

coming when reprisals will be terrible." Ranvier, member of the committee of Public Safety, declared on the same occasion, "The Column Vendôme, the house of Thiers, the Chapelle Expiatoire, are but national erections; the turn of traitors and Royalists will inevitably come if the Commune is forced to it." When the moment arrived for the realization of these menaces, the death-warrant of the Archbishop and the other victims was signed by Delescluze and Billioray, in the following terms: "Citizen Raoul Rigault is charged, in conjunction with Citizen Régère, with the execution of the decree of the Commune of Paris relative to the hostages." This decree was followed by another, organizing the fires; "Citizen Millière, with 150 rocketmen, will set on fire the suspected houses and the public monuments on the left bank of the Seine. Citizen Dereure, with 100 men, will do the same in the first and second arrondissements; Citizen Billioray, with 100 men, will take the 9th, 10th and 20th arrondissements; Citizen Vésinier, with 50 men, is specially entrusted with the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Bastille,—Signed, Delescluze, Régère, Ranira, Johannard, Vésinier, Brunel, Dombrowski." And all this was done with wilful obstinacy, and as part of the adopted system. From the very first, these men refused to negotiate or yield; they meant to destroy and they waited where they were for that sole purpose. M. Thiers declared at the commencement of April, that if Paris surrendered at once, he would grant an amnesty to every one but the assassins of Léon Comte and Clément Thomas. This announcement was answered by a decree of the Commune, dated 5th April, stating that "every person accused of complicity with the Government of Versailles shall be imprisoned and kept as a hostage;" and by another decree, dated 8th April, proclaiming that "conciliation under such circumstances is treason." This evidence proves that from its first hour of existence the Commune intended to fight it out; to reject all arrangements which might be proposed in the interests of peace; and to place its members and adherents in a position in which clemency towards them was impossible. They might have made terms for themselves if they had wished

to do so. They preferred defeat; they publicly announced that they had "made a pact with death," and that they would "bury themselves under the ruins of Paris." They manifested throughout their intention of destruction; and the inhabitants of Paris may indeed rejoice that that intention was only partially fulfilled; not, however, from any hesitation, or change of mind on the part of the Commune, but because the entrance of the troops was so sudden and rapid that there was no time to complete the preparations for blowing up and burning the entire city.

The expenditure of the Commune must have reached a total of about £1,800,000, not including the debt which is left unpaid. It published its budget from 20th March to 30th April, showing an outlay to the latter date, of £1,005,000; but as the cost of the last three weeks must have been proportionably much greater than that of the first forty days, a general estimate of £1,800,000 is not likely to be exaggerated. Of the bullion accounted for to 30th April, about £900,000 was employed for military purposes, and £100,000 for the civil wants of the Commune. The money was provided by the seizure of £186,000 at the Ministry of Finance, by the requisition of £310,000 at the Bank of France, by the appropriation of £70,000 from the sale of tobacco in Paris, of £22,000 from the Stamp-Office, and of £12,000 from the railways. The whole of the £600,000 thus obtained belonged to the State; the balance of £400,000 was produced by the municipal receipts of Paris, the octroi contributing £340,000 towards it. No explanation has been given of the origin of the sum spent from 1st to 28th May; all that is known about it with certainty is, that the railway companies were forced to give about £100,000 of it. The Finance Minister of the Commune, M. Jourde, was evidently an intelligent man; the means he employed were violent, but he used them skilfully; and he showed more ability in his department than all his colleagues together, in their various branches of administration which they took upon themselves. He remained in office during the whole duration of the Commune, though he tried to resign on