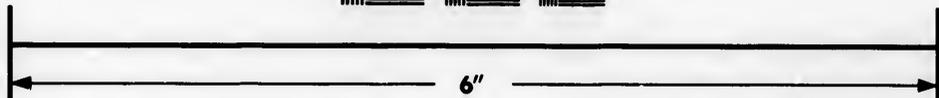
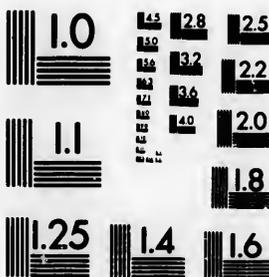


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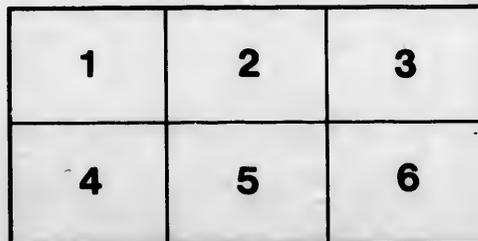
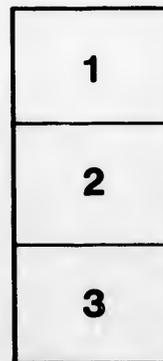
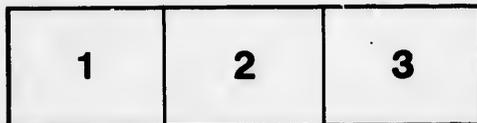
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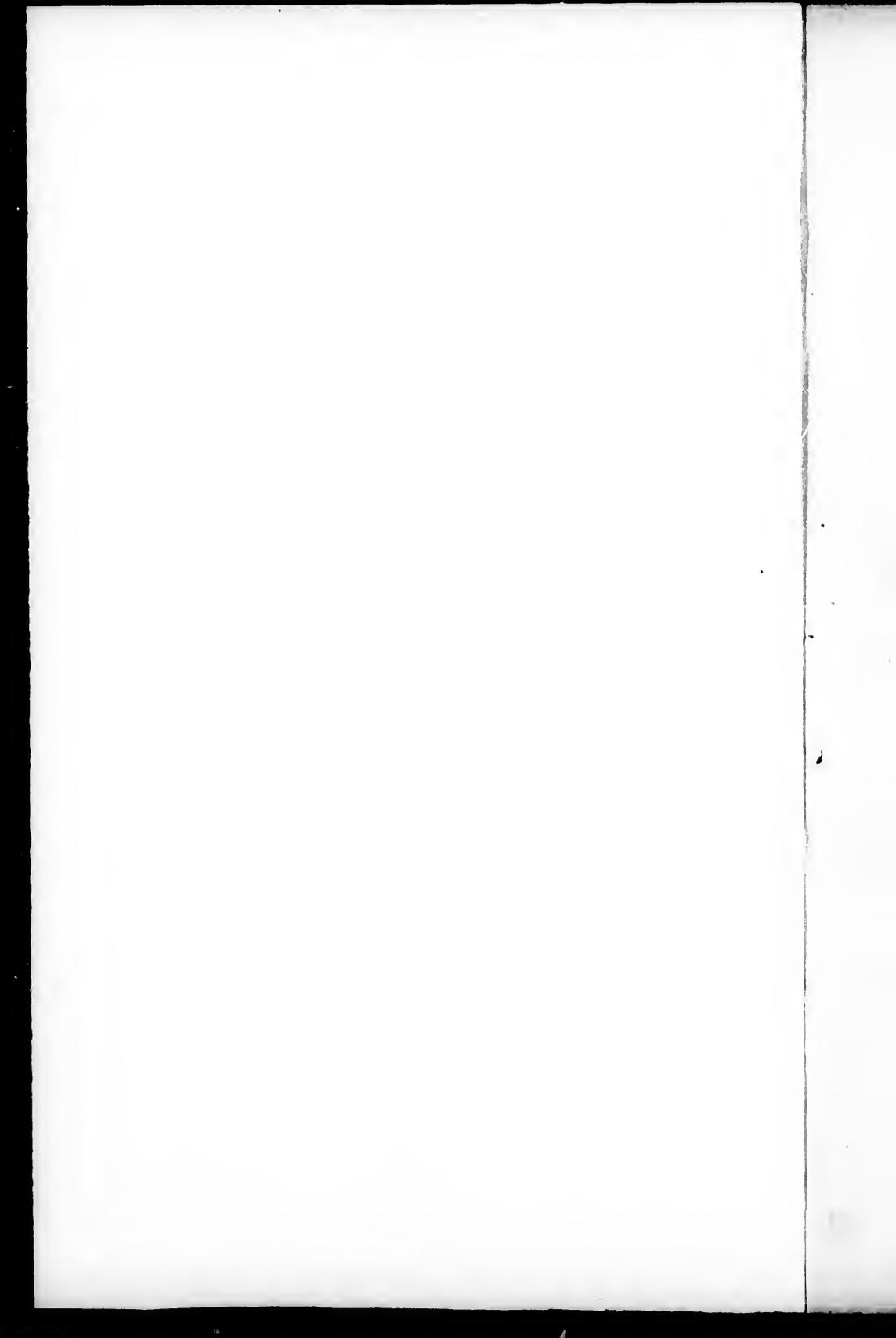
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A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
RELATING TO THE
SUSPENSION
of the
KING OF THE FRENCH,
ON
THE 10TH OF AUGUST, 1792.

By *J. B. D'AUMONT.*

MANCHESTER:
PRINTED BY M. FALKNER AND CO. MARKET-PLACE.
M,DCC,XCII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Received the narrative now presented to the public, accompanied by a letter, of which the following is an extract. "I am sensible that the reports circulated in England will be perfectly contrary to the truth; and as it is of great consequence to correct any false impressions, which those accounts may have occasioned, I think a letter from an *eye witness* will have a good effect. I wish you to amend the English, which I know to be very defective, and to add any observations that may occur to you, but not to alter any of the facts, as I have rigidly adhered to the truth."

I have no doubt of the fidelity and correctness of this narrative, and I have strictly complied with my correspondents request, in adding some explanatory observations, but leaving the facts as he has related them.

T. COOPER.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
relating to the
S U S P E N S I O N
OF THE
KING OF THE FRENCH.

PARIS, 15th August, 1792

AS I can easily conceive your impatience to be acquainted with all the particulars of the memorable day of the 10th—I hasten to gratify your curiosity. In order to render the detail more interesting, and to prevent you from forming erroneous ideas respecting the causes which produced the events of that day, I shall precede it with a short account of the State of Politics here for these two months past, you will see from thence that this insurrection of the people, has not been the work of any faction, but the effect of general indignation against the treacherous conduct of Louis XVI.

It would be unnecessary to remount higher in this narrative, than the dismissal of the patriot ministers, Roland, Servan, and Claviere, in consequence of the King's refusing to sign the decrees for the transportation of the refractory priests, and the formation of a camp near Paris.—Not that the conduct of the Executive power does not furnish abundant proofs of treachery prior to that period, but the nation had till then either been blind to it, or had indulgently supposed the different allegations against him to be dubious at most. The letter of the minister, Roland, upon quitting his place effectually, opened the eyes of the people and shewed them the precipice to which they were hastening.

From that moment their confidence in the Executive Power has gradually diminished; indeed the conduct of the King since that period, has been one continued insult to the Nation; no single measure has been taken by him to regain its confidence, but all his actions have been in direct opposition to the public will. The ministers he has chosen, have been men either not known at all, or known only by their anti-patriotic sentiments, and when one set of them has been forced by the public indignation to resign, he has still kept them for weeks in their places, *being then no longer liable to responsibility*, under the pretence he could not meet with others able to succeed them. When at length it became impossible to retain them longer, they have been replaced by men equally obnoxious. He has constantly treated with contempt, the cry of the People for the recall of the Patriot Ministers, even the petition of the 20th June, could not induce him to alter his conduct. The firmness and courage which he shewed on that day, had gained him many friends, and persuaded many of his enemies, that though mistaken, he was sincere: But the whole effect was destroyed by his *infamous proclamation* of the day following, in which he endeavoured to light the torch of civil war, to stir up the royalists against the republicans, and the provinces against the capital, by falsely representing the petition of the 20th as an attempt to assassinate him, and to subvert the constitution; whilst the notorious fact was that the people did not take up arms until they had positive information that orders were given to the National Guards to fire upon them; and even then they committed no violence, except in forcing open a door which prevented their access to the King. Is it rational to suppose that if they had any intention of assassinating him, they would not have done it, when he persisted in his refusal to sanction the desired Decrees, and when he was completely in their power?

The nation in general approved of the conduct of the *Sans Cullotes*, saw through the detestable design of this proclamation, which was too grossly contrived to be mistaken, and treated it with the contempt it deserved. However, the members of the Department of Paris, and those of two or three Northern Departments which had been long openly devoted to the Court, and composed of creatures of the civil List, seized this opportunity of warmly seconding its views;

views; the Departments of the Somme and of the Judre wrote strong aristocratical addresses to the assembly, and the former unconstitutionally sent a deputation to the King, promising the assistance of all their National Guards, enjoining their deputies to transmit them regular accounts of what was going forward, and to die, if necessary, in defence of their Sovereign; and though the assembly annulled their decree, and declared the measure they had taken to be contrary to the constitution, which prohibits all communication between the King and the Departments, he still had the imprudence to have it reprinted in his own presses, and distributed to the Departments and Army.

Another consequence of the Proclamation was the suspension of Petion the Mayor of Paris, and of Manual the *Procureur de la Commune*, by an infamous Decree of the Department of Paris, neither signed nor registered as usual,—The people were enraged almost to madness at being deprived of their Virtuous Mayor, who was charged with no other crime than that of having refused to give orders to the National Guards to fire upon the people, and having prevented Paris from being deluged with the Blood of its Citizens. The King perceiving the fermentation which this affair occasioned, wanted to get rid of it by referring it to the assembly, but the assembly declared that it did not come under its cognizance constitutionally, until the King had confirmed or negatived it. It seems as if all sort of prudence, all sort of respect for the public opinion had now totally forsaken the infatuated Monarch, for giving way to the Dictates of his private hatred, he confirmed the decree of the suspension, regardless of the *unanimous* demand of the Sections of Paris. The indignation of the People was so great, that had not the assembly immediately annulled the whole Proceedings, and restored Petion to his Functions, the day of the Federation would have been rendered memorable by their Vengeance, and the proceedings of the 10th of August have been unnecessary. Whilst all this was passing at Paris, the Armies, victorious upon the Frontiers, had penetrated into the Enemies Country, and already taken possession of Courtray, when they received orders from the King to retreat, and in retreating, set fire to the Fauxburgs under pretence that the Citizens had fired upon them, which was not true.* The Nation considered

* Upon this occasion the National Assembly set the honourable example of awarding an indemnity to the Sufferers.

considered this retreat at a moment when the Belgians were ready to declare for them, (as appears from the declaration of their Countryman to the National Assembly), as an avowal on the part of the King, that they were not to push their Conquests to injure the Enemy; that those of the Belgians who had received them with open arms, were to be abandoned to the fury of the Austrians, and to be irritated against the French so as never more to be their friends. In fact, the savage Jarry who set fire to the Fauxbourgs, still maintains his rank in the army, and has had no punishment inflicted upon him. Such is the way, says the Patriot Isnard, in which the Court of the Thuilleries avenges the House of Austria, for the Insurrection of the unfortunate Belgians. The only excuse alledged by the ministers for ordering the retreat was, that the army was not sufficiently strong; but this very excuse furnished a fresh ground for the public indignation against Louis XVith. For why had he not chosen proper ministers to fulfil the Decrees of the Assembly, and to make up the Compliment of men long before voted by it? Why had his ministers deceived the public with regard to the state of the Army, if it was not with the treacherous design of rendering it more easy to the enemy to obtain an advantage over them?

Fifty-two Thousand Prussians were already upon the Frontiers, and no notification had been made by the King to the Assembly of their hostile intentions, as he was bound to do even by the *letter* of the Constitution; most probably he meant to have been silent respecting them, until it was too late to take the proper measures of defence, if a Decree had not obliged him to send official notice.

The King of Sardinia was known to be making great preparations for war; yet Louis XVith. so far from informing the Assembly of them, had ordered General Montisquiou, who commanded with very inferior forces on the frontiers of Savoy, to detach twenty Battalions to join the army of the Rhine, which was in no immediate danger; but Montefquion, probably by the advice of the neighbouring departments, who considered this measure as intended to favour a projected attempt of the enemy upon Lyons, only complied in part with the orders he had received, by detaching ten Battalions, and completely justified his conduct at the Bar of the Assembly.

Addresses

Addressès were also received about this time from the frontier towns of the department of the North, complaining that the Court by ordering the retreat of the army, had left them defenceless and exposed to the daily cruelties and pillage of the Austrians, who had taken possession of Bavay, and might have penetrated farther into the Country, *if their own men had not begun to desert in such numbers, that they found it prudent to retire.*

You may conceive how much all these acts of treachery served to inflame the public mind, and rouse their indignation at seeing themselves so openly betrayed.

However, the King little profiting by the marks of public joy upon the restoration of Petion, or those of universal detestation which he and the Queen had experienced on the day of the Federation, still kept his garden of the Thuilleries shut up in sullen sulkeness. For the opening of this garden to the public, like the gates of the Temple of Janus, announced his hostile or peaceable intentions, his good or bad humour. It is probable, that had he at this time made any propitiatory sacrifice to the people, he might yet have regained their confidence; for numbers were still disposed to attribute his errors to his evil counsellors.

The Country was now declared to be in danger, and that danger was allowed on all hands to proceed more from the treason of the executive power, than from the progress of the external enemies.—Vergniaud, Condorcet, Brissot, and other members of the Assembly, had already begun to agitate, though but feebly, the question of the King's deposition; the people out of doors took it up more warmly; and the idea gained ground rapidly; but the fear of touching the constitution still kept them within bounds. The Federates, who had come from the provinces to Paris to assist at the 14th of July, were all strong republicans; and feeling the absolute necessity of some decisive alteration, appeared determined not to quit the Capital until a change in the government was effected: for such indeed were the general wishes of their fellow-citizens. They regularly attended the debates of the Assembly; and their presence gave a stimulus to the Parisians, nearly wearied out by the persevering opposition of the aristocratic party, supported by the *enormous influence of the civil list.*

A report

A report had prevailed for some time, that the King caused arms to be privately conveyed into the Chateau of the Thuilleries, and that the guards were doubled and tripled. The garden still continuing to be shut up gave credit to this report; and those who had been able to look into the courts of the Thuilleries had observed an unusual number of Cannon. It was notorious, that the King's Guards, though *disbanded* for their anti-civic principles, *were still in the pay of the Court*; that many of them, as well as of the *Chevaliers du Poignard**, composed of the ci-devant nobles and clergy, had disguised themselves under the uniform of the National Guards, and had tickets of free admission to the Palace. A Regiment of Swiss Guards, which under various pretexts was detained at Paris, in direct opposition to a decree of the Assembly, which had ordered their removal from thence; and a few Battalions of National Guards were known also to be devoted to the King's service. In fact, he was surrounded by none but suspicious persons; and not a single Patriot was suffered to approach him. These hostile preparations were not seen with indifference by the Federates and the people of the Fauxbourg's.—On the night of the 26th of July, the Tocsin was sounded all over Paris, and the people assembled in immense numbers with the intention of visiting the Chateau.

They were already in march for the Thuilleries, when they were met by the vigilant Petion, who prevailed upon them to disperse, promising that the Municipality would visit the Palace, and that their Representatives would do them justice. The King was terrified but did not alter his conduct. On the 30th of July, five hundred federates from Marseilles, who had been detained on the road to suppress the rebellion of Du Saillant, *carried on in the name of the King*, arrived at Paris. All sorts of injuries had been thrown on these brave Warriors by the Aristocratic Journals before their arrival, because their republican principles were well known. They were represented as a set of Robbers and Banditti, who had carried desolation wherever they passed, in order to prepossess the Parisians against them, and sow the seeds of discord. However, the Fauxburg St. Antoine by which they entered, received

* Knights of the Dagger—The Aristocrats, so called from many of them making a practice of carrying these weapons about them.

received them with open Arms, and invited them to partake of a fraternal repast in the Elysian fields. They accepted the invitation, and having left their fire arms at their Barracks, repaired to the feast; little did they dream of the reception which the treacherous Court had prepared for them. They had scarcely begun to refresh themselves from the fatigue of a tedious journey, and to forget the dangers of a civil war amidst the hearty welcome of their Parisian Brethren, when they were disturbed by the news that they and the nation were insulted by a number of the *ci-devant King's Guards*, of the suspected companies of National Grenadiers, and other noted Aristocrats met together in an adjoining Tavern, who after toasting the King, Queen, and La Fayette, had drunk damnation to the Nation and to the Marseillois. Fired with indignation at this unexpected insult, and animated with the remembrance of their former Exploits at Arles, at Avignon and Jales, against the same perfidious Enemy, the brave Marseillois drew their sabres, and rushed out in search of their insolent adversaries. They found them ranged in order of battle, and armed with pistols to receive them, but the sight of the Marseillois struck them with instant terror, and instead of a discharge, they were received by the cries of *Vive la Nation, Vive les Federes*. They denied having made use of any opprobrious expressions, and, on the contrary, assured the Federates of their civic principles. The Marseillois, deceived, shook hands with them, and as they were in danger from the surrounding populace, who had heard their infamous toasts, *they took them under their protection and were escorting them to the Town*, when suddenly on their arrival at the place of Louis XV.—the treacherous villains separated themselves from their protectors, and fired their pistols at them. The greater part of the Marseillois not suspecting any danger, had returned to their dinner; and those who remained were inferior in number to their opponents, but inspired by their wonted courage, they instantly fell upon them, sword in hand, killed one, wounded several, and put the rest to a precipitate flight. They ran towards the Thuilleries, from which they probably had expected assistance from the Swiss guards. They were without difficulty admitted to the King's apartment, who himself wiped the blood off their faces, and consoled with them on their mishap. Their wounds

were bound up by the tender hands of the Maids of Honour, in their own and the Queen's apartments; one of the Maids of Honour, who was disconsolate for the supposed loss of her husband, was comforted by the Queen, who assured her *that he was not of the party*. The Chateau was quickly filled with the Chevaliers du poignard, &c. who ran thither at the first news of this event. All this was certified at the bar of the National Assembly, by the centinels on duty at the King's apartments; by the deposition of numerous by-standers in the Elysian Fields, and place of Louis XV. and but equivocally denied by the parties themselves.

Every body saw in this affair a preconcerted plan of the court to embroil the Marseillois with the Parisians, and, indeed, no doubt could remain, when the following day the King published a letter to his commissary at the criminal court to prosecute them, and issued another proclamation deploring the state of Anarchy of the capital, and the horrors committed with impunity on the lives and properties of the Parisians. This was making himself Judge in the cause in which he was known to be a party, it was proclaiming the Marseillois as assassins and robbers, and calculated to persuade all Europe, that Paris was converted into a nest of murderers and banditti at the time when not a thread of property had been violated, and the personal security of no peaceful citizen was in the smallest danger.

The Marseillois in their defence presented a petition to the Assembly, in which they requested merely a fair trial by Jury, and that they might remain as hostages at Paris until it was finished.—“ When, said they, some patriots were “ murdered under the passages of the Louvre, they were “ not carried into the King's house, the King's wife did not “ offer the key of her apartment, the Maids of Honour “ did not wipe off their blood, no letter was written by the “ King to hasten the punishment of their assassins, no *pro-* “ *clamation issued* to prejudice the public against them;—yet “ they were Frenchmen, and their blood had flowed within “ the walls of the King's palace, as well as that of these “ men, *but they were patriots.*” It did not pass unobserved, that this same King, who was so tender of the safety of a few insolent disturbers of the public peace, had been perfectly silent upon the insurrection at Arles, upon the rebellion of Du Saillant, upon the secret conspiracy of Lyons,

upon

upon the more open one of Marscillois, in which so many persons were and still are comprised, and upon the troubles excited by seditious priests at Bourdeaux. I can scarcely describe to you how much this last measure increased the public indignation, against the weak and obstinate Monarch; but no lesson would reform him.

A circumstance which happened at this time, is so striking a proof of the progress of reason among the French, and of their detestation of the court, that I cannot avoid mentioning it. The Assembly apprehending some treacherous design from the side of the garden of the Thuilleries, had decreed conformably to the constitution, that the terrace of the Feuillans adjoining to the hall, came under it's jurisdiction. Accordingly this part of the garden was immediately opened to the public, who, proud of their new acquisition, flocked thither in great numbers. On the first day numerous bodies of national guards were stationed at the different descents leading to the other parts of the garden, to prevent the public from entering his Majesty's territory. The people who were provoked at seeing such precautions taken, treated them with insult and ridicule, and the guards feeling the unworthiness of the service on which they were posted, left it the next day, having first drawn a ribband across the passages, with these words, "Citizens respect yourselves, and give to this feeble barrier the force of bayonets." Strange to say, all the citizens that entered, approached, read, and retired from the hostile territory with contempt. Not one would degrade himself by entering the garden of the despicable monarch, and these simple ribbands repelled the indigent populace of Paris for upwards of a fortnight. Oh Louis! if thy detestable counsellors had but left thee a moment's reflection, thou mightest here have read thy fate inscribed in strong and glaring characters.

But to return from this digression. La Fayette ever since his letter read at the Assembly 18th June, and his subsequent appearance at the bar of the Assembly, back'd by the petitions of his army, had divided the public hatred with his *beloved* King. The clamour against this always suspicious personage, became now from day to day more violent and incessant. Scarcely a sitting of the Assembly passed, without several petitions being read, requesting a decree of accu-

sation against him, but his friends still found means to postpone the discussion, and to adjourn the decision. Latterly, the petitions contained a double object, that of the deposition of the King, joined to the impeachment of La Fayette, and they became daily more numerous and more forcible. The King, alarmed at the one which he knew was to be presented in the name of the City of Paris, seized the pretext of the rediculously insolent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, to write to the Assembly with fresh protestations of his zeal and attachment to the constitution. But the manifesto of the Duke, and the letter of the King were treated by the public with equal contempt. He had now totally forfeited the confidence of the people, and repentance, even if sincere, was now too late.

Immediately after the reading of his letter to the Assembly, Petion appeared at the bar, and presented a strong and energetic petition in the name of the *Commune* (the City) of Paris, which had been adopted by 47 out of the 48 sections of Paris, and in most part of them, unanimously. After tracing the repeated treasons of the chief of the executive powers, and the too great indulgence of the nation, they solicited the deposition of the King, and the convocation of the Primary Assemblies to establish a national convention which should regulate the future form of government. These they considered as the only measures capable of saving the country. Their petition was seconded by equally strong ones from the Federates, in the name of their brethren of the Departments, and from the *Sans Culottes*, in their own names, who, moreover demanded the abolition of the unjust distinctions of active and passive citizens. Still the tottering Monarch continued daily to insult the nation with some new act of treachery. The Federates who were appointed to form the camp of Soissons, had found it unprovided with necessaries, and no officers appointed to instruct them. Several of the petty German Princes, of whose friendship the King had before assured the Assembly, now openly shewed their hostile intentions.—The Assembly had ordered the Minister at War to remove from Paris the two batallions of the Regiment of Swiss Guards, which were in garrison there, and were known to be devoted to the service of the court: The Art. v. section 1, chapter 3, of the Constitution declares expressly, that the executive power cannot retain any troops
of

the line within the distance of 30,000 toises, or 30 French miles, of the legislative body, without its request or authority. The court were hard pushed for an expedient to elude this constitutional article, upon which they could not put their veto, and a very clumsy one they found. The Minister at War notified to the Assembly, that the King had already given orders for their departure for Cambray, excepting 300 men which were destined to protect the navigation of the Seine, in the department of Eure; but that the Colonel M. D'Affry, having represented to his Majesty, that this separation of the regiment was contrary to the intentions of the Helvetic body, and might prevent the renewal of their capitulations, the King had suspended the orders already given, excepting those for the departure of the 300 men to protect the navigation of the Seine. The Assembly saw in this proceeding, merely a trick to keep the regiment at Paris; for it was as effectual a separation of the regiment to detach these 300 men from them at Paris, as at Cambray, besides, there was no necessity for detaching them at all, as the whole might have been sent to one place. They therefore renewed their decree, which was no more executed than heretofore, because this regiment was too necessary to the King to be removed. An evident proof that though he always preached up a strict adherence to the Constitution, he made no scruple to deviate from it, wherever it suited his interests. All these circumstances added new fuel to the flame which had been so long kindling, and which was increased by the apathy of the Assembly. The people considering themselves betrayed by the corruption of one part of their representatives, and by the indolence or timidity of the others, and finding their petitions treated with neglect, began to consider an open insurrection, or in other words, the resumption of their sovereignty, as the only means which could save them. The Assembly had certainly, from the commencement of its sittings, shown a great unwillingness, or a great incapacity for performing the business of the public, and lately it was become almost inactive, at a moment when the circumstances required strong and vigorous decrees. The Fœderates had already said to them, "Tell us fairly whether or not you are capable of saving the country," and their actions had answered for them in the negative, the Jacobins now openly declared a general insurrection to be
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the only measure that could rescue the country, and it began to be debated in the Sections or Primary Assemblies of Paris. On the 4th of August, the Section of Mauconseil appeared at the bar, and after demanding the Deposition of the King, they invited all the sections of the empire to proclaim it and retract the oath, into which they had been surprized in his favour; protesting that if the Assembly continued to turn a deaf ear to the voice of the people, they should the next day declare themselves in a state of insurrection. They were followed by the Section of Gravilliers, who demanded likewise the King's deposition, and declared, that if the Assembly could not save the country, the people were about to rise and save it themselves. The Assembly annulled the decree of the section of Mauconseil as unconstitutional, since one section of the people could not exercise the rights of sovereignty, which resides in the whole. At the same time it invited the citizens to be calm, and not suffer themselves to be led astray by counsels which tended to agitate them. But the people knew that in these moments moderation would be their destruction, and the advice of the Assembly was lost upon them. The next day, according to their promise, another deputation of the section Mauconseil appeared at the bar, declared that they ceased to acknowledge Louis XVI. as their King, that they considered themselves freed from their oath, and in a state of insurrection.

It was now evident that nothing but the two measures so loudly called for, the deposition of the King, and the impeachment of La Fayette, could satisfy the nation, and prevent it from doing itself justice. Yet such was the *influence of the civil list in the Assembly*, that these discussions were constantly postponed. At length the debate upon La Fayette was fixed for the 6th of August, but the court party still found means to hinder its coming on till the 8th, when they decreed by a majority of 406 against 224, that there was no room for accusation against him.

Here all reflections become superfluous. We see the man, who, under the mask of patriotism, had, during the whole revolution, shewn himself the most determined enemy of Liberty, who now promoted by the court to the rank of General of an Army, had written a menacing letter to the National Assembly, demanding the abolition of the seminaries of liberty, and constituting himself mediator between the

the representants of the nation and the executive power. Who, contrary to all military principles had quitted his army in the face of the enemy, to present a petition in the name of his army, which constitutionally could not deliberate, and which he ought to have prevented from deliberating; who was moreover accused with having made proposals to Marshal Luckner through the medium of Bureau de Puzy, to march with his army to Paris, and this by the declaration of the Marshal himself in the presence of seven respectable members of the National Assembly, who signed their deposition. The Marshal added, that Bureau de Puzy had made him *other proposals still more horrid*. These were the grounds upon which the minority wished, not to have La Fayette condemned, but put upon his trial. What were the grounds of his acquittal? It was urged that though General of an Army, his letter was only the petition of an individual, that his journey to Paris *might be* by order of the Minister, and that the object of his appearance and discourse at the bar, was to prevent his army from expressing its sentiments collectively. With regard to the charge of Marshal Luckner, they adopted a new mode of proceeding, instead of ordering him to the bar to substantiate his declaration, and to undergo an interrogatory, they desire him to send an answer in writing; they also have the stupidity or rather the knavery to write to Fayette and Bureau de Puzy, the one the accus'd, and the other his accomplice, to know whether the Marshal's charge was true, and both of course deny it. The Marshal also, now surrounded by the Lameths and other friends of La Fayette, gives the lie direct to the seven deputies, in a letter not written by him, but merely signed, and his denial is allowed to be a complete refutation of their charge. As if the subsequent denial of any person, of a fact alledged by him, could counteract the testimony of seven respectable witnesses. They would not make the distinction that the question was not now to condemn La Fayette, but merely to impeach him, when in the course of a trial all these circumstances would have been cleared up. But his acquittal was a measure before resolved upon, and was carried, in spite of the proofs contained in his correspondence with Luckner, communicated to the Assembly by Bureau de Puzy himself, in spite of the report of the committee of .21, in spite of the discourse of Brissot, who

who demonstrated that six laws already existing condemned the factious General, and in spite of the public opinion, though all France expected this decree as the measure of the patriotism, or of the infamy of the Assembly.

The public indignation knew no longer any bounds, several of the members who had been active in favour of La Fayette, and who had been distinguished by their aristocratic principles on former occasions, were received with strong marks of indignation, roughly treated, and *severely beaten* by the populace, upon leaving the hall. It was generally understood, and openly declared, that the people only waited for the result of the next days deliberation, which was to be on the Deposition of the King, in order to make a general insurrection.

In the morning of the 9th, his Majesty published his last proclamation with fresh assurances of his invariable adherence and attachment to the constitution, but he was now sunk into such universal contempt, that people would not give themselves the trouble of reading it. The Assembly, little profiting by the salutary correction which the most flagitious of its members had received the day before, still put off the grand order of the day, by frivolous debates and nonsensical clamour, although it was well acquainted with the storm which was preparing, and indeed the mayor had told them that he could not answer for the tranquility of the capital after midnight. It was five o'clock in the afternoon before Conlorcet could be heard on the order of the day, and the Assembly dispersed immediately after, without decreeing any thing, and held no evening sitting as usual. The Primary Assemblies or Sections of Paris, which had been in a state of permanent sitting, ever since the country was declared to be in danger, now resolved that they were in a state of insurrection, and that proper measures should be taken to secure the person of the King, who was known to have fortified himself within the Thuilleries; they moreover resolved and proclaimed that no violence or injury should be offered to the representatives of the people, and that if any one degraded the cause by attempting to rob or pillage, he should instantly be shot without further process. The command of the Federates of the National Cannoneers, and of the armed Sans Cullottes, was given to Mr. Weisterman, an Alfacian Gentleman, who had served for many years

years in the army, where he held the rank of Colonel, and was equally distinguished for his bravery and his ardent love of liberty. At midnight the Tocsin (alarm bell) was sounded, and the general beat in several of the sections at the same time, particularly in the Fauxbourg, St. Antoine, and St. Marcel, the Fœderates, who were under arms, were quickly joined by the others; many of the citizens came with their arms to the different *corps de garde*, and several detachments marched towards the Town-hall, where the council general of the municipality were assembled. Petion was not there.

The false Lewis had ordered him to the Chateau, to take jointly with him, as he said, measures of safety, but as he did not return, his absence caused the most alarming uneasiness, several groups detached themselves to the National Assembly, where they found a few members sitting who had been awakened by the sound of the Tocsin, and they sent to call others, Petion not appearing, and the number of members to compose a sitting being now complete, the Tribunes demanded, and obtained a decree to oblige the court to let go its prey. He appeared in consequence at the bar, after having been detained four hours in the Thuilleries, and from thence was conducted to the Town-hall. As the patriotism of the municipal body, excepting Petion and Mannel, was more than doubtful, the sections suspended the others, and appointed commissaries to supply the places, they arrested Mandat, the commander general of the National Guards, who had insulted Petion in the grossest manner upon his leaving the Thuilleries, and appointed Santerre for his successor, ad interim. Considering the great risks to which Petion's patriotism had already so frequently exposed him, and from which he had escaped as it were by a miracle, they decreed that he should be confined to the hall of the common council, and a guard of honour of 400 citizens placed there to protect him, who should be responsible for the liberty and the life of this worthy magistrate. What a contrast between the sensations of Petion at this moment, and those of Louis XVI. if the latter was capable of making the comparison.

Ever since the first report of arms being conveyed into the Thuilleries, and since it was become notorious that numbers of the *cidevant* nobles and clergy, better known by the

name of *Chevaliers du Poignard*, were retained in the pay of the court, and had tickets of free admission to the palace, the people had strongly suspected a design on the part of the court to massacre the patriots. In fact, for what other purpose could they suppose these hostile preparations to be destined? By another report it was asserted that the Aristocrats meant to carry off the King to Rouen, under the protection of the Swiss Guards, and there to set up the standard of a counter revolution. It is now certain from papers found at *La Fayette's*, the intendant of the civil list, and published by order of the Assembly, and from others yet unpublished, particularly a letter found in the Queen's desk, and supposed to be the hand writing of La Fayette, as well as from other facts that have since come to light, that the people were not mistaken in either conjecture. The *ex post facto* proofs of the treachery of the court, may perhaps form the subject of another letter, at present I have merely to trace the presumptive ones which influenced the people.

Whether that this night was set apart for the execution of their horrid plans, or whether from a principle of self defence, certain it was, that the court had filled the palace with all the Swiss in Paris, amounting, as far as it can be yet learned, to about 1000. These were seconded by a body of from 2 to 3000 Aristocrats; composed, as I before mentioned, of the *Chevaliers du Poignard*, the *cidevant* body guard, and other satellites of the court, many of whom had assumed the dress of the National Guards. *Mandat*, before he was suspended and put under arrest by the Common Council (*le Conseil generale de la Commune*), had assembled a considerable part of the Parisian National Guard within the courts and garden of the palace, particularly the aristocratical grenadiers of the sections of Filles St. Thomas and Petits Peres, who furnished him with eight pieces of cannon: When ordered before the common council, and interrogated for what purpose he had collected such an extraordinary military force, he endeavoured to elude the question by equivocal answers; but in the midst of his examination, a letter was produced from him to the commander of the post *de la Greve*, conceived as follows, "You will suffer the people to pass you, and when they are gone by, you will fire upon the rear; I answer for the front," this letter was sent by the commander of the post himself,

himself, who was struck with horror at its contents. The same villain Mandat had posted the aristocratic battalion of Henry IV. upon the Pont Neuf, with orders to attack with their artillery the Marseillois, and the battalion of National Guards of the Theatre Francois, if they attempted to pass. Such accumulated treachery against the people, by the person who ought to have been most active in their defence, met with the fate it merited. He was torn to pieces by the multitude.

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, *Weissmann* at the head of a company of the Marseillois, coming from the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, presented himself at the end of the Pont Neuf, and was refused the passage; he advanced along and harangued the officers, telling them that the cause in which he acted was the common cause, a cause in which every Frenchman ought to feel alike, that if they were friends to liberty, they would join the other citizens determined that day to rescue their country.

Finding the Etat Major deaf to his persuasions, he drew his sword, and calling aloud to the Marseillois to advance, swore he would put to death the first cannoneer who attempted to fire. This act of courage intimidated them, and the Marseillois without difficulty seizing on their cannon, added them to the number already destined to form the siege of the Thuilleries. Different detachments of the Federates had gone round to the other sections, who all gave up their cannon with pleasure, and most of the corps de garde joined them. The court party for some reason or other, probably to facilitate their projected escape, had sent out a false *patrouille* (watch) of from 20 to 30 men, armed with pistols and sabres, under the dress of National Guards, these were met in the middle of the night by the real watch in the Elysian fields; finding a number of men armed and unacquainted with the watch word, they immediately took them prisoners, and though inferior in number, brought them to the corps de garde of the Feuillans, where they put them under arrest. They were soon recognized to be noted aristocratic writers, nobles and clergy; men whose lives were spent in insulting the nation, as such they were demanded with loud cries by the people, who had assembled in great numbers about six o'clock in the morning, and were determined to execute speedy justice. The guards be-

ing of the same opinion, suffered the people without any resistance to break open the prison door and seize upon their victims; they selected seven or eight of the most notorious, who were instantly decapitated upon the Place Vendome, and their heads carried through Paris upon pikes.

In the mean time, Rhoderer the *Procurer general Syndic of the Department of Paris*, with several of the members of the old municipal body, harranged the different batallions of national guards, who were stationed within the courts and gardens of the palace, telling them to stand firm, not to attack the citizens, but if they attempted to enter, to repulse force by force, and to lose their lives if necessary in defence of law and property. Such was the Jesuital conduct of this man, who had hitherto usurped the mask of patriotism, although he knew that the insurrection of the people was a general measure, regularly debated in the open face of day in the sections, and publicly announced by wall-bills (*affiches*), containing their resolutions. It was the whole people using its rights, and acting in its sovereign capacity, despising too much its tyrants to fear them, and counting too much upon its power and the goodness of its cause, to deign even to conceal its designs; yet this pretended patriot dared to oppose the general will, and seek to imbrue the hands of the citizens in each others blood, and for what purpose? to defend the betrayer of his country, Louis XVI. and his blood-thirsty attendants.

Between five and six o'clock in the morning the king, who had been up all night, concerting measures with his satellites, descended from the palace, reviewed and harangued the National Guards himself, conjuring them to be true to him; the aristocratic grenadiers received him with loud acclamations, and escorted him back to his apartments amidst repeated shouts of *Vive le Roi*, but the patriotic batallions could not be brought either by the intreaties, threats, or examples of the courtiers, to cry any thing else than *Vive la Nation*, and seeing now plainly for what purpose they were placed there, they retired with their cannon and joined the Federates and other citizens immediately after he had reviewed them. It has on all occasions been observed, that the cannoneers have been the most faithful friends of the people, and the most zealous defenders of liberty: probably the superior instructions which their employment necessitates,

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opens and expands their minds, and makes them more sensible of their real interests.

The fœderates and different companies of national guards, formed into a hollow square upon the Place de Caroufel, with the open front towards the Thuilleries at half past six o'clock, They might amount in all to about 3000 men, not including the *Sans Culottes* of the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, who made up the rear, armed with pikes. By some misunderstanding the pikemen of the St. Antoine, and the other Fauxbourgs did not arrive till after the commencement of the action. The citizens thus drawn up were supported by about twenty pieces of cannon, distributed at equal distances, of which only the two they had taken on the Pont Neuf were 25 pounders, and the rest field pieces, and were flanked by a body of the *gendarmierie nationale cheval*, or national horse.

A detachment of national guards with six pieces of cannon was placed on the Pont Royal, to command the end of the Chateau, another numerous body of them, supported by the national horse, occupied the Place Louis XV. and commanded the entrance of the garden on that side; the Cour des Feuillans and the Cour de la Manège, both leading to the National Assembly, were each defended by a company with three or four pieces of cannon; two pieces of cannon were also placed upon the end of the Terrais of the Feuillans, next the palace, this being the only part of the garden which the people yet chose to enter; thus all the avenues to the palace and garden were guarded, excepting the gallery of the Louvre and the Hotel de Brienne at the opposite end.

The officers of the national horse, all noted aristocrats, had ordered their men early in the morning to fire upon and disperse the people: But the soldiers animated by the same spirit of liberty which glowed in the bosom of every citizen, not only refused to execute their sanguinary orders, but disdaining to obey them any longer, put them under an arrest, and chose themselves other officers *pro tempore*.

Such were the preparations on the part of the patriots; the court on its side had not been idle. The apartments were filled with Swiss disposed at all the windows, and on all sides to the greatest advantage; they were ranged also in the courts and in the front of the palace, so as to maintain
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a cross fire upon the patriots as they entered, both with their fire-arms and their cannon. They were to be supported by the national grenadiers of Filles St. Thomas, and the Petits Peres, upon whom much dependence was placed. The Chevaliers de Poignard armed some of them with guns, others with pikes, others with swords, daggers, and pistols, formed as motly a group as the Sans Culottes of the opposite side; these were intended to be a sort of light troops, who were to march wherever danger called them, and wherever their assistance was most necessary; all renewed the ancient oath of chivalry upon their swords, to die in defence of their Sovereign Lord: But as to the Swifs, who were unacquainted with the refinements of honour, it was thought necessary to work up their courage with a plentiful distribution of wine, brandy, and money, and promises of the most extravagant nature.

Yet after all these preparations for the butchery of his people, and after having concerted in council with his satellites, the execrable plan which was afterwards put in execution, Louis XVI. considering that still the issue of the day might be doubtful, and not feeling courage to die like a Catalina at the head of his adherents, thought it prudent to act a double part; he therefore dispatched the minister of justice to the Assembly, to desire they would send a deputation to protect his person. But whilst they were deliberating upon the best means of placing him in safety, he was announced to be at the door with his wife, sister, and two children. It seems his Majesty's fears lest his subjects should have to answer for an act of regicide, would not permit him to expose his sacred person any longer, and he had left his Janissaries to execute his orders, after having circulated the report among them, that he was ordered to the Assembly by a decree. The Assembly now named a deputation to receive him; he was escorted from the palace through the garden by a numerous detachment of Swifs, and of the national guards upon duty at the palace, who had not interfered in any manner in the business of the night. When they approached the terrafs of liberty, (the terrafs of the Feuillans) the captain of the national guards, a good patriot, observing there was much ferment among the people, commanded the detachment to halt, and advanced alone to harangue them. He assured them that not one of his soldiers

diers should violate the land of liberty upon which they stood, but he should commit the King to their care, and they should serve as guardians to him. Finding them pacified by this assurance, he begged of them to range themselves and open a passage for the King, and to remember that they were answerable to all France for the deposit he placed in their hands. A passage was instantly opened, and the national guards from the Assembly ranged themselves on both sides of it; the people now loudly expressed their indignation and contempt for their monarch, one of the *Sans Culottes* however advancing, offered him his hand, and with the other pointing to his bosom, "Strike there," says he, "and be sure that you hold the hand of an honest man, and not of an assassin. Notwithstanding all the evil you have done us, I answer for the safety of your days; I will conduct you to the Assembly, but for your wife, who has been the bane of the French, she shall not disgrace the seat of our representatives." The people applauded this specimen of eloquence, and opposed themselves to the passage of the Queen accordingly; but the Jesuit Rhaderer having informed them that the Assembly had passed a decree for her admission, no farther opposition was made, and she was allowed to enter with her children, the Princess Elizabeth, several Swiss officers, and other aristocrats, who all had accompanied them to be in safety from the coming storm. They now entered, and the king having seated himself by the president, addressed the Assembly in these words, "I COME AMONG YOU TO PREVENT A GREAT CRIME." Matchless impudence! after having meditated and prepared the massacre of the people, to make a merit of his cowardice in running from their vengeance! As the Assembly could not constitutionally deliberate in his presence, he was desired to pass into an adjoining lodge with his family, whence he could hear and see what was going on.

The army of citizens assembled on the Place de Carouzel, now grew impatient for the attack. About nine o'clock the Marseillois summoned the Swiss to open the gates of the outer court, which was immediately complied with, and about 2 to 300 Marseillois with Weistermann at their head, advanced towards the palace, between the Swiss, who were ranged on both sides, and received them in the most amicable manner. The National Guards upon duty in the palace,
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sent a deputation to the fédérates to let them know they were friends, and should not soil their arms with the blood of their brethren; the Swiss pleased, as was supposed, with this signal of peace, threw down cartouches from the windows, and cried *Vive la Nation*. Numbers of the armed citizens now pressed forwards into the court, rejoicing in this apparent amicable termination of the affair. In the mean time, Weistermann with a few Marseillois, advanced to the entrance of the palace, where a considerable body of men, with cannon were placed. He addressed himself to the officers, and conjured them not to shed the blood of the citizens, but receiving an answer worthy the satellites of despotism, he called their soldiers to witness that all the evils which that day presaged, were owing to their chiefs, and invited them to embrace the cause of the people, and of humanity. A Swiss officer listened to the voice of reason, and gave him his hand; instantly the soldiers under his command broke their ranks, and descended the stair-case to unite themselves to the people. In the same mom at the Swiss, who were placed above them, excited by their officers, made a terrible discharge upon the Marseillois, and upon their own brethren, which was immediately seconded from the windows, and from the Swiss in the court. Above 100 fédérates and Parisians fell by this act of treachery; Weistermann, undaunted, called aloud to the patriots to follow him, (*a moi les patriotes*) and rushed sword in hand amidst the hostile ranks, scattering death on every side. This courageous example was instantly followed by his companions, now supported by the Bretons and other armed citizens. At the same time, the artillery of the patriots began to play from all quarters upon the Swiss posted at the windows of the palace, for those within the courts were protected from it by the outer walls. The Swiss within the courts now retreated into the little buildings or barracks on each side, and from thence kept up an incessant fire upon the citizens as they entered, and upon those within the area, being protected by the buildings from a return of the shot. But the national horse flew to the assistance of their friends, fell upon the barracks with impetuosity, and with torches in their hands, set fire to them in various places. Forty horses and twenty-five riders were stretched upon the ground in this desparate attack. The fire now gaining apace, the

the Swiss were soon obliged to quit their cover, and fell an easy prey to the citizens, who shot and cut them to pieces as they ran towards the palace; amongst them were many of the Chevaliers dressed as National Guards, most of whom received the price due to their infamy. During this time the Swiss at the windows kept up a well sustained fire upon the Place de Carouzel, the Pont Royal, and the Terrass of the Feuillans, which was properly answered by the cannon and musquetry of these posts. Great execution is said to have been done amongst the people from the Hotel Brienne, against which the proper precautions had not been taken, and in order to make this day resemble still more the famous St. Bartholomew, numbers of the Chevaliers du Poignard placed in the gallery of the Louvre fired upon the women and unarmed passengers.

The patriots had been for a moment repulsed at the entrance of the palace, and Weistermann, after having received five wounds, was felled by the wind of a ball. But they quickly rallied, and with their intrepid commander once more at their head, and the Sans Culottes with their pikes in the rear, commenced a most bloody engagement. Numbers of the Swiss were slaughtered in gallantly defending what they thought to be the law of the land; and had they been properly supported, no doubt their victory would have cost dear to the patriots. But no sooner did the infamous sycophants of the court, those valorous knights who had pledged their *honour* to support them with their lives, find that the people so far from running away at the first fire, as they had supposed, maintained a vigorous attack, than terrified at the approach of danger, they abandoned themselves to a shameful flight; leaving the Swiss to defend themselves. The patriots now pressing forward with a courage bordering upon madness, forced the remaining Swiss to join the fugitives, and the carnage became dreadful. The hall, —the great stair-case,—the chapel, and all the apartments, were quickly strewed with the bodies of the dead and dying. The citizens chased the flying enemy from room to room; guilty of the most signal treason, they were all put to death. The justice of the people appeared in all its horror; many of the Swiss and others who had hid themselves in the upper apartments, were thrown out of the windows, and not a single inhabitant of the palace, escaped; all were considered as ac-

complices of their master and enemies of the nation. The flower of chivalry acquainted with all the avenues of the palace, saved themselves through the gallery of the Louvre which the people had forgot to guard. Thus did upwards of a thousand of these wretches escape the just vengeance of the people, and the punishment due to their manifold crimes. Their deluded agents perished, but these villains who from the commencement of the revolution had been working the ruin of their country escaped, and live to boast of and renew their crimes. Numbers of them however expiated the eternal impunity of the oppressions of the human race, and it is hoped the search now diligently making after the remainder, will bring them to the inglorious end they merit.

Two or three hundred of the Swiss fled into the garden of the Thuilleries, at the bottom of which they rallied and formed. They were instantly attacked by the National Guards upon the Place Louis XV. and a brisk action took place, which was very destructive to the Swiss, for many of them had expended their ammunition, and others had thrown away their arms, not expecting any opposition to their flight. However, they maintained a running fight till under the walls of the Assembly, when finding resistance useless, they surrendered. Fourteen endeavoured to force the pass of the Pont Royal, but were cut to pieces in the attempt. Some escaped into the town from the Hotel Briennes, and a few, agitated by despair, perished in attempting to force their way across the Place de Carouzel. The rest of the fugitives ran down the side of the Seine towards the Elysian fields, where the greater part were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners by the National Horse posted on the Place Louis XV.

You will ask me what became of the National Grenadiers whom I have not mentioned in the combat. These finding themselves deserted by the patriots, thought it prudent to act a double part, and passing through the Chateau into the garden about eight o'clock in the morning, ranged themselves upon the terrass in front, promising from thence to second the Swiss; but whether from indignation at the King's desertion, or from fear, they all filed off at the first discharge. What became of them afterwards, and whether or not they took any part in the engagement, I know not.

Let us now divert our attention for a moment from this scene of slaughter, to the National Assembly. They had sent

sent a deputation of ten members to attempt to pacify the people, immediately upon the King's entrance, but they soon returned, the firing having commenced before they arrived. The report of the guns occasioned a great commotion in the Assembly, agitated by such different passions; order was however restored by the president's covering himself and reminding the members that they were at their post. The King did not forget to inform the president, *that he had not given orders to fire*. Let those who know the strict discipline and exact obedience of the Swiss officers, and who have heard their depositions since, believe him if they can. At the commencement of the action, and until the moment when the shouts of the patriots announced their victory, he and the Queen appeared unconcerned, relying without doubt upon the success of the preparations they had made against the people, upon the division of the citizens, upon the treason of the officers of the National Guard, and upon all those wretches who were paid to act this day. But tyrants are not capable of calculating the force of the people, and these were far from foreseeing that all their monstrous edifice of crime and perfidy, would vanish before its omnipotence.—The Assembly now remained for some moments in deep silence, which was broken by a member who moved to decree, that it put all property and persons under the safeguard of the law and of the people. This passed unanimously. All the deputies then rose up and swore to maintain *liberty and equality*, and a proclamation was instantly issued inviting the citizens to place confidence in their representatives; for they well knew that they had deserved to forfeit it. A deputation from the Thermes of Juilian appeared at the bar and called upon the Assembly, to swear that they would save their country. The call of names was instantly demanded, to see who were the traitors that deserted their post in the hour of danger, and each member as his name was read, mounted the tribune and pronounced this oath. "*I swear to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain with all my power liberty and equality, or to die at my post*". The Coté droit was extremely thin at the commencement of the sitting, but they began to pour in as soon as they found the anger of the people was not directed against them. The new municipality presented themselves at the bar, and having taken the oath, informed the Assembly

bly of the treachery of the Swiss. The firing had now ceased and numbers of citizens were ushered into the bar, bringing with them the queen's jewels, the money and the assignats which they had found in the apartments, "the palace," said they, "is broke open, but do not believe that citizens fighting for their liberties will disgrace themselves by pillage." News was brought that the Swiss officers, most of whom had accompanied the king to the Assembly, were arrested; the Assembly decreed that they were under the protection of the law and the people, and of the generosity of the French. They next decreed upon the motion of M. Bazire that the committee of safety should be authorized to arrest any suspected persons. Intelligence having been received that the Swiss in garrison at Courbevoie, were upon their march to support their brethren and that numbers of armed citizens were gone out to meet them, a member moved, that to prevent any farther bloodshed, the king should send them an order countersigned by the president, to lay down their arms. This was accordingly done and had the desired effect.

The people though now masters every where, disdained to plunder. Every thing valuable that was found in the palace, was carried to the Assembly and to the municipality. A few wretches who were caught in the act of stealing, were killed upon the spot, and others were carried to the Place de Greve, (the common place of execution of criminals) where they were tried, condemned and shot. Such was the justice of the people.

Let those wretches who have sworn an everlasting warfare to the doctrines of reason and equality, and with whom riches supply the place of virtue and humanity; let them, I say, contemplate the disinterested honour of the people, let them compare their conduct with that of those noble officers who basely betraying the cause of their country which they had sworn to defend, desert to the enemy, and carry with them the chest of their regiment, and let them then lay their hands on their hearts and say whether they deserve the name of *swinish multitude*. Miserable egotists; who having purchased your riches by acts of atrocity and baseness, cease your insulting fears for your despicable wealth, learn to respect the people, and leave them at least to enjoy with their poverty—*liberty and honour!*

Amidst

Amidst the triumph of liberty, the courts, the palace, the garden and all the places and streets adjoining, presented a scene truly horrible; the patriots had been carried off by their friends as they fell, but the bodies of the Swiss and of the aristocrats covered with ghastly wounds were strewn in every quarter. To enter the palace you passed through the outer court, the whole length of which was one continued blaze, and you could scarcely take a step without treading upon a flaming rafter, or a body half roasted; but nothing could equal the horror of the scene which the porch, the great staircase and the apartments presented. I hasten from it, for unused to such sights I wish not to renew the impression it made on me. In deploring this scene of slaughter, I almost forgot the crimes which had necessitated it.— May other monarchs, taught by this example, wisely and timely prevent the necessity of such resources! Yet far different must have been the sentiments of some, who, like me, were spectators of this scene. All the passions of which the human frame is susceptible must have been roused at once into action. Fury and indignation against the unfeeling despot and his infernal counsellors; grief for the loss of a father, a brother, or a friend, sacrificed to their perfidy; pity for the deluded victims of their treachery, gloomy joy at the sight of the breathless bodies of the authors of the carnage, and transport at the idea of victory, of future liberty and happiness.

In traversing the apartments of the palace, you observed all the rooms, filled with beds, placed there to receive the wounded. Great quantities of arms are said to have been found, among others, a collection of daggers of a frightful and unusual form. One of the cellars was filled with torches, which were supposed to have been destined to set fire to Paris.

The Swiss who had escaped were hunted down in every street, and searched for in every lurking place. Wherever found they were massacred by the friends and relations of the victims of their treason, both during this evening and the ensuing night and day. Sixty of them who were taken prisoners by the Federates and conveyed by them to the town-hall to be committed to prison, were seized on by the women, tried summarily and instantly executed upon the Place de Greve.

Far be it from me to attempt to justify the cruelties of this day, but in judging of them, let us not throw wanton reproaches upon the French. Let us remember what has been the conduct of every people upon earth during their civil wars and amongst others, let us not forget the acts of cruelty with which the English history is replete. Let us also remember that never provocation and treachery was greater, and that mankind never fought in so glorious a cause before. If still these cruelties raise our indignation, let it fall upon the primary causes of all, upon the cowardly tyrant who treacherously delivered up his subjects to slaughter. "In all the calamities and misfortunes of the human race," "you always recognize the crimes of despotism."

Only about 200 of the Swiss were saved by the Federates and National Guards, and lodged for the interim in the Corps de Garde of the Feuillans, whence as the people grew clamorous for them, they were conveyed into the hall of the National Assembly, and a member deputed to calm the people. Here I must do justice to the Ex Capuchin Chabot, who acquitted himself most admirably, and may be considered as the saviour of the Swiss. In the evening of the following day, they were transferred under a strong guard with Petion at their head to the Palais Bourbon, and now await their trial. The officers are confined in the prison of the Abbey, and will most probably suffer for their ingratitude to a nation whose bread they had long partaken of. For it is to be observed, that even the King's orders do not justify them, as by the constitution the armed force cannot fire upon the people without the requisition of a municipal officer.

No accurate statement has yet been published of the number of slain on either side; from a comparison of the different accounts, I should suppose, that not less than 1500 fell on the side of the court, and about 200 on the side of the patriots were either killed on the spot, or have since died of their wounds. The number of wounded federates and citizens was very great.

In the midst of their rage and indignation, the people all along respected their representatives, and did not attempt to violate the sanctuary in which they had placed the two royal prisoners. At four o'clock of this same day, which so many patriots had passed without eating, and which had been

been fatal to so many of their friends and adherents, Louis XVI. and his wife sat down to dinner, and it was remarked, that little penetrated with the miseries he had caused, he eat as voraciously as usual. This anecdote is trifling, but it serves to shew the unfeeling heart of the tyrant. No doubt, the Cannibal's appetite would have been still increased if the meat had been served up in the reeking skulls of the citizens shot by his Prætorian Guard. The Austrian panther, whose crimes and vices bear with them the true stamp of royalty, bit her lips in silent rage, and seemed only to meditate the moment of revenge.

The National Assembly inspired by the scene which was passing round them, rose at times to the height of its vocation. Upon the proposition of Mr. Vergniaud in the name of the extraordinary committee, it decreed, the suspension of the King, and the convocation of a National Convention, which should decide upon his fate and regulate the future form of government.—Considering next, that after having sworn a solemn adherence to the doctrines of liberty and equality, they could not any longer maintain the unjust distinctions of *active* and *passive* citizens, they decreed, that every citizen of twenty-five years of age, (changed afterwards to twenty-one) who had had a fixed habitation for one year, and lived upon the produce of his labour, should be admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by *active citizens*. Memorable and consoling proof of the progress of human reason! Thus do we see the imperious voice of the public opinion, force into execution those eternal laws of justice and of the social compact, which the prejudices and machiavelism of the Constituent Assembly, had violated three years before. Thus do we see that class of men to whom the conquest of liberty was due, and who in every country form the most useful and most honest part of the community, at length admitted to share its advantages! Perhaps the Assembly would have done well to have simplified the mode of elections, by suppressing the useless and dangerous medium of electors, leaving the people themselves to choose their representatives; but probably they did not choose to enter into a subject which will, no doubt, be fully investigated by the National Convention.

All decrees passed before the suspension of the King, and sanctioned by him, and all that were passed since, or should pass

pafs hereafter without sanction, were decreed to have the force of laws, and to be executed as such throughout the country.

Having next declared that the present ministers had forfeited the confidence of the nation, they proceeded to the choice of new ones, when the three patriots *Roland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere*, were adopted by unanimous consent, to fill their former places; *Monge*, a member of the academy of sciences, and a man of great abilities and known patriotisin, was chosen for the department of the marine; *Danton* who first detected and exposed the knavery of La Fayette, was elected minister of justice; and *Le Brun*, minister for foreign affairs.

Commissioners were named from among the military members, to visit all the armies, and give them a just account of what was going forward, hoping by that means to prevent the intrigues of some of their generals and officers, whom at the same time they were empowered to suspend or break, if they acted contrary to the general safety.

Finally, *La Port*, the intendant of the civil list, was committed to prison, and his papers sealed; a decree of accusation was also carried against *Dabancourt*, the ex-minister of war, for not having obeyed the decree of the Assembly, which enjoined the departure of the Swifs.

Such, my friends, were the transactions of this memorable day, a day which will ever form the proudest page in the history of man. Parties and factions have often dethroned despots in what they called *the cause of Liberty*, but never did a people act with such unanimity before, for all the citizens and all the armies of France, adhere to and approve the gallant conduct of their Parisian brethren. The traitor, *La Fayette*, has now fully unmasked himself, first in putting himself in a state of open rebellion against the sovereignty of the people, and endeavouring to seduce the army; and next in cowardly deserting, and robber-like, taking with him the military chest. The base stipendiaries of the civil list, are most of them committed to prison, and probably the country will soon be freed from its internal enemies. From its external ones it has little to apprehend, for, where a people like this are united, fighting in so glorious a cause, and not liable any longer to be betrayed by their own leaders, they may set at defiance the slaves of all the combined despots of Europe.

In this detail of facts I have adhered closely to truth, hoping by a genuine account, to counteract the effect which your lying ministerial papers may have produced. I have interspersed my narrative with such reflections and observations as presented themselves to me at the time, or as I have been able to collect from the best writers upon the subject; meaning to claim no merit from them, I have thought it useless to interrupt and weaken my narrative by frequent references.

I conclude this long epistle with the following eloquent apostrophe.

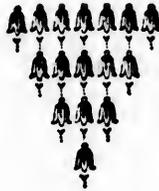
“ Thus, commenced the most glorious revolution which
 “ ever honoured human nature, or rather the only
 “ one which had an object worthy of mankind, that
 “ of establishing political society upon the immortal princi-
 “ ples of *equality*—of *justice*—of *reason*. What other cause
 “ could unite in one moment, that immense populace, that
 “ innumerable multitude of citizens of all conditions acting
 “ in concert, without chiefs or centre of union! What
 “ other cause could inspire them with so elevated, with so
 “ enduring a courage and produce miracles of valour su-
 “ perior to the boasted tales of Greece and Rome! All
 “ France already answers to the signal; all the petty in-
 “ trigues, all the ambitious traitors who dared provoke
 “ the thunder of the people, if they escape its justice, will
 “ of themselves fall into their original nothing. Already
 “ the shock which has overturned the throne of our ty-
 “ rants, has shaken every throne in Europe, and the liber-
 “ ty of the world will be at once our work and our recom-
 “ pence. Frenchmen forget not that you hold in your
 “ hands, the destiny of the universe. Do not fall asleep in
 “ the bosom of victory, adopt the maxim of a great man,
 “ who thought he had done nothing, as long as any thing
 “ remained undone. Forget not that you have to combat
 “ the league of despots, and to confound the plots of those
 “ still more dangerous enemies whom you nourish in your
 “ bosom. Immortal glory awaits you, but you must pur-
 “ chase it by hardy labours. Stand upright and be watch-
 “ ful. You have now no medium to choose between the
 “ most odious of all slavery, and the most perfect liberty,
 “ a people can enjoy; between the most barbarous proscrip-
 “ tion and the purest happiness. Either the King or the
 “ French

“ French must fall. Such is the situation to which the glo-
 “ rious struggle you have hitherto maintained against roy-
 “ alty has brought you; shake off then entirely the yoke
 “ of your former prejudices, that you may sustain your-
 “ selves upon the level of the principles of liberty, and of
 “ the circumstances of the times.

“ Citizens; hitherto knaves have talked to you of laws
 “ in order to enslave and murder you, and you have had
 “ no laws! You have only had the criminal caprices of
 “ your tyrants recommended by intrigue, and supported by
 “ force. They preached up to you respect for the consti-
 “ tuted authorities, and those constituted authorities have
 “ been nothing better than cunning knaves (*fourbes adroits*)
 “ clothed with unjust powers to proscribe justice and pa-
 “ triotism, under a legal form. Their crimes have forced
 “ you once more to resume the exercise of your rights.
 “ Exert them in a manner worthy of you, and proper to
 “ ensure your happiness. You will only be happy when
 “ you have laws, when the general will shall be heard and
 “ respected, and when the delegates of the people shall not
 “ be able to violate it with impunity in usurping the sove-
 “ reignty. The fruit of your exertions, of your sacri-
 “ fices and of your victories, should be the best constitu-
 “ tion possible, the most worthy of an enlightened and
 “ magnanimous nation. You owe this benefaction to the
 “ world, and to yourselves. Such is the object of the Na-
 “ tional Convention you are about to form. Reject all your
 “ natural enemies, all the agents, all the valets of your
 “ tyrants; confide not the work of genius and virtue to
 “ intrigue, ambition and egotism. But whoever are your
 “ delegates, be cautious not to make them absolute arbiters
 “ of your destiny, watch over them, judge them, and
 “ always reserve yourselves regular and peaceful means of
 “ stopping the encroachments of public men upon *the rights*
 “ *and sovereignty of the people.*

“ Prepare the success of this convention, by the regene-
 “ ration of the public mind. Let every one be wakeful,
 “ every one armed, and the enemies of liberty, will hide
 “ themselves in darkness. Let the tocsin which has found-
 “ ed in Paris, be echoed in the provinces. Frenchmen,
 “ learn both to reason and to fight, henceforward at war
 “ with all your oppressors, you will only be at peace when
 “ you

“ you have chastized them. Far from you be that pusilla-
“ nimous weakness, or that cowardly indulgence, which
“ tyrants thirsting after the blood of mankind ask for them-
“ selves alone.—Impunity has given rise to all their crimes,
“ and all your wrongs. Let them then fall under the sword
“ of the law. The clemency which would pardon them is
“ barbarous, it is a crime against humanity.”



A P P E N D I X.

I have subjoined to the preceding narrative, the reflections of M. Condorcet, on the revolutions of 1688 in England, and of the 10th of August in France, and the address of the late National Assembly on the necessity of a National Convention. These two papers relating to the same course of events which form the subject of the preceding pages, I thought would be deemed no unacceptable addition. I would have added the report of M. Colhier on the proofs of the late King's treachery, but as a committee is still employed under the authority of the National Convention in examining the remaining papers to the same purpose, we may reasonably expect a still fuller and more decisive body of evidence than has yet appeared.*

T. C.

* From the copies of the letters and accounts found in the King's *escratoire*, and among the papers of M. la Porte the comptroller of the Civil List (of which 13 numbers have been published by authority) it appears that, the Civil List was in part regularly applied to the payment of writers against the Revolution; to the distribution of Aristocratic pamphlets and hand-bills; to the purchase of satirical prints and engravings against the Patriotic party; in rewards and bounties to the disaffected; in secretly paying the regiments ostensibly disbanded in compliance with the Assembly's requisition; in continuing the pay of the French guards, even to such as were at Coblenz; and other treacherous, anti-civic purposes. The letters published evidently prove, that those who corresponded with the Ministers of the King or with the King himself, were perfectly aware that the appearance of the most determined hatred to the principles of the Revolution were necessary to obtain favour at the French Court.

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION 1688, AND THAT OF
THE 10th OF AUGUST, 1792.

BY M. CONDORCET.

THE Revolution in England in 1688, compared with the Revolution of France in 1792, presents, in the motives which occasioned them and the principles by which they were directed, a parallel which, notwithstanding the difference of the times, the circumstances and the state of knowledge,

knowledge, proves that the cause of the French is exactly the same as that of the English nation; and, indeed, of all nations, that are, or have conceived the hope of becoming free.

JAMES II. was the constitutional King, like LOUIS XVI. It was the national will, notwithstanding the just repugnance of the friends of freedom, by which JAMES succeeded to his brother: the fear of civil discord was superior to that of a Papist King, infatuated with those ideas of absolute authority which had been so fatal to CHARLES I. Actuated by the same motives, the will of the people seated LOUIS XVI. on the throne. in despite of the dangers to which freedom must be exposed by his regret for his former power.

To destroy the rights of the English, JAMES II. employed corrupt judges, and the servile complaisance of partial authorities. He had two councils; the one public, which with reserve aided his projects of usurpation; the other private, which forced him rashly to hasten the establishment of popery and tyranny.

LOUIS XVI. in like manner; had two councils; the one moderate, which endeavoured to destroy freedom by the aid of the constitution; the other, more eager, prepared means to deliver up the people to the emigrants, and France to foreign armies.

LOUIS XVI. had likewise sought useful allies in the courts of justice, and the directories of departments.

JAMES II. had protected the Parliament, after having deceived it by false promises. LOUIS XVI. not possessing this dangerous privilege, attained the same end by corrupting the Legislative Body, and preventing any constant majority from being formed.

JAMES II. provided a fleet and an army, of which he believed himself the master. LOUIS XVI. had secretly formed a troop of satellites, who had sold themselves to his cause, and thought himself sure of a powerful party in the national guard and the army.

JAMES was secretly connected with LOUIS XIV. whom the English nation regarded as its most dangerous enemy. The EMPEROR and the KING of PRUSSIA, made war on France, in the name and for the support of LOUIS XVI.; and the means of defence, which the nation bestowed with prodigality

lity, were half annihilated by passing through the hands of the King and his Ministers.

Both thought themselves certain of power sufficient to suppress freedom, and both imagined they had deceived the people; instead of which, they did but mutually convince all clear-sighted citizens of the necessity of a new Revolution.

The two nations were not precisely in the same situation. In England the body of the people, discontented, angry, but terrified by the recent recollection of the civil wars, and benumbed by the corrupt reign of CHARLES II. was disposed to embrace that Revolution, which they were incapable to effect. The Parliament was not convoked, and the friends of liberty were without a support. Hence it was necessary to call in the PRINCE of ORANGE to their aid, who, by a singular concatenation of events, had connected his personal interest with that of the English nation.

WILLIAM, who found no opposition on his passage from the English fleet, came at the head of a Dutch army. JAMES was abandoned by his troops, fled, was brought back to London, and left it by order of his son-in-law, who appointed a place to which he was permitted to retire. He escaped a second time, and WILLIAM did not endeavour to impede his flight.

In France the people, to whom freedom was a new enjoyment and the love of equality a real passion, could not, undisturbed, see themselves threatened by plots which they could not discover, but the fearful proofs of which were incessantly before their eyes.

They addressed their Representatives, and were heard; but a great number of these representatives, servilely attached to the letter of the Constitution they had sworn to maintain, beheld with a kind of terror those measures which every day became more sensibly necessary, but which required a bolder interpretation of the Constitution. The citizens, therefore, imagined themselves obliged to take the power into their own hands.

The King fled for an asylum to the National Assembly; yet foreign troops, preserved contrary to law, and united to the chiefs and the menials of the conspiracy, fired from the palace of the Thuilleries on the citizens, at the very moment that they were reciprocally interchanging expressions of peace and good-will.

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The palace was forced, the conspirators and their soldiers put to flight, and there then only remained citizens who had but one opinion, and the representatives of those citizens whose authority was respected, and among whom public confidence, which preceding events had but suspended, might once again find a central point of action.

Here every circumstance gives the advantage to the French nation.

A considerable portion of the people, combining by spontaneous impulse, and addressing themselves to a legal assembly of the whole, depart much less from the common order of law than a particular association of citizens, addressing themselves to a foreign Prince; and the influence of the former portion of the people, armed in their own defence, was much less dangerous to freedom than the presence of a foreign army, devoted to the will of a single chief. It was absolutely and really impossible for the King of the French to resume his functions as it was for the King of England, after his flight; and the two nations equally found themselves destitute of all government.

In England the former Parliament was not assembled, and could not be convoked but by the King; and as JAMES had dissolved it, and had afterward retracted the order he had given for its meeting once more, there consequently did not exist any representative power.

But the English Parliament was composed of two Houses, the one of which was hereditary, and therefore always subsisting; thus such of the Members of the Upper House as happened to be then in London, believed themselves invested, by necessity, with the right of assuming the whole power to themselves. They assembled, and bestowed the government on the PRINCE OF ORANGE. WILLIAM accepted the gift, but knew that the people of England had some right to be consulted, and that the hereditary senators were but the representatives of themselves. His first care, therefore, was to convoke those Members of the former House of Commons, who were then in London, and with them a part of the Corporation of the city. This irregular and incomplete representation confirmed the plan of the Peers, and the government was committed to the Prince, one part of which, according to the common law, was the right of convoking Parliaments. Accordingly, he hastened to call a
Parliament,

Parliament, under the name of a Convention. This was the name given to the Parliament, which recalled CHARLES II. the term Parliament being rigorously confined to those assemblies, which are convoked in the name of the King. But the Convention of 1688, like that of 1660, could not but have precisely the same organization as the Parliaments, and like them be divided into two Houses, the mutual agreement of which was necessary to express the will of the nation. Thus could the will of about two hundred assume the right of expressing the will of the whole people; and if there be any who dare still affirm, that an institution like this is not an attack on the rights of natural equality, and such as no power can legalize, they must at least confess it is absurd and tyrannical, when it is necessary to decide on those fundamental questions, which the laws have not foreseen, and on which the national will is not *really* consulted, unless it be consulted with the most perfect equality.

Thus, for example, the English ministry can neither regard this convention as illegal, nor dispute its power of reforming that, which in the constitutional act shall appear to it to be prejudicial to liberty, without, at the same time, attacking the legality of the convention of 1689, and that of the resolutions, which emanated from that convention. The ministers, who should advise such a conduct, must by such advice confess, 1. That the House of Hanover has usurped the throne of England, and that it appertains to the King of SARDINIA; 2. That the English nation has no right to make any change in its constitution, except by the will of the King; 3. That the King may violate the constitution with impunity, and that the nation has no legal means either of opposition or restriction; which opinion no minister could pursue in act without rendering himself guilty of high treason; nay, they must conclude that they are certain of having nothing to fear for the preservation of the throne of the House of Hanover, and they must intend to establish it as law, that this house possesses the crown by pure hereditary right; that it has not received it from the people; that all the claims and pretensions of the former Kings of England to arbitrary power have been transmitted to the reigning family; and they must further mean to support the opinions of the divine rights of kings, of passive obedience, of the dispensing power, &c. and, in a
F
word,

word, all those maxims destructive to freedom, which were formerly held by the STUARTS, and practiced by the TUDORS.

In like manner, it was in consequence of this opinion of an original contract, that the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, shook off the yoke of their ancient lords, who were hereditary chiefs, and at the head of the executive power. It was the violation of such contracts, subscribed to by these lords, which was the motive for deposing them; and neither the Dutch nor the Swiss can refuse to acknowledge the legality and justice of the conduct of the French nation, without declaring that they will submit themselves to the heirs of the house of Austria.

Those men, therefore, who, like the French, love true liberty, who know that it cannot exist without an entire equality, and who acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, are not the only persons who ought to approve the revolution of the 10th of August. All who do not acknowledge an inherent power in kings and princes, independent of the people, of which they cannot be deprived, either by their usurpations or their crimes, that is to say, all those who would not be slaves, must equally approve the present revolution of France, and the revolution of England. Both parties, those who would preserve all, and those who wish not to lose all their rights, such as they find them preserved by the laws of their country, must mutually approve the French revolution.

The creatures of tyrants have dared to reproach the French with the crime of calling on all nations to the enjoyments of the first rights of man, liberty and equality, which are likewise the greatest good;—they accuse them of wishing to subvert the world, because they wish the voice of reason to be heard, and of universally kindling the flames of discord, because they are desirous that the torch of truth should begin to blaze.

At present this respectable zeal, which is so vilely calumniated, is not the question. We do not ask foreign nations to rise to those principles, in support of which we have sworn to meet death; we only request them not to abandon such as men, worthy of the name, have professed these four hundred years, in times even of ignorance and superstition; we entreat them not to descend below the standard of the fourteenth century, and not to whet that tyrant sword which,

at

at present directed against us, will soon return to pierce the hand that drew it.

We tell the English, the Dutch, the Swiss, the Swedes, the inhabitants of the Imperial cities, and those subjects of the Princes of the Empire, who have still preserved some franchises, as well as the various nobles who reside in the states of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, that our cause is theirs, and that they cannot support the maxims of the Emperor and the King of Prussia without abjuring all their rights, and consecrating themselves to servitude.

There are two species of free constitutions in existence, or at least having the forms of freedom.—The first, like those of a part of the united states of America, have one single principle of decision, by which all questions on which judgment must be passed, and all affairs in which public safety requires an active part should be taken, are necessarily brought to a conclusion.

The other, on the contrary, like the English constitution, has a double or triple principle of decision. According to this, nothing less than the agreement of all the powers to which the right of deciding is confided, can produce a final determination, and the want of this agreement between these independent powers, can stop the activity of the social system.

If constitutions like this have been the result of the ancient customs of a nation—if at the moment in which they have assumed a regular form, those to whom they gave a right of acting in contradiction to the will of the people, have had the prudence never to practice this right; if, instead of an unity of principle established by law, their policy has substituted another (as in England, for example) the maxim of never resisting the two Houses of Parliament, and of never acting in contradiction even of one of them, except on extraordinary occasions, when the majority is weak and appears not to accord with the national will, then, indeed, such constitutions may continue for a long time without exciting troubles.

But if, on the contrary, the habit of disguising an essential and radical vice should not prevail; if in a first attempt those who exercised a negative right over the representatives of the people, have abused that right; if the nation has been informed of the inconveniences and dangers resulting from this combination of independent powers, then

such a constitution cannot but be fatal to the tranquility and the freedom of the citizens: then unity of principle becomes an essential condition of the social system, and the nation would be exposed to proceed from revolution to revolution, till it should arrive at this necessary simplicity; because it could no longer rest satisfied with possessing it in fact, as at present in England, for it could not suppose itself secure unless the principle were established by law.

Thus the unfortunate attempt made in France, to form a constitution with a double principle, has rendered its continuance impossible. Enlightened men foretold this: but their counsels were rejected. The person to whom the dangerous right of opposition was entrusted, as might have been foreseen, beheld in this right the means only of suspending the activity of the two powers, of betraying them with impunity, and by the aid of the constitution of destroying freedom.

From this time, therefore, foreign powers may contemplate France as directed to the future by one united will; and that, in her external connections, she can have no other motive for action, but that of safety and prosperity. All states, whatever their government, from the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, to the Republics of Basle and Zurich, from the Dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, to the cities of Hamburgh or of Franckfort, ought to consider France as the only barrier, over the whole continent, which can be opposed to the coalition of great monarchies, and the sole guarantee of the independence of inferior powers.

Mean time all ideas of a faction apart from the nation itself, of a will of the people of Paris distinct from that of the departments, all the chimeras credited by the Court of the Thuilleries, and of intriguing partisans, who call themselves constitutional, all the fables, under the guidance of which, Louis XVI. conducted his double conspiracy, no longer can deceive any man; and Europe cannot but be convinced, that Russia and Austria alone have an interest in troubling France; that the King of Prussia is the dupe of that ambition with which they have inspired him, and that his safety like that of the other independant states of Europe, is connected with the preservation of the power of France, which cannot be destroyed without dragging after it in its fall, the sovereignty and freedom of all other nations.

Such

Such is the point of view in which the revolution of the 10th of August cannot fail to be seen by men capable of reflection, whatever may be their country and their principles.

Whoever wish not to pass under the yoke of Catherine Francis, or William, all who hope to preserve their property, liberty, and some little honour, independant of *their* gracious will and pleasure, ought to combine with the French nation, and universally to unite in opposition to that vile swarm of marauders, who, under the name of French emigrants, have spread falsehood and corruption through foreign countries. What! Can the heroes who have served under FREDERIC the GREAT, DAUN, and LAUDON, descend to be the vile instruments of CALONNE, BRETEUIL, and BOUILLE, alternately fattened by the blood streaming from their slaves, and the intrigues of mistresses and ministers, the profits of which they partook?

Will the Prussian nation persist in making war on the French, who considered an alliance with Prussia as a means of escaping the snares laid by the court of LOUIS XV.!? A war made in favour of that very court which refused this alliance, and sacrificed the interest of France and the safety of Prussia to the ambition of the house of Austria? How can the European powers, who have acknowledged the PRINCE of ORANGE as the substitute of JAMES II. disapprove the elective council that has been substituted to the King of the French? Why cannot the French nation act relatively to LOUIS XVI. as the United Provinces of America have acted with respect to GEORGE III.?

Let us suppose that the French will form a constitution founded upon pure equality; that this constitution, proposed by a national convention in conformity to the will of the people, should be fully adopted by the nation; that no hereditary rights, no personal inviolability, no predominating power, dangerous to liberty, fully this constitution, nor oblige it to invent a counterpoise, an opposition of power to power, destrutive of simplicity and the operations of government; that the expression of the national convention will become one; that no resistance can impede it; that the people themselves appoint their own representatives, and that sage precautions prevent any inconveniencies which might arise from these two last institutions; will the powers of Europe then refuse to acknowledge us as acting for the nation,

nation, because we shall have rigorously followed the immutable principles of natural right? If so, they must avow, by their conduct, that the principle which are true in America are false in Europe; and that the same maxim is true or false, criminal or virtuous, according as their insidious policy requires.

The preceding translation, is copied with some slight alterations from the *Star*. It was deemed unnecessary to retranslate so short a piece. The succeeding exposition is translated expressly from the original.

An Exposition of the Motives, which induced the National Assembly to proclaim the Convocation of a National Convention, and to decree the Suspension of the Executive Power in the hands of the King.

Published by order of the National Assembly, 1792.

THE National Assembly, owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigid account of the motives which have determined their late decrees.—Impelled on the one hand, by the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and on the other, by that of saving their country—they have been desirous of fulfilling both at once; and of doing every thing which the public safety required, without usurping those powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, a body of Emigrants assembled upon the frontiers, corresponded with all those secret enemies of liberty who still remained in the departments, or mingled among the troops of the line: while fanatic priests raised scruples in the minds of the superstitious, and endeavoured to persuade the misguided people, that the constitution was hostile to the rights of conscience; and that the law had confided the functions of religion to the schismatic and the sacrilegious.

At length, a league formed between powerful monarchs, menaced the liberty of France. They deemed themselves entitled

entitled to fix that point at which the common interest of their despotic system might permit *us* to be free, and they flattered themselves with the expectation of seeing the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French nation, bow down before the armies of their slaves.

Hence, every thing announced a civil and a religious war, of which the evils were soon to be augmented by a foreign invasion.

The National Assembly thought it their duty to suppress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; against these decrees, the King applied the suspensive refusal, accorded to him by the constitution. These emigrants meanwhile, and these priests, acted in *the name of the King*; it was to establish what they called *his legitimate authority*, that the one took up arms, and the other preached treason and assassination. These emigrants, were the brothers of the King; his parents, his courtiers, his former guards. And while the connection of these facts and the conduct of the Monarch, not only authorized but compelled distrust, the refusal of his sanction, applied to decrees, which could not be suspended without being annihilated, evidently shewed that a veto intended by the law to be *suspensive*, but become from the circumstances of its application *definitive*, afforded the Monarch an unlimited and arbitrary power of annulling all such measures, as the legislative body deemed necessary to the maintenance of liberty.

From this moment, the people from one end of the empire to the other, began to shew those symptoms of general uneasiness, which announced a future storm; and suspicions levelled at the executive power, manifested themselves on every side.

The National Assembly was not discouraged. Princes, who called themselves allies of France, afforded the emigrants not merely an assylum, but the liberty of arming themselves and forming troops, of enlisting soldiers, and amassing necessaries for a war. The King was invited by a solemn message, on occasion of this infringement of the law of nations, to break that silence which had already lasted too long. He *seemed* to give way to the national will: preparations for war were directed; but it was soon perceived that negotiations carried on by a weak or plotting minister,

minister, availed no more, than to obtain ineffectual promises, which remaining unexecuted, could be regarded in no other light than as a snare or an affront.

The confederacy of Kings, however, proceeded with fresh activity: at the head of this confederacy, appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of the French, and allied to the French nation by a treaty advantageous to himself alone, and which the Constituent assembly, (deceived by the minister) had maintained, at the expence of an alliance with the house of Brandenburg.

The National Assembly deemed it essential to the security of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare whether he would be their ally, or their enemy: and to decide between two contradictory engagements, whereof the one called on him to assist, and the other to attack France: Engagements which he could no otherwise reconcile than by avowing an intention to separate the King from the nation, and to regard a war against the French people, as an assistance afforded to his French ally. The answer of the Emperor increased the distrust, which this combination of circumstances so naturally induced. He repeated, against the Assembly of national representatives, and against the popular societies established in our cities, the same absurd invectives, with which the emigrants and the partisans of the French minister had so long burthened the counter-revolution press. He protested his desire of remaining the ally of the King, and he acceded to a new league against France in support of the authority of the King of the French.

These leagues, these treaties, these intrigues of the Emigrants, who acted on these occasions in the King's name, were concealed by the King's ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no strong effort to prevent or to disperse the confederacy of Monarchs, had taken place, to convince the citizens of France or the people of Europe, that the King had sincerely joined his cause to the cause of the nation.

This evident connivance between the cabinet of the Tuilleries and that of Vienna, had struck every mind. The National Assembly thought it their duty to enter into a strict examination of the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs; and a decree of accusation against him was the result. His colleagues disappeared together with himself, and the King's council was then composed of patriotic ministers.

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The successor of LEOPOLD pursued his father's politics. He wished to exact for the Princes who held possessions in Alsace, a recompence incompatible with the French Constitution, and contrary to the independence of the nation. He required that France should betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the inhabitants of Avignon. He announced also further complaints, which he declared could not be discussed till the fate of arms had been tried.

The King seemed sensible that this provocation to hostilities, could not be tolerated without exhibiting the most ignominious weakness. He seemed to feel the perfidy of this language from an enemy who appeared to be interested on *his* account, and to desire *his* alliance for no other purpose but to sow discord between him and his people, to enervate our force, and to put a stop to, or confuse the movements of it. He therefore proposed war, with the unanimous advice of his counsel, and war was decreed.

By protecting the assemblage of emigrants, by permitting them to menace the frontiers, by providing troops ready to assist them in case of incipient success, by preparing them a retreat, and by persisting in a menacing confederacy, the King of Hungary compelled the French to make ruinous preparations of defence; he exhausted their finances, he encouraged the audacity of the conspirators, who were scattered among the departments, he excited disquiet among the citizens, and by that means fomented and perpetuated the public trouble. Never was a war justified by acts of hostility more decisive, and to declare war under such circumstances, was no more than to repel them.

The National Assembly was then enabled to judge how wretchedly all the preparations of defence had been neglected, notwithstanding the promises so often repeated. Nevertheless, the popular discontent and mistrust fell entirely on the former ministry, and the secret advisers of the king; but they soon saw the Patriotic Ministers, opposed in all their operations, attacked with acrimony by the Partizans of the Royal authority, and by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the King.

Our armies were harrassed by political divisions; and among the chiefs of the forces, discord was sown, as well as between the Generals and the Ministry. There was a manifest design of converting into the instruments of a party

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(who wished to substitute its will for the will of the nation) those very armies who were destined to the exterior defence of the kingdom, and to the maintenance of the national independence.

As the machinations of the the priests became more active on the eve of a war, a law to repress them became indispensable. Such a law was proposed. The formation of a camp near Paris, was excellently calculated for exterior departments, and to prevent those disturbances which their uneasiness might produce. The formation of this camp was decreed; but both these decrees were rejected by the King, and the Patriot Ministers were dismissed.

The Constitution had allowed the King a guard of 1800 men: this guard audaciously exhibited an incivic disposition, which excited indignation and fear among the citizens. An hatred of the Constitution, and above all, of Liberty and Equality, were the best titles of admission into this corps.

The Assembly was compelled to dissolve this guard, to prevent the disturbances, which it would speedily have created, and the conspiracies in favour of a Counter-Revolution, of which it already shewed too evident signs.

This decree received the Royal sanction. But it was followed by a Royal Proclamation in praise of the very men whom it dismissed, and whom it acknowledged to be justly accused of being hostile to the cause of Liberty.

The new Ministers were the objects of well grounded suspicion, but as this suspicion could not now be confined to them, it reached the King.

The refusal of his sanction to decrees, which circumstances made necessary, and of which the execution should have been prompt, and have ceased with the cause, was regarded in public estimation, as an application of a Constitutional privilege, in direct opposition to the spirit of the Constitution. The agitation of the Parisians was now extreme: an immense concourse of citizens, met to frame a petition.— They requested the recal of the Patriot Ministers, and the retraction of the King's refusal to sanction the decrees so evidently agreeable to the wishes of the public. They demanded permission to pass armed through the midst of the Assembly, after their petition had been read. This permission which other armed corps had before obtained, was accorded to the Petitioners. They desired to present a similar petition

to the King, and to present it according to the established legal forms. But at the instant when the municipal officers announced to the people, that their deputies, hitherto refused admittance, were about to be admitted, the door opened, and the crowd pressed into the Palace. The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the ascendance which his virtue and his Patriotism gave him over the people, and the presence of the National Representatives, (of whom successive deputations furrounded the monarch) prevented all disorders. And indeed, few collections of people so numerous have produced so little disorder.

The King had planted the ensigns of liberty; he had rendered justice to the citizens, by declaring that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them: the day of federation drew near: Citizens from all the departments were about to assemble at Paris, there to take an oath to support that liberty for whose sake they were going to battle on the Frontiers: past faults might now have been repaired. The ministers however, regarded the 20th of June in no other light than as a favourable opportunity to sow dissensions between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments; between the people and the army; between the different bodies of the National Guards; between the citizens who remained at their homes, and those who were marching to the Frontiers. By mourning the language of the King was altered. A proclamation replete with calumny was industriously circulated among the armies: one of the Generals* in the name of his troops, came to demand vengeance, and to mark out his victims. A considerable number of directories of the department, in the unconstitutional *Arrets* which they issued, gave a glimpse of a project which they had long formed, and by which they were to form themselves into an intermediate power between the people and the representatives between the Assembly and the King. In the very palace of the Thuilleries, some justices of peace, had commenced obscure processes, in which they expected to involve those of the patriots whom they deemed most formidable for their vigilance or their abilities. Already one of these justices had attempted an attack on the personal inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan not ill contrived, to give an arbitrary extension to the royal authority, by means of the forms of judicial proceedings.

* Fayette.

ings. Letters from the minister of the home department, directed force to be employed against the Federates, who were on their road to Paris, there to take an oath to fight for the cause of liberty; and all the activity of the National Assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of enlightened citizens were necessary to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of anarchy so evidently tending to light up the flames of a civil war. A patriotic movement in the National Assembly, had stifled by a fraternal union, the unhappy dissensions which too frequently broke forth there, and might yet have given birth to means of safety. The processes instituted by the command of the King, and under the direction of the Comptroller of the civil list, might have been stopt. The virtuous Perion, punished by an unjust suspension for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the King, and it was possible that the long train of faults and of treacheries might still have been attributed to those perfidious advisers, to whom the too credulous people had long been in the habit of ascribing the crimes of their Kings.

The Assembly now perceived that extraordinary measures were necessary to the safety of the public.

They commenced a discussion on the means of saving their country; and they appointed a committee to consider and prepare a report.

The declaration that the country was in danger, summoned all the citizens to the common defence, and all the public functionaries to their respective posts. Nevertheless, in the midst of these incessant complaints on the inaction of Government on the evident negligence or ill contrivance of the preparations for war, on movements of the army, either useless or dangerous, and of which the acknowledged intention was, to favour the political designs of one of the Generals,—the public beheld, unknown or suspected ministers employed in rapid succession, and exhibiting under new names, the old system of inactivity, and the same principles of conduct.

The manifesto of one of the enemies' commanders, who denounced death to every advocate of freedom, and who promised his inglorious protection to cowards and to traitors, reasonably augmented the public suspicions. The enemy of France, seemed busied entirely in defence of the French King. Twenty-six millions of people were, in his estimation,

of no consequence whatever, in comparison with a titled family; the blood of the multitude was to overspread the land in revenge for the slightest affronts; and the King instead of testifying his indignation against a manifesto, calculated to deprive him of the people's confidence, reluctantly opposed to it, a cold and timid disavowal.

Who then can be surprized that the popular distrust of the executive magistrate should inspire the citizens with a desire of seeing the King, (in whose name the kingdom was attacked) deprived of the disposal of those forces which were destined to the common defence? that King, to whom the care of maintaining internal tranquility was committed, while *his* particular interests were the open pretext of all the troubles!

To these motives, common to the whole people of France, others were joined, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the relations of the conspirators at Coblenz, compose the constant and familiar society of the King, and of his family. Writers, bribed by the civil list meanwhile, were endeavouring by treacherous calumnies to render the Parisians odious to or suspected by the rest of France. They attempted to sow discord between the poor and the rich citizens. Perfidious manœuvres were employed to agitate the National Guard, and to form among them a royal party. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed divided between Paris and Coblenz, and their boldness increased with their numbers.

The constitution charged the King to notify to the National Assembly, imminent hostilities, but long solicitations were necessary to obtain from the minister the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced against the King, a legal abdication of the throne, if he did not oppose by some formal operations, those hostilities which were commenced against the nation in his name. The emigrant princes, had hired in his name, regiments of Frenchmen; they had composed for his use a military establishment out of France; and these facts were known above six months, before the King, (whose public declarations and protests to foreign powers might have put a stop to these manœuvres) fulfilled the duty imposed on him by the constitution, by informing the Assembly.

It was in consequence of motives thus powerful, that the numerous petitions from a great number of departments, and

and the vote of several sections of Paris, followed by a vote of the whole commonalty (*le commune*) solicited the forfeiture of the King, or the suspension of the royal authority, and the Assembly, therefore, could no longer refuse to discuss this great question.

It was the duty of the Assembly, to declare only in consequence of a mature and profound examination, of a solemn discussion, and a duly weighing of every opinion advanced. But the patience of the people was exhausted: all on a sudden they seemed again united for one common purpose, and in one common will. They proceeded to the residence of the King, who sought an asylum in the bosom of the Assembly of the representatives of the people; well knowing that the fraternal union between the inhabitants of Paris, and the citizens of the departments, rendered that assembly a *sacred* asylum.

National Guards were charged to defend the residence which the King had abandoned: but among them Swiss soldiers had been placed. The people had for a long time, with surprize and disquiet, seen battalions of Swiss soldiers partake the duty of guarding the King, altho' the constitution forbade his having a foreign guard. It was for a long time easy to foresee that this direct violation of the law, which from its nature was obvious to every citizen, would sooner or later be the cause of great disturbances. The National Assembly had neglected no means of preventing them. Reports, discussions, motions by individual members referred to committees, had forewarned the King for some months past, of the necessity of disbanding from his immediate employ, men, whom in every other place and situation the French had always regarded as friends and brethren; but whom they could not behold in the immediate service of a constitutional King, and in despite of the constitution, without suspecting them as having become the enemies of liberty.

A decree of the Assembly had disbanded them: but their chief, supported by the minister, demanded alterations in it. The Assembly consented. One part of the soldiery was to remain in Paris, but without any such employment as might create public uneasiness: it was therefore in despite of a decree of the Assembly, and in despite of the law, that on the 10th of August they were employed upon a duty, from which every principle of prudence and humanity should have

have driven them. They received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the very moment when these latter invited them to peace; and when signs of friendship of the most unequivocal nature declared their acceptance of the invitation; and at the very moment when a deputation from the National Assembly was advancing in the midst of the armed troops, to bring offers of reconciliation and to prevent carnage. After this, nothing could put a stop to the resentment of the people, who experienced a new act of treachery at the very time when they came to complain of those repeated acts of the same nature, of which they had so long been the victims.

In the midst of these disasters, the National Assembly, afflicted, but calm, took the oath to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their post: they took the oath to save their country, and they proceeded to investigate the means.

Of these they saw but one: and that was to recur to the supreme will of the people, and to invite them to exercise in the first instance that inalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution had acknowledged, and to which it had no right to affix any bounds. The public interest required that the people should declare their will, by means of a National Convention, formed from among the people, and invested with unrestricted powers: it equally required that the members of this convention should be chosen in each department in an uniform and regular manner. But the Assembly could not restrain the power of the sovereign people, from whom alone that Assembly derived its own authority. It was a duty incumbent therefore on the National Representatives to restrict themselves to an earnest request, that the people would follow the simple regulations which the Assembly had traced out. It respected the forms of proceeding already appointed, because new modes, even had they been preferable in themselves, would have occasioned delay, and perhaps divisions. It reserved none of the conditions of eligibility, no restrictions on the right of electing or being elected, established by former laws, because those laws which are themselves so many retractions on the right of sovereignty, could not be applicable to a National Convention wherein that right ought to be exerted with perfect independence. Neither did the distinction between the *active* and *passive* citizens find place; for that also
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was a restriction of law. The only conditions required, were those that nature herself had imposed, such as the necessity of dwelling upon the territory where the right of voting was exercised, to be of the age whereat the laws of the land presume a capability of exercising personal right; and lastly to have preserved an independance of choice.

But time was necessary to collect together new representatives of the people; and altho' the National Assembly had hastened the periods of operation which the Convention required; altho' it had accelerated the moment when it should cease to bear the weight of public affairs, that it might avoid the slightest suspicion of ambitious designs—the term of forty days, would nevertheless have exposed the kingdom to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous movements, if the King had been permitted to retain the powers vested in him by the constitution: and the suspension of these powers seemed to the representatives of the people, the only method of preserving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the Assembly did not exceed its powers. The constitution authorized it to pronounce a suspension, in the case of the King's absence, where the length of such absence did not induce a *legal abdication*; that is to say, in the case where there was not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but where a provisional rigour was evidently necessary—where it would have been manifestly absurd to leave the power in hands where it could not freely or usefully be employed. But in the case in question, the conditions required are found conjoined with the very kind of evidence to which the constitution had looked forward; and in conducting ourselves by the principles traced out by that constitution, so far from having been guilty of a breach of our oaths toward it, we have obeyed it.

The constitution had foreseen, that all accumulation of powers, was dangerous, and might change the representatives of the people into their tyrants. But it judged also, that this danger implied a long exercise of that extraordinary power; and the period of two months, was the term it fixed for the existence of every case, wherein it permitted such a re-union, which in other respects it had so severely prescribed.

The National Assembly far from prolonging its duration, reduced it to 40 days only; and instead of extending on
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the plea of necessity, the term prescribed by the law, it willingly confined itself within limits still more narrow.

The constitution has declared, that when the power of giving sanction to the laws is suspended, the legislative body itself shall possess that character and authority. And since he to whom the constitution had accorded the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new regulation should place that choice in other hands. The assembly thought it right to assume that office themselves; since it could not be given unless to such electors (of ministers) as would belong to the nation at large; and the assembly itself was of that description. But that assembly would not permit even a suspicion of interested or ambitious views to attach to it on this occasion; and it was decreed therefore, that the election should be conducted by open voice; that such of the members should pronounce his choice, before the national representatives and before the numerous citizens who are usually present at the sittings of the Assembly. It was desired that such of its members, should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for his witness, and that he should be responsible for his choice to the nation at large.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against a foreign tyranny, which has dared to menace with its vengeance, twenty-six million of freemen. In six weeks, an authority which every citizen will acknowledge, will decide upon our differences. Ill befall that man, who during that short space shall be occupied by personal and interested passions or motives; who shall not devote himself completely to the common defence; who will not see, that from the moment when the sovereign will of the people shall make itself known, France has no other enemies, than the conspirators of Pilnitz and their accomplices.

It is in the midst of a foreign war, and while numerous armies are preparing a formidable invasion, that we invite the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly the rights of freedom. What with other people would have been deemed rash, has not appeared to us beyond the courage and the patriotism of Frenchmen; we know that we shall not experience the unhappiness of disappointment, in judging you worthy of forgetting every interest but the interest of Liberty, and of sacrificing every sentiment to the love of your country.

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Citizens,

Citizens, it is for you to decide, whether your representatives have employed the authority with which you have entrusted them, for your happiness ; whether they have fulfilled your views in using that authority in a way and upon an occasion, which neither they nor you could foresee. For our parts we have fulfilled our duty, in boldly seizing upon the only means which occurred to us as effectual to the salvation of our country. Ready to meet death at the post to which you have appointed us, we shall at least carry with us on quitting it, the consolation of having well served. Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we have not to dread the decision of our own conscience : to whatever danger we may be exposed, we shall have the satisfaction remaining of having prevented streams of French blood, which a more indecisive conduct would infallibly have produced ; we shall at least escape from the stings of remorse, nor shall we have to represent to ourselves that we saw the means of saving our country, but feared to adopt them.

(Signed)

GUADET, *President*

GOUJON

G. ROMME

MARANS

CRESTIN

ARENA

LECOINTE-PURRAVAUX, *Secretaries.*

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