts to rally them only by discharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to resume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occasioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arrested, and, it was said, destroyed himself. "This day, which ought to have been so memorable,"—added Custine—"terminated by the taking of one piece of cannon, and a very great number of prisoners." The Prussians were soon after enabled to form the siege of Mentz.

At this fatal period a degree of treachery seems to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the second of April the popular society of Toulon denounced the



Jones Sculp

M. DE LA CROIX.

Engraved for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons N^o 24 Paternoster Row Dec^r 30 1794

the Corsican general Paoli as a traitor, and his subsequent conduct has proved that the accusation was well founded. Paoli was cited to appear at the bar of the Convention, but excused himself; and the persons who were sent to arrest him declared that the service was too dangerous to be attempted. At the same time charges of a serious nature were exhibited against the ex-minister, Bournonville, who was accused as an accomplice of Dumourier, although he had been made prisoner, and delivered up to the Austrians, by that treacherous commander.

The pause which took place at this time in the military transactions, affords us leisure to review the no less important proceedings of the Convention. In the month of March the celebrated Revolutionary Tribunal, for judging offences against the state, was organized; and it is remarkable that the chairman on this occasion was the deputy La Croix, who has since fallen the victim of this very institution. The plan on which this tribunal was formed is as follows:

- “ 1. The revolutionary tribunal shall take cognizance of every enterprise, plot, and attempt against the liberty and sovereignty of the people, and the unity, indivisibility, and external as well as internal safety of the republic; of every plan tending to establish royalty, and of every crime relating to the fabrication of forged assignats.
- “ 2. This tribunal shall consist of six judges, divided into two sections. Three members in each section shall be sufficient to examine facts denounced.
- “ 3. The judges shall be chosen by the National Convention, by the nominal appeal, and by a relative majority.
- “ 4. To this tribunal shall belong a public accuser and two assistants, named by the Convention in like manner as the judges. A commission of six shall be appointed to draw up the decrees of accusation which may be passed by the Convention.
- “ 5. The jurors shall be twelve in number, and three substitutes. They shall be taken from the department of Paris, until the first of May next; an epoch when the electoral bodies must renew their jurors.
- “ 6. Crimes against the general safety, assigned heretofore to the cognizance of municipalities, shall in future be judged by the revolutionary tribunal.
- “ 7. There shall be no appeal from their sentence.
- “ 8. Sentence passed in the absence of the accused, shall have the same effect as if they were present.
- “ 9. Persons accused who shall not appear within three months shall be considered as emigrants, and treated as such.”

As the intentions of the parties which divided the Convention had been grossly misrepresented, and as some of the most indigent and desperate of the citizens had understood the term *equality*, which was adopted in the declaration of rights, as referring not to an equality of rights, but an equality of property; about the same time a decree was proposed,

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on the motion of Barrere, and adopted by the Convention, denouncing the punishment of death against any person who should propose an Agrarian law, or who should attempt to injure territorial, commercial, or personal property. Another decree, which was passed on the twenty-ninth of the same month, merits our disapprobation: it was in substance, that all persons convicted of composing, or printing, writings favouring the restoration of monarchy in France, or the dissolution of the National representation, should be punished with death. All persons guilty of attempting a counter-revolution were at the same time declared outlaws; and on the first of April a decree was passed abolishing the inviolability of the deputies of the Convention, when accused of crimes against the state.

In every state there will always be found necessary an executive authority, with powers sufficiently strong to prevent frequent insurrection and conspiracy, and sufficiently compact to be able to execute its designs with secrecy and alacrity. It was evidently among the defects of the first constitution of France, that no such power existed; and since the revolution of the tenth of August, the powers granted to the ordinary ministers, who formed what is called the executive council, were not adequate to these ends. On the seventh of April, therefore, a committee of public safety, with enlarged powers, was instituted; but as the authority delegated to this committee was extensive, it was judged prudent to limit its duration to a single month. After much debate upon the subject, the committee was organized agreeably to the terms of the following decree:

“ Art. 1. A committee of public safety, consisting of nine members, taken from the Convention, shall be formed by open vote.

“ 2. This committee shall deliberate in secret, and shall be charged to watch over and accelerate the actions of the administration entrusted to the executive council, whose decrees it may suspend, when it thinks them contrary to the public interest, being compelled at the same time to give information to the Convention.

“ 3. It is authorized to pursue, in urgent circumstances, external and internal measures of general defence; and its decrees, signed by the majority of its deliberating members, which shall never be less than two-thirds, shall be executed by the provisional executive council; and it cannot in any case issue mandates of arrest but against executive agents, bound at the same time to give immediate information to the Convention.

“ 4. The particular agents whom the committee may think proper to employ shall be paid from the public treasury.

“ 5. The national treasury shall, for this purpose, keep ready, at the disposal of the committee, the sum of one hundred thousand livres.

“ 6. It may divide itself into sections to exercise its operations with safety.

“ 7. It shall make a general report of its operations, and of the situation of the republic.

“ 8. It

“ 8. It shall keep a journal of its deliberations, which shall be signed by all the members present.

“ 9. This committee shall be established only for one month.

The defection of Dumourier, which seemed to have been concerted with certain branches of the Bourbon family, contributed at this period to overwhelm the whole of this unhappy race with ignominy and misfortune. A proposal had been made, it is asserted, to the combined powers, to exchange the queen and the other prisoners in the Temple, for the commissioners who had been arrested by Dumourier; and this transaction was to serve as the basis for a treaty of peace. On what ground this humane proposal was frustrated, we are not informed; but we cannot avoid thinking that if the allies had proceeded to treat upon these terms, much misery and bloodshed might have been prevented. As, however, both parties appeared equally averse to pacific counsels, it was decreed, on the seventh of April, that all the members of the Bourbon family, as well as all Austrian officers, and other members of the Germanic body who had been taken prisoners, should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies; and that all the Bourbons should be removed to Marseilles, except such as were previously confined in the Temple: the *ci-devant* duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his quality as deputy of the Convention, was included in this decree.

On the ninth of the same month a decree was also passed, enjoining that all bargains and contracts should be paid in assignats, and not in specie. The reason urged for this arrangement was the great depreciation which the paper currency of France had suffered. About the same time the powers of the commissioners sent to the armies were enlarged. General Custine, commander of the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, informed the Convention, about this time, that he had been grossly insulted by three of their commissioners, and complained that he was accused respecting a letter which he had written to the duke of Brunswick. In what manner that general was satisfied, we are not informed; but that he was, is evident from his acceptance of the command of the armies of the North, soon after their retreat from the camp of Famars. The sentiment, however, which he appears to have excited on this occasion proved afterwards fatal to this able and ill-treated officer.

A considerable part of the month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights, which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. It was proposed by Salles, and some others, to confine themselves to the declaration which had been enacted in 1789, by the constituent assembly; but the majority appeared to incline to a new declaration. On the tenth of May the Convention took possession of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the first article of the new constitution, viz. “THE FRENCH REPUBLIC IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.”—In the meantime the divisions, which had so long subsisted between the two leading parties in the

Convention proceeded rapidly to an open and violent rupture. The party of Robespierre and Marat had imperceptibly gained on the affections and prejudices of the populace of Paris; and the Jacobin club became gradually under their entire direction. The desire manifested by the Brissotines or Girondists to save the life of the king, had not contributed to their popularity; and the multitude, instead of attributing it to motives of humanity and justice, were easily persuaded that their principles had been corrupted by bribes from those powers whom they supposed interested in the prevention of that catastrophe.

The treachery of Dumourier, with whom many of the Girondists had been closely connected, and whom they had always defended when attacked by his adversaries, completed the ruin of this declining party. The most intimate union had always subsisted between that general and the house of Orleans; and several of the Brissotines, as well as Brissot himself, had been dependants or domestics of that house.

The unpopular manners of Roland, who probably was, after all, a man of integrity, and the vanity of others of the faction; their being in possession of power, and the inordinate love of it which they manifested, excited the distrust and jealousy of many. We may add to these causes for the decline of their influence, the manifest incapacity which they, and the ministers appointed by them, had betrayed in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardiness in presenting the nation with a constitution.

It is a melancholy consideration, that to the lenity of their government may be justly ascribed the immediate ruin of the Girondists. Had they in an early stage of the contest punished with severity their opponents and calumniators, they might certainly have retained their power longer. It is to their honour, indeed, that they did not chuse to secure their power by a violation of justice and humanity. Such a conduct is calculated to cover a multitude of errors; and it is more noble to fall thus, than to be victorious by cruelty and violence. In the latter stages of the contest they did not, it must be acknowledged, proceed with the same moderation. The opposition was then reduced to a contest *ad internecionem*; and though it is probable, that, in the first instance, the dispute was no more than a party struggle for power and emolument, and that their adversaries themselves did not mean an attack upon their lives, and only sought their situations; yet the breach grew by degrees so great, that the life of every individual of either party was staked upon the issue.

So strong was the impression which the report of the Girondists being confederates with Dumourier had made upon the people, that so early as the ninth of April a petition was received from one of the sections of Paris, accusing Guadet, Vergniaux, Genouë, and others of the deputies, as accomplices of that perfidious officer, and requesting they might be punished. On the fifteenth of April a petition was presented by the
commons

commons of the forty-eight sections of Paris, demanding that Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaux, Genfonne, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Petion, Lanjuinais, Fauchet, Valaze, Lasource, Pontecoulant, Lehardy, Gorsas, Valady, Chambon, Lantzenas, Louvot, &c. be impeached, and expelled the Convention. This petition was followed, on the first of May, by a deputation from the fauxbourg of Saint Antoine; the president of which, after proposing a plan for the recruiting of the armies, &c. addressed the Convention in these words:—"We come,"—said he—"legislators, to tell you severe truths—Employing yourselves for a long time as you have with your personal interests and passions, declare to us what you have done! You have promised *every thing*, and kept your word *in nothing*. Our defenders have been left destitute of every necessary; you have engaged to regulate the price of provisions; to relieve the necessitous; but in no one instance have you kept your word!"—He concluded with declaring the fauxbourg in a state of insurrection; and requesting that the deputation, to the number of eight thousand, but unarmed, might be permitted to file through the hall. A warm debate ensued; but the inhabitants composed the tumult, by assuring them that they wished to defend, not to destroy the Convention.

On the other hand the Girondists were not inactive; and as much of the discontent among the people was supposed to be excited by the inflammatory journal of which Marat was the conductor, that deputy was denounced, as a seditious person, by Salles, so early as the twenty-sixth of February. As the Convention however did not think it prudent to pursue him with rigour, supported as he was by so strong a party, and by that formidable body the Jacobin club, he still continued his attendance in the hall of the legislature; and on the first of April recriminated on the Girondists, and denounced three hundred of the deputies, at the head of whom were Brissot, Vergniaux, &c. On the twelfth of April he renewed his accusation, and was supported by Robespierre. A violent tumult ensued, and the deputies on both sides of the hall *advanced with drawn swords* to assault each other: by the authority of the president, they were however, with difficulty reconciled.

In the evening sitting of the same day, the Girondists recriminated, and Guadet presented a direct accusation against Marat. As president of the Jacobin club, he had signed an address, accusing the Gironde party of being the accomplices of Dumourier; and exhorting the popular societies to unite, and pour in a shower of petitions, "for the expulsion of those unfaithful members who had betrayed their trust, and who did not vote for the death of the tyrant." The whole composition was in an extravagant and ridiculous style, and among other exclamations contained these words:—"Let us exterminate the conspirators!" Marat alledged that he had signed the address, as president, without reading it; but he justified the contents. The opposite party insisted on a decree of accusation being passed against him; and on the nominal appeal being demanded,

out of three hundred and thirty-six votes, two hundred and thirty-three were for the decree of accusation, eighty-two against it, and twenty-two refused to vote. Marat was accordingly committed to the Abbaye prison.

From this decision of the Convention, the predominating influence of the Girondists in that assembly is sufficiently apparent: but it was not so with the people; and the jury before whom Marat was arraigned, were either afraid to condemn him, or were themselves of his party; for on the twenty-fourth of April he was unanimously acquitted. His party, not content with the acquittal of their favourite, attended him in a body to resume his seat in the Convention. A scene of indecent triumph now ensued, and the hall of the legislature was once more occupied by the mob of Paris. His opponents having proceeded to this extremity, it was not probable that Marat should desist from hostilities; and he was now unfortunately too well assured of his own strength to listen easily to moderate counsels.

The Girondists, on the other hand, notwithstanding their superiority in the Convention, could not fail to discover their tottering situation. It was evident they had lost the confidence of the Parisians, and the only chance for securing their authority was an appeal to the people of the more distant departments. With this view, on the thirteenth of May, on the pretence of forwarding the new constitution, Condorcet proposed—That a new Convention should be chosen on the first of November next ensuing, and that it should meet on the fifteenth of December. The motion was vehemently opposed by Thuriot, and others, who insisted that the Convention could not abandon its post at so important a crisis, without manifest injury to the republic; that such a measure would persuade the people that the leading persons of that body had no serious design of giving them a constitution; and that such alarms would lead to the most dangerous intestine commotions. The proposal of Condorcet was for these reasons adjourned.

The means proposed by Condorcet would probably have proved inadequate to the end; and indeed nothing short of convening a legislature to meet no longer in Paris, but in some other city, could, in this state of affairs, preserve his party from destruction. On the eighteenth of May, therefore, a substitute deputy to the Convention (one of those who had been elected to supply such seats as should be vacated by absence or by death) having been insulted by some women, in his way to the Convention, Guadet embraced the opportunity to insist that the Convention was no longer free in Paris; and that a plot had been formed for effecting its dissolution, and for placing the whole power of the state in the hands of the anarchists. He concluded by proposing as a decree—"The National Convention breaks and dissolves all the constituted authorities of Paris; orders all the substitute deputies to unite at Bourges, without, however, exercising any function till authorised by a decree of the Convention." Barrere thought the evil complained of did not require so violent a remedy; and on his motion it was decreed, "That

“ That a *commission of twelve* members, chosen from the Convention, should examine all the plans and resolutions formed by the commons of Paris.”

In a debate which took place on the twentieth of May, on a proposal of the financier Cambon, for “ a compulsory loan of a thousand millions from, rich egotists [selfish persons,] the indifferent, and all who may be supposed interested in the success of the enemies of France,” Marat embraced the occasion to arraign his adversaries; and proposed that the Rolandists, the Girondists, and the Brissotines, should be selected as the lenders. A most tumultuous scene ensued. Barbaroux, La Riviere, and others, of the Gironde party, exclaimed against a forced loan as a tyrannical and counter-revolutionary measure. The galleries took a most indecent part in the debate; which was concluded by Vergniaux moving, that an additional guard should be demanded for the protection of the Convention. On the same day a declaration was published by the president Isnard, condemning in strong terms the indecent scene which had just been acted, and charging the anarchists with being the accomplices of the combined kings.

On the twenty-third some deputies from the section of Fraternity appeared at the bar to offer proofs of the plots in their section against liberty and the Convention—They said, it had been agitated, in a meeting held on the preceding Sunday and Monday, at the mayor’s house, to act over again the dreadful scenes of the tenth of August, which was to be followed by a massacre similar to that of the third of September. The mayor, however, had opposed these proceedings, and threatened to adjourn the assembly. Several deputations appeared on the same day from different sections, engaging to protect the Convention; and on the following day, Pache, the mayor of Paris, addressed a letter to the president, confirming the account of what had passed in the section of Fraternity; only adding, that the mention of massacres had proceeded from none but heated individuals.

In the mean time the city of Paris continued in a state of extreme agitation; and on the twenty-seventh the mayor wrote to inform the Convention, that the contending parties were on the point of proceeding to the utmost extremities. Marat embraced this opportunity to throw the blame on the commission of twelve, who he insisted had provoked the insurrection of the people; and demanded that the commission should be dissolved, as the only means of preventing a general insurrection. The section of La Cité at this moment appeared at the bar, and demanded the liberation of its president and secretary, who had been arrested by the commission of twelve: the deputation further insisted that the commission of twelve should be carried before the revolutionary tribunal.—A most tumultuous debate ensued, in which the galleries again took a part; and the president and commission of twelve were vehemently threatened by the Mountain party and their adherents in the galleries. The evening sitting was not less disorderly; indeed, to the disgrace of that body, those scenes were become extremely common. At length the Convention

Convention, understanding that twenty-eight of the sections of Paris had determined to rise and insist on the dismissal of the commission of twelve, decreed that this obnoxious commission should be dissolved; and that Hebert, a deputy of the Convention who had been imprisoned by their authority, should be liberated.

On the succeeding day the discussion was resumed, and it was then attempted to decide, by the nominal appeal, whether the commission should be dissolved, agreeably to the vote of the preceding night. A tumult still worse than those already represented ensued; and the president, having in vain attempted to restore order, resigned his office; while the Convention exhibited a disgraceful scene, not only of abuse but of personal contest. A new president was then chosen, and the Jacobin, or Mountain, party having succeeded in placing in the chair one of their own adherents, the dissolution of the commission was again decreed by a majority of forty-two votes; the members who composed it were denounced, and those who were imprisoned by their orders were liberated. The sitting concluded by a conciliatory speech from Barrere, as organ of the committee of public safety, in which he represented, in lively colours, the dangers which threatened the republic on every side—recommended instant reinforcements to be sent to the armies; and a union of those parties who divided the Convention and the republic. By the advice of Barrere the members of the commission in the same sitting gave in their resignations.

The moderate party in the Convention, at the head of which was Barrere, now endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from these disastrous contests to objects of real utility; and some decrees respecting public instruction were proposed and passed on the twenty-seventh, as well as a plan for the renovation of the military force. Every attempt to restore order and tranquillity was, however, in vain. The people had received a deep impression that the public safety had been neglected by the Girondists, and treachery and fraud were suspected to have been used on that occasion. The constituted authorities of Paris were invited to assemble, to deliberate on the means of saving the country; it was then determined that the barriers should be shut; and the council general published a proclamation, exhorting the citizens to tranquillity.

At four o'clock, however, on the morning of the twenty-first, the tocsin was sounded, the generale was beaten, and the alarm-guns were fired. The citizens repaired to their respective sections, and a profound sentiment of terror pervaded the whole city. At seven o'clock the Convention assembled; the mayor and the minister of the interior were cited to the bar. The former declared that he had given the necessary orders to prevent the alarm-guns being fired, and that he had repaired to the committee of public safety to give an account of the state of Paris. He had afterwards gone to the permanent council general of the commune, who had proceeded to suspend the members of the municipality; but who were afterwards restored to their functions. The provisional com-
mune

mune at this moment appeared at the bar; they announced that, having been charged to discover a great conspiracy, they were come to fulfil their mission: they were then proceeding to state two resolutions they had formed, when Guadet rose to oppose this usurpation of powers, which he averred belonged solely to the Convention. He proposed to annul all that had been done during the night by the revolutionary committees, and to bring before the proper tribunals the council of the commune, as well as those who founded the tocsin, beat the generale, and shut up the barriers. The proposal of Guadet was at first decreed; but, being warmly opposed by Thuriot and La Croix, the decree was afterwards repealed.

While this affair was in agitation, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded—1. The suppression of the commission of twelve.—2. A revolutionary army of Sans Culottes⁸⁰.—3. A decree of accusation against twenty-two deputies, and the members of the above-named commission.—4. A diminution of the price of bread.—5. The dispatch of commissioners to the southern provinces, there to put a stop to the counter-revolution. And,—6. The arrest of Claviere, the minister of finance, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs.

The department of Paris next appeared, and demanded a decree of accusation against Isnard, Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genfonne, Barbaroux, Roland, Claviere, Le Brun, and several others. The mayor of Paris was afterwards called to the bar, and declared that the cause of the disturbances was the conduct of the commission of twelve; and that the constituted authorities, far from rising against the Convention, were using their best endeavours to quiet the people.

The morning sitting of the first of June passed without any thing extraordinary being transacted, except that an address from the Convention to the people, proposed by Barrere, was adopted by the influence of the Mountain party, in preference to one proposed by Lafource; and this circumstance may be considered as the first mark of the former having relinquished the party of the Girondists. At six o'clock in the afternoon the tocsin again sounded, and the generale was beaten. The pretended cause of this new disturbance was, that the Convention had not determined on the petition pre-

⁸⁰ This epithet, which is now so peculiarly fashionable in France, took its rise from the aristocratic party using it when speaking of the populace, whom they contemptuously styled *Sans Culottes* (literally "WITHOUT BREECHES") implying that they were the dregs or lowest order of the people. It is natural to suppose that, when the multitude gained the ascendancy, and the aristocrats were in their turn objects of contempt and derision, their favourite expression should become the bye-word of their successful opponents, and should be used on all occasions as the discriminating badge of the party. Accordingly we perceive that no one was safe in his person who did not assume the term *Sans Culotte*, in contradistinction to that of *Aristocrate*—and little time had elapsed ere this word so far lost its original and ignominious meaning, as to be interpreted to mean *le Peuple Souverain*, the sovereign people, or the people collectively. In which latter acceptation it is now universally adopted throughout the republic.

presented by the department of Paris on the preceding day. As soon as the Convention was assembled, a deputation from the department appeared at the bar, and demanded immediate attention to the subject of their petition, and that the deputies Duffaulx, Ducos, and Fonfrede, should be added to the list of denounced members. The sitting concluded with a decree, on the motion of Barrere, that "The committee of public safety should present, within three days, the means which should be best calculated to destroy the enemies, both external and internal, of the republic; and that the same committee should make a report immediately respecting the deputies under accusation."

On the following day (June the second) the fauxbourgs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau were again in motion. An immense crowd surrounded the hall of the Convention, and were violent in their demand that a decree of accusation should be passed. Several members entered, and complained that they had been insulted by the mob, and that their deliberations were no longer free. A deputation was then sent out to address the people; but they were scarcely able to obtain a hearing, and were only answered by indistinct clamours for a decree of accusation. After the return of the deputation a tumultuous debate ensued. The acclamation that "the Convention is no longer free in its deliberations" resounded through the hall. Barrere, in the name of the committee of public safety, proposed that the accused deputies should resign their functions, and that there should be an entire change of ministry. With this requisition some of the deputies immediately complied, but others refused to abdicate a character with which they had been invested by the choice of the people. Lafource demanded, that the armed force should be ordered to withdraw; and Barrere proposed to march in a body out of the hall among the people. Agreeably to this proposal the president led the way, and the whole Convention proceeded without molestation through the midst of the crowd; and after making the circuit of the Thuilleries returned to the hall. The insurgents, however, notwithstanding this fallacious moderation, continued firm to their purpose; and the assembly before it rose was obliged to pass a decree, ordering the following members and ministers to be arrested, viz. Genfonne, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gorsas, Petion, Salles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, Rabaut, Lafource, Lanjuinais, Grange-neuve, Lefage, Louvet, Valaze, Doulcett, Ducos, Lanthenas, Duffaulx, all the members of the committee of twelve (Fonfrede and Saint Martin excepted), and the ministers Claviere and Le Brun. On the request of Marat, and several other deputies, Ducos, Duffaulx, and Lanthenas were afterwards excepted⁸¹.

After

⁸¹ Such is the most perfect narrative we have been able to collect of this important transaction, which the triumphant party has dignified with the title of the revolution of the thirty-first of May. The deputies who were ordered under arrest, however, published an address to the French people, in which they profess to develop the causes of these commotions. Their account differs in some respects from the preceding, and is as follows:

"A law had been enacted which prescribed the formation of committees in the different sections of Paris, destined to watch over foreigners and suspicious people. This law was eluded. Instead of those committees, others were