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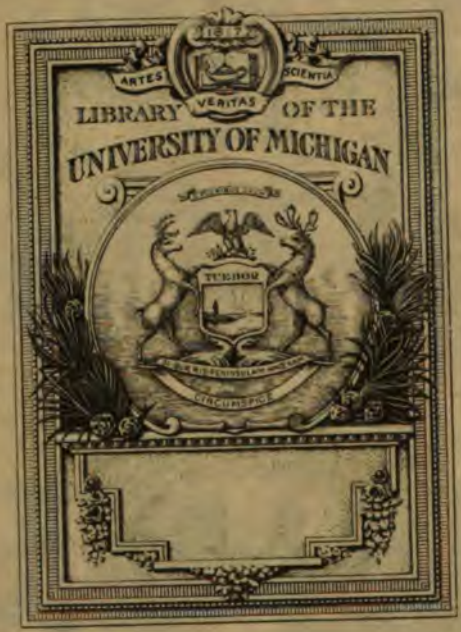

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BIOGRAPHICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.

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BIOGRAPHICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MICHEL LEPELLETIER DE SAINT FARGEAU.

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THE family of Lepelletier was originally of Mans, where records of its eſtabliſhment were preſerved as far back as the year 1508. His father was a judge, and filled that office with remarkable ſeverity. His family.

The ſubject of theſe memoirs was bred to the profeſſion of the law, and attained the important and honorable office of *preſident à Mortier*, in the parliament of Paris [a]. Birth and profeſſion.

Before the revolution, Lepelletier was remarkably unobtruſive; he forbore interfering in the diſputes between his body and the crown [b]; would not aſſume titles of nobility, though he poſſeſſed ſeveral counties and marquiſates in his own right [c]; and principally employed himſelf in the improvement of the very large property he derived from his father. His great wealth procured him the reputation of being proud and avaricious, and his making ſo unimportant a figure with ſo many advantages, gave riſe to an opinion very derogatory to his talents [d]. He was, however, a member of the ſociety *des Amis des Noirs*, and Conduct previous to the revolution,

[a] Dictionnaire de la Nobleſſe. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 232.

[b] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 220.

[c] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 347.

[d] Madame Roland calls him "a poor rich man," *homme foible et riche.* Appel. vol. ii. p. 72. But the author of the *Apologie des Projets*, &c. who is not to be ſuſpected of partiality towards Lepelletier, allows him to have poſſeſſed wit, learning, and vigor of intellect, p. 220.

considered of importance sufficient to be one of the regulating committee [e].

in the constituent assembly.

He was a member of the constituent assembly, where his eloquence procured him no admiration, but from the beginning of the revolution he attached himself to Orleans, and never deserted his party. In this he was influenced by the timidity of avarice, and the desire of increasing his store; he was persuaded that nothing but the friendship of the predominating party could rescue him from proscription, and was amused with expectations, which applied to his prevailing and insatiable passion, and produced a firm adherence to men, from whose conduct the purity of his mind might have led him to revolt [f]. He was president of the assembly at that famous sitting; when an inconsiderate emulation led the nobility and clergy to sacrifice all their rights and privileges, and spoke with some effect on the question concerning the abolition of titles [g].

4th August 1789.

19th June 1790.

Forms the penal code.

His principal labor was the formation of the penal code in the new constitution, which gave rise to many debates. His mind was by nature disposed to mercy and gentleness, and though the grafting of modern philosophy on a student of the old jurisprudence, sometimes produced a grotesque, sometimes an immoral effect; yet all his notions were derived from laudable sources, and many of them had an appearance of rectitude and propriety. He was, at first, for abolishing pains of death, confining the punishment of crimes to civic degradation, public exposure, solitary imprisonment, chains, or hard labor, according to the magnitude of the offence. This innovation was too great for him to carry, but he succeeded in obtaining a suppression of all tortures or superadded punishments, or, to use his own phrase, "re-

[e] Memoire du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 447.
[f] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 295. Apologie, &c. ubi supra.
[g] Impartial History, vol. i. p. 185. 347. Debates.

"duced

"duced the ſentence of death, to the privation of life." In other parts of his code he betrayed great want of judgment, and ſhewed himſelf completely bewildered in the labyrinths of pretended philoſophy. He attempted, with a correctneſs truly ridiculous, to fix the proportions of puniſhment to be inflicted on an unnatural ſon, who maimed his parent, ſo as to make the extent of the penalty, exactly commenſurate to the nature of the injury. He endeavoured to obtain for malefactors a period of three days to appeal againſt their ſentence, or move in arreſt of judgment; he aboliſhed whipping and branding of criminals, but, on the other hand, he gave to primary aſſemblies an undefined power of correctional puniſhment, and inflicted four years impriſonment on the perſon who ſhould ſtrike a public functionary. He was the parent of two monſters in the juriſprudential ſyſtem, which fruſtrated all the humanity of his intentions; namely, that juries ſhould decide on the law, the fact, and the intention of the parties, and ſhould apply the puniſhment; and that the crown ſhould be deprived of the power of pardoning. He was the firſt who introduced the practice of the preſident putting on his hat in caſes of tumult which his authority was inſufficient to reſtrain [h]. 26th June 1790.

From the diſſolution of the conſtituent aſſembly, he remained in obſcurity; he made no figure at the Jacobin club, and I find no trace of him in any public tranſaction, except an addreſs, which, as preſident of the department of Yonne, he preſented to the legiſlative aſſembly, on the ſubject of the war, and which was ordered to be printed, and procured him the honors of the ſitting [i]. Preſents an addreſs to the legiſlative aſſembly, 20th December 1791.

He was returned to the national convention for the department of Yonne, but was as little diſtin- Member of the convention.

[h] See the Debates of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, from the 23d of May 1791 to its diſſolution; and for the laſt fact, Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 153.

[i] Debates.

guiſhed, as in the preceding part of his career. He ſhewed his attachment to the Mountain, and more particularly to Orleans, by voting againſt the Briſſotine motion for a law againſt the inſtigators of murder, alleging as a reaſon, that it would be a reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs. His conduct reſpecting the king's trial is involved in much doubt and uncertainty. It is ſaid, on one hand, that he had made an oath never to vote for the death of any perſon, but that Orleans, fearing the queſtion of the king's condemnation would be loſt, partly by terror, and partly by promiſes, influenced him to change his determination, and to bring over twenty-five members who had reſolved to vote as he did [k]. In ſupport of this aſſertion, Briſſot ſays, that Lepelletier, at the committee of legiſlation, in the preſence of twenty witneſſes, defended the propriety of an appeal to the people, and ſaid, if the appeal was not carried, it would be moſt adviſable to vote for the impriſonment of the king [l]. But I do not conſider it at all certain, that he ever intended to ſhew any mercy to the impriſoned ſovereign, or to vote otherwiſe than as the faction to whom he had attached himſelf ſhould direct. Long before the period alluded to by Briſſot, he brought up an addreſs from the friends of the republic at Auxerre, in which were theſe expreſſions: "Nations wait with anxiety for the ſen-"tence you are about to paſs on Louis XVI. Let it "be *terrible and ſpeedy;* let it make the tyrants of "the earth tremble.—Let the blood of the moſt "worthleſs of conſpirators expiate his crimes *without* "*delay*[m]." It is very improbable that a man who favoured ſuch an addreſs, ſhould be an advocate for an appeal to the people, or for any other meaſure tending to ſave the king. But a ſtronger proof ariſes from the opinion on this buſineſs, which he, like

30th October 1792. His conduct reſpecting the king.

27th November 1792.

[k] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 232. Pagès Hiſtoire Secrete, vol. ii. p. 255.

[l] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 18. n. [m] Debates.

many

many others, had publiſhed pending the trial; in which he ſaid, that, "if the repreſentatives of the "people openly betrayed their cauſe, by pronoun- "cing againſt their conſcience, the acquittal of the "tyrant, then the people would have a right of inſur- "rection; that is to ſay, a right of withdrawing their "confidence from their treacherous deputies." He was afterwards reproached by Petion in the convention for this very declaration [a]. 5th January 1793.

He voted for the ſentence of death, and againſt the appeal to the people. The day of the king's execution, he went to dine at a coffee-houſe in the *Jardin de l'Egalité*. Six perſons came from an adjoining apartment, and one of them ſaid, "There is "that ſcoundrel Lepelletier."—"My name is Lepelletier," he anſwered; "but I am no ſcoundrel."—"Did you not vote for the death of the king?" ſaid the aſſaſſin. "I did," anſwered the deputy; "but "that was a duty impoſed on me by my conſcience." Hardly had he uttered theſe words, when the perſon to whom they were addreſſed, plunged a ſabre in his body, and made his eſcape. The wounded deputy was taken home, and expired at one o'clock the next morning. His death. 21ſt January.

Such is the account of this event given in the convention, and publiſhed by their authority. The Mountain availed themſelves of the pretended circumſtances, to impute the fact to their political antagoniſts; their declamations in the convention, the addreſs of the Jacobin club to the affiliated ſocieties and to the legiſlative body, dwell ſtrongly on this fact, and it tended very much to deſtroy the popularity of the Briſſotines [b]. But there are many improbabilities in the narrative; particularly that ſo long a converſation, and ſo deliberate a murder, ſhould take place Obſervations on its eff. &c.

[a] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 194.

[b] See Debates in the Convention, 21ſt January, 8th and 25th February, 1793. See alſo Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 130. 341. 346. Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 27. n.

in a public coffee-houſe, in the moſt frequented part of Paris, and yet the aſſaſſin eſcape, without any effort being made to detain him. It is ſaid, on the other ſide, that the man who murdered him, uttered a few haſty reproaches, and then perpetrated the deed; that St. Fargeau fell, and immediately expired, uttering only the words, "*J'ai froid,*" *I am cold*[p]. We are told, that the deceaſed, at the moment of expiring, uttered a fine ſentence, which was engraved on his tomb; but this is very improbable. No mention was made of it in the firſt report of the affair to the convention, and the fiction was obviouſly calculated to anſwer two views; to counteract the impreſſion of the laſt words of the monarch, and to excite ſuſpicions of the Briſſotines, by the hope they contain, that the death of the ſpeaker would *unmaſk the enemies of the republic.*

31ſt January 1793.

Death of Paris, his ſuppoſed murderer.

Ten days after Lepelletier's death, his preſumed aſſaſſin was diſcovered, at Forges les Eaux. He was an ex-guard of the king, named Paris. After the death of Lepelletier, a ſearch had been directed, which took place the 29th, on which day Paris is ſuppoſed to have made his eſcape; he purſued his way to Forges, where he arrived the 31ſt. The manner in which he behaved at the inn exciting ſome ſuſpicions, a guard was ſent for; and while they were putting ſome queſtions to him, he blew out his brains, *with a double-barrelled piſtol, loaded with two chewed bullets*[q]. When he was ſtripped, two papers were found next his ſtomach; the *tender-hearted* Tallien declined ſhewing them to the convention, becauſe, being ſtained with blood, they were a diſguſting ſpectacle; but, on his word, one of them contained theſe expreſſions: "My BREVET OF HONOR."—"Let no one be moleſted. No one was my accomplice in the fortunate execution of the villain St.

[p] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 241. Pagès Hiſtoire Secrete, vol. ii. p. 70.

[q] Tallien's Report to the Convention, February 5th.

"Fargeau.

" Pargeau. If he had not fallen, I would have done " a more praiſe-worthy action, I would have purged " the country of the regicide, the patricide, the par- " ricide, Orleans.—Let no one be moleſted.—The " French are a nation of daſtards, to whom I leave " theſe words :

" Peuple, dont les forfaits jettent partout l'effroi,
" Avec calme et plaiſir j'abandonne la vie,
" Ce n'eſt que par la mort qu'on peut fuir l'infamie
" Qu'imprime ſur nos fronts le ſang de notre roi."

Frenchmen, whoſe crimes, the univerſe affright,
Life I reſign, with calmneſs and delight;
By death alone I ſhun the dire diſgrace,
Which our king's blood, ſtamps on each Frenchman's face.

On this abſurd narrative I ſhall make no comment. The following extract from madame Roland, will enable the reader to form his own conjectures :

" The aſſaſſination of Lepelletier is ſtill a kind of " myſtery; but I ſhall never forget two circum- " ſtances, which I will relate in this place : 1ſt, That I " ſaw all the perſons who are at this day proſcribed, " in deſpair at the event; I ſaw Buzot and Louvet " ſighing, and ſhedding tears of anger, under a " perſuaſion *that ſome bold mountaineer had perpe-* " *trated this action, to attribute it to the right ſide,* " *and to make it the means of exciting the popular fa-* " *naticiſm againſt them.* 2d, That Gorſas, declaring " pretty plainly the ſame opinion, adds, that in all " probability *the aſſaſſin would never be diſcovered,* " *or would not be brought forward alive.* It is true " that a Pariſian mountaineer, employed with another " to ſearch after the aſſaſſin, met with Paris in Nor- " mandy, in a public houſe, where they ſaid he " blew out his brains. It is alſo true that the Moun- " tain made a kind of ſaint of Lepelletier, a ſilly,

"rich man, who certainly never expected any ſuch "thing, having joined them through fear; the only "eſſential ſervice he ever rendered them was, in dy-"ing as he did".

Funeral and poſthumous honors.

The honors paid to St. Fargeau, after his deceaſe, form an extraordinary contraſt with the inſignificance of his life. Robeſpierre himſelf made the motion, that his body ſhould be depoſited in the Pantheon, and that the convention ſhould attend his funeral.

24th January.

The ceremony was performed with the utmoſt grandeur and ſolemnity. The pedeſtal in the *place Vendôme*, on which the ſtatue of Louis XIV. formerly ſtood, was adorned with a drapery of white crape, with feſtoons of oak and cypreſs. On each ſide were placed vaſes with frankincenſe, and on two of its faces were written, in letters of gold, the ſuppoſed laſt words of Lepelletier: "I am content to ſhed my blood for "my country; I hope it will conſolidate liberty "and equality, and unmaſk our enemies." At eight o'clock in the morning, detachments of volunteers and national guards, with fifes and muffled drums, were on the ground. At eleven, the body of Lepelletier, ſtark naked to ſhew his wound, was brought from his brother's houſe, and depoſited on the pedeſtal. The members of the convention arrived at twelve; the preſident placed a civic garland on the head of the deceaſed; a funeral oration was pronounced, after which a proceſſion ſet out from the *place Vendôme*, to the *Pantheon*, in the following order:

A Company of Miners.
A Banner.
A Troop of Horſe.
A Body of Pikemen.
The Tables of the Law.
A Body of Horſe.

* Appel à l'impartiale Poſterité, vol. ii. p. 71.

A Ban-

A Banner.
The Declaration of the Rights of Man.
A Corps of Cannoneers.
The Statue of Liberty.
Detachment of Federates.
The *Faſces* of the 84 Departments, carried by Federates.
Muffled Drums and Fifes.
The Banner of the Republic.
Twelve Huiſſiers.
The Preſident of the Convention, ſurrounded by the Honorary Secretaries.
The Members of the National Convention two and two

THE BODY OF LEPELLETIER.

This was reclining on the bed on which he died, the ſheets of which were drenched with his blood.
The Corpſe was naked, in order to diſplay his ghaſtly wound.

On one ſide of the Corpſe,
The Sabre of the Aſſaſſin ſuſpended from a Pike;
On the other,
The Clothes which he had on when he was murdered.
The Family and Relations of the Deceaſed.
A Banner, with the dying Deputy's laſt Words inſcribed upon it.
Warlike Muſic. [The Drums and Fifes, &c. muffled.]
The Proviſional Executive Council.
A Body of Pikemen.
The Directory of the Department.
A Body of Horſe.
The Municipality of Paris.
A Detachment of Cannoneers.
A Number of Mothers with their Children.
A Band of Pikemen.
The Electoral Body of Paris.
Eight Huiſſiers.
The Members of the Courts of Juſtice.
A Body of Federates.

A Scar-

A Scarlet Bonnet.
The Jacobin Society.
A Body of Federates.
A Body of Horſe.
A Company of Pioneers.

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This proceſſion laſted two hours, during which, the muſic of the national guards performed a funeral dirge. The remains of Lepelletier were depoſited in the Pantheon, in a niche between thoſe of Voltaire and Mirabeau. The muſic played ſeveral airs; the brother of the deceaſed delivered an oration in his praiſe; the members of the convention ſwore to preſerve union and confraternity, and to ſave the country; and the ceremony concluded with a grand chorus to Liberty [s].

But this was not the only ſtep taken to perpetuate his memory; the ſection *des filles St. Thomas* took his name, and one of the ſhips of the republic was called after him. Forty-eight feaſts were given in honor of him and Marat; mauſoleums were erected to him in every commune; his buſt was in all the temples, and theatres, and, throughout the departments, was to be ſeen in almoſt every houſe; Robeſpierre himſelf placed it on the altar of the Supreme Being, the day he made his abſurd and ſacrilegious feaſt [t].

Lepelletier, at the time of his death, was on the point of forming a matrimonial engagement with Madame de Fontenay, daughter of the famous Gabarus, who was ſo long perſecuted by the inquiſition [u]. His property was inherited by his brother, of whom M. de Montgaillard ſpeaks with great ſeverity [x].

[s] See the French journals and Engliſh newſpapers of the time.
[t] Etat de la France, par M. le Comte de Montgaillard, p. 70. Suite du même, p. 36.
[u] Political State of Europe, vol. iii. p. 179.
[x] Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 73.

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The day after the performance of Lepelletier's funeral ceremony, his two brothers attended at the bar of the convention, with his infant daughter, and one of them holding her up, exclaimed with ſobs, "People, "behold your child!" The convention immediately paſſed a decree, that ſhe was adopted by the nation[7]. 25th January. His daughter adopted by the nation.

7 Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 352.

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PIERRE MANUEL.

Birth and education. MANUEL was ſon of a linen-draper [a] at Montargis; he received a liberal education, and, early in life, went to Paris, without money, and almoſt without recommendation, to improve his fortune by the exerciſe of his abilities. He commenced author, and produced a few works, the names of which are now no longer remembered. His literary efforts were ſo ill recompenſed, that he hired himſelf to a banker in Paris, as tutor to his children, for which he was allowed a thouſand livres (43 *l.* 15 *s.*) a-year. He was afterwards retained by M. de Sartines, as a ſpy for the police, in the department of publications [b], but being of a diſpoſition rather to diſſeminate ſcandal than to ſuppreſs it, he turned his pen againſt the court, and wrote a pamphlet reſpecting the famous affair of the necklace, intitled "*Lettre d'un Garde du Roi.*" This publication, together with the ſuſpicion of his being engaged in ſelling prohibited works, occaſioned his impriſonment. He ſays he was confined in the Baſtille [c], but his enemies affect to deprive him of that honor, and ſay that the place of his retreat was the *Bicêtre*. He was ſoon enlarged, and returned to Montargis, where he ſupported himſelf by hawking about prohibited and indecent books [d],

Writes libels.

Is impriſoned.

3d February 1786.

7th April 1786.

Diſcharged.

[a] Baſtille dévoillée, 3e livraiſon, p. 105. Many perſons have ſaid that Manuel's father was a potter.

[b] Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 45.

[c] Baſtille dévoillée, 3e livraiſon, p. 105.

[d] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 249.

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This livelihood, thus obtained, was ſcanty and precarious; he therefore, once again, repaired to Paris, and reſumed his labors as an author, by a publication called *L'Année Françoiſe*, intended as a courſe of juvenile biography, in which he applied to every day in the year the life of ſome illuſtrious Frenchman. Manuel's ſtyle is diſguſting from affectation and pedantry; his work was unfavorably treated by the critics, and the author was reduced to the ſituation of a newſman and bill-ſticker [e]. His poverty.

While he was thus ſtruggling againſt poverty, the revolution commenced, and promiſed more advantageous employment. After the deſtruction of the Baſtille, he became a Jacobin, and was taken into the protection of the duke of Orleans, but did not receive from him any effectual ſupply [f]. He was, however, named proviſionally to the adminiſtration of the police, in the department of Paris. In this ſituation, he obtained acceſs to many original papers, and ſelected from them ſuch as he thought he could afterwards advantageouſly diſpoſe of to the bookſellers [g]. The formation of a more permanent body of police occaſioned Manuel's diſmiſſion, before he had time to gain any conſiderable advantages from his employ. He occupied himſelf for ſome time in preparing for the preſs theſe papers he had ſo unfairly obtained, and, in about a year, produced in two octavo volumes *La Police de Paris dévoillée*. This work affords a copious collection of all the abuſes, real and pretended, which were attributed to the old government. It gave the compiler an opportunity of gratifying his habitual rancor againſt prieſts, and againſt religion; he has abuſed both in the coarſeſt and moſt unqualified terms. It had conſiderable ſucceſs, which was probably much increaſed by exaggerated accounts of the miſery of

1789. Conduct at the revolution.

1791. Publiſhes La Police dévoillée.

[e] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 240.
[f] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 146.
[g] Mercure Françoiſe, No. du 19 Mai 1792, p. 209.

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the lower clafs of people in England, and by the fuggeſtions of an approaching revolution [h].

December 1791. Publiſhes Mirabeau's letters.

At the diſſolution of the conſtituent aſſembly, he was looked upon as a republican, but he was for ſome time afterwards attached to the intereſts of the duke of Orleans [i]. Still Manuel was not opulent, he lived in a garret, at the houſe of Garnery the bookſeller, where he employed himſelf in decyphering, preparing for the preſs, and correcting the proofs of another book, which his breach of truſt enabled him to publiſh. It was intitled, *Lettres originales de Mirabeau, ecrites du Donjon de Vincennes, pendent les Années* 1777, 78, 79, *et* 80; *contenant tous les details ſur ſa vie privée, ſes malheurs, et ſes amours avec Sophie Ruffei marquiſe de Monnier.* The intereſt excited by every thing relating to Mirabeau, promiſed an extenſive and rapid ſale; Manuel received from the bookſellers two thouſand crowns (250 *l.*) for the copy [k]. But the creditors of Mirabeau, who conſidered themſelves better entitled to the produce of this publication than any other perſon, obtained an order from an adminiſtrator of the police, named Maugis, authorizing them to ſeize the original letters, and prevent a continuation of the impreſſion. Manuel exclaimed loudly againſt this proceeding, which, for violence and ſuddenneſs, was open to the imputation of illegality; he had the addreſs to put himſelf on the footing of Chamfort, and other honeſt proprietors of Mirabeau's letters, and by clamorous appeals to the people, by abuſe, and threats, ſilenced all oppoſition. The public expectation was grievouſly diſappointed; the letters added nothing to Mirabeau's fame, nor was the tranſaction which procured, or the preface which

[h] See the work itſelf, publiſhed by De Boffe, London; alſo Mercure François Litteraire, du 23 Juillet 1791.

[i] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 474. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 131. 146. Eloge Funebre, &c. par M. Montjoye, p. 106.

[k] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 240.

uſhered

ushered them into notice, at all advantageous to Manuel[l].

Previous to this publication, he was named *procureur syndique* to the *commune* of Paris. He owed this elevation to his connection with the Jacobins, but did not obtain it without a struggle. M. Bosquillon, a justice of peace, of the most amiable and virtuous character, opposed his election, alleging several circumstances tending to disqualify him. Manuel surmounted this opposition by the same means he employed against Mirabeau's creditors, but he never forgave Bosquillon, and, in the end, sacrificed him to his revenge[m]. This appointment put Manuel in possession of fifteen thousand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*) a-year, besides an extensive patronage[n]. November 1791. 1742. Made procureur to the commune.

In this situation he gave so many proofs of personal disrespect, and behaved with so much insolence to the king, that he obtained the nickname of *l'anti Roi*, a name with which he was not displeased[o]. His brutality was displayed on every occasion, and he omitted no endeavour to render the king's situation irksome and insupportable. His principal motive for this conduct is said to have been the hope of inducing or compelling the king to a second flight, which would have amounted to an abdication of the throne, and paved a way for the advancement of Orleans[p]. This project, worthy the pitiful machiavelism of Petion and Manuel, being frustrated by the king's resolute adherence to the constitution, it was resolved by the Rolandist faction to abridge his power, and secure their own, by a popular commotion. To effect this, Manuel placarded the walls with libel- 1792. Treatment of the royal family.

[l] See the postscript to the preface, Lettres Originales, vol. i. p. 43. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 240. and the letters themselves.

[m] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 139. See also Mercure François, No. du 10 Decembre 1791.

[n] Mercure François, No. du 19 Mai 1792.

[o] Idem, No. du 9 Juin 1792, p. 131.

[p] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 170. 173. 187. Eloge Funebre, &c. p. 176.

lous

lous invectives againſt the royal family, and aſſiſted with all his power in exciting the commotions of the
20th June. twentieth of June [q]. He was, on that day, in the garden of the Tuilleries, without his municipal ſcarf, laughing, clapping his hands, encouraging the mob to perſiſt in their outrages, and aſſiſting to take away the barrier of tri-colored riband, which alone protected the perſons of the royal priſoners [r].

6th July. Suſpended. His miſconduct was ſo notorious, that he was proviſionally ſuſpended from his office [s], but the influence of the Jacobins was exerted in his favour. The moment the decree made by the directory of the department of Paris was read to the council-general of the commune, Petion, who was ſuſpended as well as Manuel, withdrew; Danton roſe, and exclaimed, "Let all good citizens follow the mayor to the national aſſembly!" He and ſome of his party accordingly went out, but the majority of the council continued their deliberations [t]. Frequent applications were made to the aſſembly in behalf of the ſuſpended officers; the journaliſts repeatedly aſſerted that the true reaſon of their diſgrace was, that they had refuſed to obey the court in ſhedding the blood of citizens, and commencing a civil war [u]. The king
7th July. wrote to the aſſembly, declining all interference in the buſineſs, on account of its perſonal reference to himſelf. Manuel either was, or pretended to be, ill of a fever, but he wrote to the aſſembly to caution
13th July. them againſt giving ear to the calumnies of his enemies, who, he aſſured them, were enemies of the people. The influence of the Jacobins was ſo great, that the aſſembly, without examination, pronounced

[q] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 175.

[r] Mercure François, No. du 21 Juillet 1792, p. 195. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 241. See alſo Manuel's Examination on the Queen's Trial, in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 166.

[s] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 57.

[t] Mercure François, No. du 7 Juillet 1792, p. 135.

[u] Ibid. See alſo Le Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, par M. Robeſpierre, p. 431.

him

him not guilty, and he was reſtored to his office. On the day when this decree paſſed in his favour, he went to the aſſembly and made a violent ſpeech, replete with inſolence and falſe accuſations againſt the king, which was received with the greateſt applauſes, and procured him the honors of the ſitting[x]. 16th. Reſtored.

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With ſo much popularity, and with ſuch principles as he had conſtantly diſplayed, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Manuel would not take an active ſhare in the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt. He was one of the triumvirate of the *commune*, who retained their ſeats when the old members were forcibly expelled, and remained all night in the hall of the *commune*, executing the plots of thoſe who had projected the inſurrection[y]. He was now gratified with an opportunity of diſplaying all his malignity againſt the unfortunate royal family. A decree had paſſed the legiſlature, ordering that they ſhould be confined in the hotel of the miniſter of juſtice, but Manuel, thinking this degradation inſufficient, attended at the bar, and alleged that the *commune* could not be reſponſible for their detention, unleſs they were confined in a place of greater ſecurity; he did not leave the matter to the judgment of the aſſembly, but propoſed the Temple, which was acceded to[z]. The malicious activity he diſplayed on this occaſion raiſed his popularity to the greateſt height; but he little thought that, under a republican government, his want of energy in the deſtruction of royalty would be made an article of reproach and accuſation againſt him[a]. He was par- 10th Auguſt. His exertions.

[x] Debates and Hiſtories.

[y] See his evidence on the queen's trial, Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 167. An Hiſtorical and Political Account of the Events of the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, by a National Guard, p. 32. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 53. 148, &c. &c.

[z] Debates and Hiſtories. See alſo Eloge Funebre, &c. par M. Montjoye, p. 199. 207.

[a] See Hebert's obſervations on his evidence againſt the queen, Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 193.

ticularly active in forming the tribunal to try the pretended criminals, and caused a permanent guillotine to be erected in the Carousel, under pretence, that, as that spot had been the theatre of guilt, it ought also to be the place of punishment[b].

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2d September. Principal promoter of the massacres.

It has been attempted to vindicate him from the charge of having been concerned in the massacres of September, but his exculpation rests on very slight grounds[c]. For some time before the event he was very active in pointing out proper persons to be arrested; he visited the prisons daily, and numbered the persons confined with the most scrupulous exactness; he told many of them, with a smile, conveying a latent meaning, that they would be liberated the second of September; and intimated to several that they would be shipped off to the coast of Africa, in order to induce them to collect as many of their valuables as possible[d]. It is certain, from the melancholy expression made use of by Chantereine when he stabbed himself, so early as the twenty-second of August, that their projected murder was known[e]; and if Manuel had not known of it by a culpable participation, he must have been apprized officially, and in either case he is highly culpable. But of him it is positively asserted, that he received money of many prisoners to procure

[b] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 220.

[c] See Garat's Memoirs, p. 27.

[d] Pagès, vol. i. p. 479. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 230, 279. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 206. Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 74. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 261. Amongst the instances of individuals sacrificed to his personal hatred is Bosquillon, the justice of peace who opposed his election as procureur de la commune. See Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 240.

[e] CHANTEREINE was colonel of the constitutional guard of the king's household, on the tenth of August 1792. He was, between that day and the second of September, arrested by order of the commune, and confined in the prison of the Abbaye. Being informed, from sources he considered infallible, of the projected murder of the prisoners, as they were sitting down to dinner on the 22d of August, he suddenly stabbed himself three times with a knife, exclaiming, "We are all doomed to be massacred;—My God, receive me!" and expired almost instantaneously. St. Meard's Agony, p. 10.

their

their acquittal and safety, and particularly fifty thousand crowns (6250 *l.*) of the princesse de Lamballe. A saying of his own, that he would have preserved that lady if she had not lost her presence of mind, corroborates the suggestion. Her murder has been deemed an unpremeditated act of fury; the fact, however, is this: Manuel had agreed to save her, but the duke of Orleans expressly commanded her destruction, and Manuel had not time to counteract the execution of his orders, which were given with secrecy, and performed with diabolical fidelity[f]. The massacres of this and the following days enriched Manuel, but from that period he renounced all connexion with Orleans[g].

He was elected member of the convention for Paris, and attached himself to the party which opposed the views of his late patron. His conduct while he retained a seat in this assembly, except in such parts of it as were produced by his desire of thwarting Orleans and the Mountain, exhibits very little worthy of notice for virtue or consistency. At the opening of the sittings, he made a motion which did some honour to his discernment, namely, that the president of the convention should have apartments in the Tuilleries, and a guard; that he should be styled president of France, and that certain marks of respect should be shewn him in public; but this was negatived. He moved, but unsuccessfully, for the abolition of the order of priesthood, expressing his surprise, not that bishops were paid, but that they were permitted to exist; an expression worthy a Septembrizer[h]. He defended general Montesquiou against the attacks of the Mountain, and, in general, opposed all their proceedings respecting the king.

Member of the convention.

21st September.

27th September and 19th October.

[f] Pagès, vol. i. p. 480, 481. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 210.
[g] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 210. Pagès, vol. i. p. 486.
[h] Debates.

Conduct reſpecting the king's trial.

That Manuel ſhould have exerted himſelf ſo much to ſave the life of the king is a ſubject of ſurpriſe, and has given riſe to various conjectures. It has been ſaid that he felt a deſire to re-eſtabliſh royalty, which report is countenanced by his obſervation at the Jacobins, that liberty was better in proſpect than in poſſeſſion, and by ſome expreſſions which he dropped, importing a wiſh to place the duke of York or the duke of Brunſwick on the throne[j]. It is further ſtrengthened by his motion to ſubmit the queſtion of aboliſhing royalty, which had paſſed in the convention by acclamation, to the people in primary aſſemblies; this motion was ſpeedily over-ruled, Danton and Briſſot joined to argue againſt it. Notwithſtanding theſe facts, I think his conduct can only be aſcribed to his diſguſt againſt Orleans. He does not appear ever to have become a royaliſt: he was always ready to forward every meaſure, and even to extend every ſuggeſtion which had a tendency to degrade or haraſs the king and his family, to whom in his viſits to the Temple he behaved with extreme rudeneſs[k]. He propoſed the ſale of the chateau of Verſailles, as an amendment of an original motion, which only recommended the ſale of the furniture. He treated the croſs of Saint Louis with ſcorn, as a ſtain on the coat of a ſoldier, and carried his abſurd prejudice ſo far as to move the abolition of Twelfth-Day, (*le Jour des Rois*,) merely on account of its name[l]. He was accuſed by Hebert of having oppoſed a reduction of expence in the table of the royal priſoners, but kindneſs to them was not the motive[m], and a ſuggeſtion has been thrown out perſonally relating to the queen, which could only originate in the moſt

26th October.

29th October.

31ſt October.

30th December.

[j] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 203.
[k] See Journal de Clery, p. 100.
[l] Debates.
[m] See trial of the queen, Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 193.

rancorous

rancorous malignity, and merits no notice except contempt[n]. His oppoſition, by whatever motive it might be produced, was bold and well combined; he aimed a blow at the influence of the terroriſts, which, had it effectually taken place, would, in all probability, have ſaved the life of the monarch; this was when he moved that a certain number of tickets of admiſſion to the tribunes ſhould be ſent every day to the ſections, to be diſtributed amongſt the real citizens, which would operate to the excluſion of thoſe hired ruffians, who by their interference degraded the national repreſentation, and prejudiced the diſcuſſion of every queſtion. This motion failed, through the influence of the Mountain, and of thoſe very galleries againſt whom it was intended. After the king's defence had been made, he propoſed that it ſhould be printed, and ſent to the departments, and that the diſcuſſions of the convention on the ſubject ſhould be ſuſpended for three days; but this motion was rejected, and being reported at the Jacobin club, occaſioned his expulſion from that ſociety[o]. In voting on the queſtion reſpecting the reference of the ſentence againſt the king to the primary aſſemblies, he made ſome pointed obſervations on the general conduct of the members of the convention, and on the duke of Orleans. "Judges," he ſaid, "do not murmur "at the opinions of their brethren, though different "from their own: they do not openly abuſe and "calumniate each other; they are cold as the law, "of which they are the organs. If the convention

Expelled the Jacobin club.

[n] I will not inſult the reader by a reference to the publication in which this inſinuation is contained—I appeal to the author's ſenſe of ſhame who could commit ſuch an accuſation to paper, when he might have been convinced of its impoſſibility by the following extract from the queen's trial. *Q. The Preſident, (to Manuel)*—"Why did you "take it upon you to enter alone into the Temple, and particularly "into the apartments called Royal?" *Witneſs*—"*I never allowed "myſelf to enter alone into the apartments of the priſoners; I, on the contrary, took "care always to be accompanied by ſeveral of the commiſſioners who were on duty "there.*" Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 168.

[o] Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 534. 538. 566.

" had been a tribunal of law, a near relation of the " king, who has not been reſtrained either by a " ſenſe of ſhame or by his conſcience, would not " have been permitted to vote on this occaſion." He was proceeding with his obſervations, when the preſident called him to order[p]. When the laſt *appel nominal* was made, on the queſtion of puniſhment, Manuel was ſecretary, and indignant at finding the deciſion of death carried by ſo ſmall a majority, he roſe from his place, exclaiming, " I muſt leave this " place to ſeek a purer air." He ruſhed towards the door, but ſome of the Mountain fearing that he was carrying away the liſts of the ſcrutiny attempted to ſtop him. He eſcaped, however, out of their hands, and made his retreat, but was followed by Duhem, who ſucceeded in making him reſume his ſeat. This tranſaction threw the convention into great confuſion, but it is not certain that Manuel had any intention of carrying off the liſt [q].

19th January 1793. When the queſtions were all decided, he ſent a letter to the convention full of complaints and reproaches, which he concluded by reſigning his ſeat. The motive he alleged then and afterwards, on the queen's trial, was, that he deſpaired of the eſtabliſhment of liberty from ſuch a body, divided by faction, and over-ruled by clamour[r]. He alſo wrote a letter on the queſtion of an appeal to the people, which was publiſhed in Condorcet's paper, and is eſteemed one of his beſt productions.

Reſigns his ſeat.

While the trial was in agitation, Manuel had offered himſelf to ſucceed Petion in the mayoralty of Paris, and was third on the liſt, having 868 votes[s]. He retired to his native town, where he was deſirous to remain, and end his days in obſcurity. Senſible of the dangers which awaited him from the increaſing

Retires to the country. March 1793.

[p] Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 579.
[q] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 222.
[r] Debates. Queen's trial, in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 167.
[s] Mercure François, N° du 3 Novembre 1792.

influence

influence of the Mountain, he cauſed it to be reported that he was killed in a popular commotion at Montargis. This fallacy was ſoon detected, he was arreſted and brought to Paris, where, after having been examined on the trial of the queen, he was himſelf accuſed of a confederacy with Briſſot and Petion, tried and executed. When he was put into the Conciergerie, he experienced from the priſoners none of the conſolatory kindneſſes they generally diſplayed towards each other; they reproached and deteſted him as author of the maſſacres of September; and when he was going to his trial, they thruſt him againſt a pillar ſtill ſtained with blood ſhed on that day, exclaiming that it was ſpilt by his means[t].

Brought to Paris. 16th Nov. 1793. Executed.

In Manuel's character, there appears very little virtue or conſiſtency. His outſet in life was marked by ingratitude, his progreſs by profligacy and inſtability of principle. As an author he produced nothing worthy of criticiſm, or likely to reach poſterity. His ſtyle is diſfigured by affectation and clumſy pedantry. He was celebrated as a wit; two inſtances will prove the foundation of his claims. In the *commune*, he moved that the ſtatue of Louis XIV. might be caſt into cannon, that the monarch might continue to *make a noiſe* to the laſt[u]. In the convention, in the courſe of the debates on the king's trial, Manuel having moved ſomething which claſhed with the wiſhes of the Mountain, Legendre, the butcher, ſaid, the aſſembly had better *decree, that Manuel is a wit.*—"I am "glad," ſaid Manuel, "they are not required to "decree *que je ſuis bête*, for then Legendre would "think he had a right to kill me." There is ſome ſmartneſs in this repartee, which lies in the word *bête*, being uſed equivocally to ſignify a beaſt, or a fool[x].

His character. 25th June 1792.

[t] Tableau des Priſons ſous Robeſpierre.
[u] Journals.
[x] Miſs Williams's firſt Collection of Letters on France.

JEAN PAUL MARAT.

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MARAT was one of thoſe men whom extraordinary commotions or convulſions in the body politic have exalted to a degree of eminence, from which they are contemplated by ſucceeding generarations with horror, diſguſt, and wonder bordering on incredulity. This miſcreant verified the narratives of poets and romance writers, who repreſent ſouls devoid of every laudable principle, and deformed by every vice, inhabiting bodies of correſponding conformation, equally calculated to inſpire abhorrence by the firſt impreſſion on the ſenſes.

Birth and education.

Marat was born at Beaudry, a ſmall hamlet in the Canton of Neufchatel in Switzerland, where his father was public ſchoolmaſter. He did not, however, undertake his ſon's inſtruction, but ſent him to Geneva. His education, though not finiſhed, was above the common level; and he was diſtinguiſhed, in that part of his life which preceded the revolution, by an attachment to literature and philoſophy. Probably his apparent debility of perſon, which precluded the poſſibility of much corporeal exertion, induced his parents to beſtow that expence on the cultivation of his mind, which enabled him to ſignaliſe himſelf in the liſts of atrocity[y].

[y] Conjuration d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 153. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 19. There is ſome doubt about the place of his birth, which ſome have ſtated to be Sardinia, others Corſica; but in his lifetime he was generally underſtood to have been born in the Canton of Neufchatel, part of the dominions of the king of Pruſſia. See Peltier's Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 527.

Poverty,

Poverty, and the difficulty of ſupporting himſelf in his own country, induced him to go to Paris, where he commenced phyſician. Of the profits of his practice there is no certain account, though he boaſted of it as very extenſive, and aſſerted, that on his arrival in Paris he received thirty-ſix livres (1 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.*) a viſit[a]. He ſubſiſted principally by the ſale of a quack medicine, which did woful execution on thoſe who placed confidence in it, though, to ſcreen himſelf from the laws, he purchaſed a diploma, and the appointment of phyſician to the count d'Artois's ſtables. This medicine was a ſpecific, appearing like a very limpid water, for which he charged two louis-d'ors a bottle[a]. Goes to Paris. Practices phyſic.

His attention was chiefly engaged by experiments in natural philoſophy, and in this purſuit he diſplayed that envy and malignity which always marked his character. He had ſtudied light and electricity; in the former he had diſcovered many novelties, and made ſome improvement on the priſm, which are well ſpoken of; in the latter, he does not appear to have been equally ſucceſsful, but perhaps his envious diſpoſition prevented his greater ſucceſs in both, ſince he was more deſirous to overturn the ſyſtems of Newton, and to deprive Franklin of his celebrity than to profit by their diſcoveries[b]. His philoſophical experiments;

He publiſhed a book, called "*Recherches phyſiques ſur le feu*;" and another, in which he affected to confute the ſyſtem of Helvetius, under the title of "*A Philoſophical Eſſay on Man.*" The former treatiſe I have ſeen, but from not ſufficiently underſtanding the ſubject, can give no opinion reſpecting and publications. 1775.

[a] Briſſot. When, in the Life of Marat, Briſſot is quoted without ſpecific reference to his work, I allude to a fragment of his inſerted in Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. Appendix II. p. 210.

[a] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 152. Briſſot.

[b] Briſſot.

it.

it. The latter displays a presumption and vanity, which the talents of the author by no means justify. He pronounces dogmatically on the most abstruse questions of the animal economy, and shews the utmost contempt for the judgment of the reader. Voltaire, in his questions on the Encyclopœdia, treats this work with a greater degree of severity than it merited, if we may believe Brissot; but if he committed any mistake with respect to the book, he made none as to the author, when he declared him *more fit to libel men than to analyse them* [c].

Goes to London.

He went to England about the same year, and published an essay, called "*The Chains of Slavery*;" of which he afterwards boasted, that it procured him great patronage and honor; but the oblivion in which the book is shrouded, which, even the infamous celebrity of the author has not been able to dispel, aids his known character for mendacity in discrediting the assertion.

Returns to Paris.

When he returned to Paris, he resumed his philosophical pursuits, but the academy was so prejudiced against him, it did not condescend to criticise his production, or even to mention his name. His desire to destroy the fame of Newton still pursued him, and he took a singular method to effect it; he translated his *Principia* into French, and falsified the text, to bring disgrace on the author. To smuggle the book into notice, and to escape the severe examination he apprehended the academy would bestow on a production of his, which the reputation of the original would compel them to examine; he prevailed on a grammarian, called Bauſſée, to print his name in the title-page as translator; but though this manœuvre succeeded so far as to obtain from the academy a negligent approbation; yet the work fell into disrepute, and was soon forgot [d]. He continued to support himself by the sale of quack medicines, protected by his place

[c] Brissot. [d] Ibid.

in

in the houſehold of the comte d'Artois, and the purchaſed diploma. It is not the leaſt wonderful circumſtance of his life, that he was able to obtain the favour, and live in habits of intimacy with a young and beautiful lady of quality, ſeparated from her huſband; he had been called in as medical aſſiſtant, and had ſucceeded in inſpiring her with a paſſion for him, which ſhe always retained, in ſpite of the deformity of his perſon, the filthineſs of his appearance, and the brutality of his behaviour [e]. His amour.

At the time of the revolution he was poor and obſcure; the prevailing paſſion for politics, and the activity of intrigue, were not to be ſuſpended by philoſophical curioſity, and he was ſo little prepared for the events about to take place, that he declared his opinion that the nation was not ripe for a revolution, and declined being concerned in it. When the Baſtille was deſtroyed, however, he came forward, and with his accuſtomed neglect of truth, ſent a pompous account of a pretended valiant exploit to be inſerted in the journal of his friend Briſſot [f]. Finding he had no chance of advancing himſelf but by aſſuming the reigning profeſſion of a journaliſt, he commenced editor, called his paper *The Publiciſte François*, and began, in the uſual ſtyle, to decry the court, and compliment the popular favorites. In this career he had ſo many competitors, his ſuperiors in information and eloquence, that his want of ſucceſs was ſufficient to have diſpirited any man leſs ſanguine or leſs perſevering [g]. Whether his better genius ſuggeſted the plan, or whether ſome of the agents of the Palais Royal pointed it out to him, cannot be determined, but from his never-failing rancour againſt eminent perſons, the former is extremely probable; he ſpeedily

1789. His ſituation.

Commences journaliſt.

[e] Briſſot. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 155.
[f] Briſſot.
[g] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 156. Pagès, v. ii. p. 41.

altered

altered the title and ſtyle of his paper; he called it *L'Ami du Peuple*, and commenced a violent attack on Bailly and La Fayette. This brought his publication at once into notice, and as he rather aſpired to the favour of the lower than of the ſuperior claſſes, he conſtantly adapted his ſtyle to their ſyſtem of rhetoric; his tropes and figures were execrations and obſcenities, his argument was ribaldry and abuſe, and his patriotiſm a firm belief in all the rancorous falſehoods of the day[h]. His paper was ſold for only two liards (a farthing)[i]; the motto he choſe for it, "Ut redeat miſeris, "abeat fortuna ſuperbis," plainly pointed to an agrarian law; and the manner in which he recommended blood and ſlaughter, greatly contributed to take off the reſtraints, cuſtom, and education impoſed on the ferocious diſpoſition of the French populace[k]. La Fayette was ſo hurt at his inſults, combined with others he ſuſtained from Danton, St. Huruge, &c. that he ſurrounded his houſe, and blocked up the avenues with a guard; but was prevented, by the threats of Danton, from proſecuting a revenge, which would, if followed with effect, have relieved the country from one of its greateſt peſts, then in a ſtate of comparative innocency[l].

1790. Attacked by la Fayette.

Becomes a Jacobin.

Marat, having obtained notice, began to enlarge the ſcope of his ambition; his vanity, of which he had a ſingular ſhare, led him to ſuppoſe that nothing was too high or too arduous for him to undertake. He became a member of the Jacobins, and though his croaking voice and faulty delivery made the taſk of oratory an inſurmountable difficulty, he perſevered in aſcending the tribune and delivering his opinions whenever he could obtain an

[h] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p 157.
[i] Miles's Conduct of France towards Great Britain, p. 221.
[k] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 399.
[l] Miles, ubi ſupra. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 157.

hearing.

hearing. That club, during the ſittings of the conſtituent aſſembly, though diſgraced by the reception of him, and an indiſcriminate rabble beſide, was not a region ſufficiently fervent for the propagation of his principles. The *Société fraternelle*, afterwards called the club of Cordeliers, was the ſcene where he moſt frequently diſplayed himſelf, and from the congenial diſpoſitions and ſimilarity of attainments in moſt of the members, to the greateſt effect [m]. He now became acquainted with Robeſpierre, member of the aſſembly, employed in ſome of the inferior agencies of the duke of Orleans, and was of great ſervice to him in gaining the favour of the inhabitants of the *fauxbourgs*, and training the galleries of the aſſembly; his journal too obtained the protection of the duke, and he, as editor, partook of his bounty [n]. The eaſineſs of his circumſtances increaſed his inſolence, and gave full ſcope to the exerciſe of his ruling paſſion, malice. To this may be aſcribed his continual invectives againſt the king and royal family, againſt la Fayette, and every one who poſſeſſed any ſhare of the public eſteem [o]. To this may be alſo attributed his rancorous reflections on the king's intended journey to Saint Cloud [p], and his extreme earneſtneſs in promoting the petition ſigned in the *Champ de Mars*. On this occaſion his conduct expoſed him to the reſentment of the ruling powers. He had before excited the diſguſt of the conſtituent aſſembly, by his audacious invitations to murder, and by exhorting the mob to hang up eight hundred of the deputies on the trees of the Tuilleries [q]. They rejoiced at this opportunity of making him feel the ſeverity of the law; a decree was iſſued

and Cordelier.

18th April 1791.

July. His preſs ſeized.

Himſelf impriſoned.

[m] Pagès, vol. i. p. 458. Louvet's Narrative, p. 9.
[n] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 147.
[o] Idem, vol. ii. p. 283.
[p] See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 231. 247. 249.
[q] Garat's Memoirs, p. 245.

againſt him, his preſſes and papers were ſeized, and he, and a *mademoiſelle Colombe*, directreſs of his journal, put in priſon. An order was made, that no hawker ſhould preſume to cry his journal on pain of puniſhment[r]. Theſe exertions, however, were of little conſequence; he was ſoon liberated, either in compliment to the mob, or becauſe doubts were entertained of the legality of his detention. He retired to a vault, in the church of the Cordeliers, prepared for him by Legendre the butcher, from which place, in contempt of authority, he continued to iſſue his lucubrations[s].

Compariſon between him and the Briſſotines.

At this period, with whatever faſtidiouſneſs they afterwards denied it, Briſſot and his party were, at leaſt, on good terms with Marat[t]; they laboured in a common cauſe, and uſed at firſt the ſame means; they were, like him, firſt Orleaniſts, afterwards republicans; and though the different degrees of favour obtained by the two parties in the eſtimation of their common patron cauſed diſſenſions in principles and in politics, there was little difference between them, though they afterwards varied in their conduct. In fact, though the Briſſotines, and the writers in their intereſt, attribute to them all the credit of being the *founders of the French Republic*, the incendiary Marat did more ſervice to the cauſe than they. Their ſincerity was about *par*; they and he cared equally for the people, they were willing to riſk the happineſs of the majority, or even to make indiſcriminate ſacrifices to eſtabliſh their theories, or confirm the aſcendancy they once acquired. Marat, whoſe ambition

[r] Mercure François, No. du 30 Juillet 1791, p. 399. et du 6 Août, p. 82.

[s] Marat lived in the *Rue des Cordeliers*, No. 30; this retreat, therefore, was no great inconvenience to him. See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 415. Etat de la France, par M. le Comte de Montgaillard, p. 66.

[t] Pagès, vol. ii. p. 39. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 131. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 269.

extended

extended no farther than to head an outrageous rabble, and whoſe vanity led him to believe no perſon ſo well qualified for the taſk as himſelf, was deſirous to reſolve the whole kingdom into an immenſe and lawleſs mob, that by his influence he might perpetuate anarchy. Both aimed at the ſame object, the degradation of the conſtituted authorities, the plunder of the wealthy, and the deſtruction of the loyal, but they purſued it differently. The Briſſotines, vain in the ſtores of book-learning, confident in their eloquence, and wrapt up in their metaphyſical ſpeculations, thought they might ſucceed by eſtabliſhing theories in favour of a republic, in inducing the people to conſent to the elevation of their inſtigator Orleans, or to their own aſſumption of all the power of the ſtate. Their attempt had a ſucceſs proportioned to its ſagacity; to read their writings, to hear their ſpeeches, they ſeemed to poſſeſs all the wiſdom, all the virtue, all the diſintereſtedneſs of thoſe ſages and heroes of antiquity, whom they affected to regard as models; but to inſpect their web of flimſy, though pernicious, intrigues, to hear of their treacheries, their jealouſies, their want of mutual confidence, and their ſolicitude to ſecure a ſhare of power by the moſt flagitious means, it became obvious that they had no real virtue, wiſdom, diſintereſtedneſs, or patriotiſm, but that the ſentiments analogous to thoſe qualities, with which a laboured eloquence ſupplied their ſpeeches and writings, proceeded merely from the head, while the heart remained cold, malignant, and ſelfiſh. The mob adored them for a ſhort period, then deſpiſed, deteſted, and ſacrificed them. Marat, on the other hand, did not make an affected diſplay of wiſdom, virtue, or ſententiouſneſs; to gain the populace, he adapted himſelf to their taſte, and ſucceeded to the utmoſt extent of his wiſhes.

The attempt to pull down the king, that a regency of learned men might govern, preſented no very

very favourable proſpect to the mob, but to tell them of plunder, of an agrarian law, an exemption from reſtraint, and a poſſeſſion in common of all authority and all property, was an irreſiſtible allurement. The Briſſotines laboured to prove, that the world was made for the *wiſe*; Marat perſuaded them that it was made for the *poor*. It is true, that at this period he was in the pay of Orleans, but with his total want of honour, principle, and veracity, it is very improbable that a tie ſo weak as gratitude ſhould bind him to a man he deſpiſed. His vanity taught him that his talents and ſupport could never be purchaſed at an adequate price, and his careleſſneſs about money prevented his conſidering it poſſible that he ſhould be bought by ſo vile a mean.

Increaſes in ferocity.

The flagitious conduct of the legiſlative aſſembly gave freſh ſpring to the energy of Marat, and the increaſing aſcendancy of his friends Danton and Robeſpierre in the public eſtimation, enabled him to become additionally conſpicuous and obnoxious. His publications became more atrocious and ſanguinary; he made no ſcruple to recommend the deſtruction of three hundred thouſand perſons, as ariſtocrats[n]. He was, at length, denounced to the aſſembly by M. Beugnot, for having, in one of his Journals, inſtigated the ſoldiery *to ſacrifice their generals to the public welfare*. Beugnot complained that theſe writings had been preſented to the miniſter, Duranton, who had not taken proper meaſures to have the publiſher puniſhed. M. de Vaublanc enforced this accuſation by producing another of Marat's papers, in which he recommended to the people *to deſtroy, with fire and ſword, the rotten majority of the aſſembly*. The incendiary was defended by his congenial friends, Bazire, Chabot, and Merlin; a long and tumultuous debate enſued, at the cloſe of which, a decree of accuſation was iſſued againſt him, but its effect was reduced by a ſimilar

3d May 1792. Denounced.

[n] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 269.

one,

one, obtained by Briſſot and his faction, at the ſame time againſt the abbé Royou, editor of *l'Ami du Roi*. Seals were ordered to be placed on the houſes and preſſes of both[x].

But, at this period, the regicide faction was ſo ſtrong, and their aſcendancy ſo confirmed, that Marat entertained no fears. Decrees of arreſt were iſſued againſt him, but never executed; and previous to the 20th of June he was as audacious as ever, inſtigating inſurrection, and inforcing the murder of the king[y]. Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs which attended that diſgraceful day, and the meaſures which were purſued to inſure more extenſive conſequences to that perfidious plot which, after ſome delays, was executed on the 10th of Auguſt, he is ſaid by Briſſot to have been ſo deficient in courage, that he requeſted Barbaroux to convey him to Marſeilles as a place of ſafety[z]. He was appointed one of the new council general of the *commune*, who declared themſelves independent of the legiſlature, and determined to render an account of their conduct to none but the *ſovereign people*, in their primary aſſemblies[a].

June. Excites inſurrection.

Behaviour on the 9th and 10th of Auguſt.

Soon after the deſtruction of royalty, jealouſies began to manifeſt themſelves amongſt the miniſtry who had obtained their places by ſuch culpable violence. Danton, reſolved on the deſtruction of his pedantic colleagues, employed Marat to inſult, and make them odious to the people. The incendiary, convinced that in a conteſt before the populace, he would be ſecure of ſucceſs, commenced his attack in a manner truly characteriſtic. Firſt, by

Quarrels with the miniſtry.

[x] Mercure François, No. du 12 Mai 1792, p. 118—120.

[y] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 39.

[z] Briſſot à tous les Republicains, London edition, p. 178. I confeſs I do not believe the ſtory. Briſſot ſays this ſupplication was made on the eve of the 10th of Auguſt, a day too buſy for Barbaroux to have incumbered himſelf with Marat, and Marat was that very day made one of the new commune.

[a] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 129. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 213. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 335 to 338.

his own authority, he seized four presses from the king's printing-office to indemnify himself for a similar number which had been taken from him[b], this the ministry dared not resist or resent. As soon as the assembly had decreed a sum to be at the disposal of the administration for the purpose of dispersing useful publications, he applied to them for 15,000 livres (656*l.* 5*s.*) to enable him to publish some of his works. Roland, to whom the application was made, refused to give the sum without knowing what was to be published; Marat sent him a large bundle of manuscripts about *the Chains of Slavery* which he laid before the council, and they referred the matter to Danton; the event was, that Marat demanded and obtained the required sum from Orleans, posted placards against the incivism of Roland, and published libels against his wife[c]. This was the beginning of a contest which in about nine months overthrew the faction of Brissotines.

2d September. Conduct of Marat.

A greater scene of horrors was now to be acted, and the part assigned to Marat was congenial to his abilities. He was appointed one of the committee of inspection (*Surveillance*) by the *commune*, in which capacity he assisted in filling the prisons, and by his sanguinary journals and placards inflamed the populace[d]. He even went so far as to obtain from the *commune* an order for the arrestation of Roland, and many of his friends, but this step was too daring even for Danton, he suppressed the execution of it, but it became obvious that no farther measures were to be kept between him and his colleagues, whom Marat began to proscribe and denounce with great fury[e]. On the horrible days of massacres he

[b] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 111. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 83.

[c] See Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 111, 112. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 385. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 213.

[d] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 289. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 256.

[e] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 100.

was constantly engaged; Panis and he were alternately presidents of a committee which directed and encouraged the proceedings of the assassins, in the previous arrangement of which he had materially assisted[f]. His conduct on this and other occasions was so ferocious as almost to justify the hyperbolical assertion, that he would have drunk the blood of his mother out of the cranium of his father[g].

Meanwhile, the election for the national convention were proceeding, the friends of Marat were determined to obtain him a seat; and for what place! not for an obscure department, where his name was little known, and his vices only appeared in general details, but for PARIS, the capital of the state, the centre of his crimes, the scene of all his atrocities; Paris, where it is hardly a figure to say that the very walls cried out against him, as a murderer, an incendiary, and a ruffian more fit for the gibbet than the senate. To procure his return it was necessary to employ the eloquence of Chabot, Danton, and Robespierre, and the more effectual aid of pike and bludgeon men, who terrified the respectable electors, and sanctioned the proceedings of voters of their own class[h]. As soon as Marat had obtained a seat in the legislature, he redoubled his audacity and virulence; previous to their meeting he declared that if they did not settle the principles of government in eight days, no good was to be expected from them; he denounced in his placards many of the newly-elected members, as aristocrats and counter-revolutionists, the generals who commanded the armies, as traitors, and the ministers, except Danton, as enemies of

Elected member of the convention.

19th September.

[f] Pagès, vol. i. p. 479, 480. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 477. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 208.

[g] Quoted by Pagès, vol. ii. p. 39. See also Garat's Memoirs, p. 26.

[h] Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 183. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 387—391. Appel à l'Impartiale Posterité, vol. ii. p. 69. It must be observed that Robespierre in his defence against Louvet's accusation, which is very pointed on this subject, denies having recommended Marat.—See ROBESPIERRE.

freedom. So little was he ſatisfied with the ſtate of things while the Briſſotines bore ſway, that the very day after the meeting of the convention, he excited the Jacobin club againſt them. He perſevered in his incendiary placards, and even reproached the people for their forbearance in not perpetrating new maſſacres. "O, people of talk!" he obſerved, "if "you did but know how to act[i]!"

4th October.

Deſpiſed in the convention.

But though he was ſtrongly ſupported in, and inſtigated to theſe meaſures by his party in the commune and in the clubs, even they had not intrepidity enough openly to countenance him in the convention. There the hideouſneſs of his appearance, the ſqualor of his attire, the infamy of his character, the audacity with which he outraged truth, decency, and order, made every one aſhamed to own a connexion with him. Was a charge made on his party, of murderous principles, or views of eſtabliſhing a dictator, when every one ſhrunk from the avowal of ſuch deſigns, he was ever ready to ſtand in the breach, deriding the aſſaults of eloquence, triumphantly confeſſing the whole charge, juſtifying himſelf, and impudently retorting crimination, ſcorn, and pity on his accuſers[k].

Enmity to the Briſſotines.

It would be an extremely tedious and unintereſting labor to relate all the motions and denunciations made by and againſt him, from the firſt ſitting of the convention to the end of the year. He was the avowed contemner and ſcourge of the Briſſotines, the unceaſing opponent of Roland, whom he ſtigmatized in his journals, placards, and ſpeeches in the convention, as well as at the Jacobin club, as the enemy of the republic, as a tyrant, who iſſued arbitrary *lettres de cachet*, and as a public peculator and defaulter[l]. He was undoubtedly inſtigated to

[i] Louvet's Narrative, p. 18. 22. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 450. 486.

[k] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 171. 259. Debates.

[l] Louvet's Narrative, p. 24. Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 118. Mercure François du 20 Octobre 1792.

theſe

theſe meaſures by Robeſpierre and Danton, and the Briſſotines were anxious to confound and diſgrace him. But in this they proceeded, as uſual, by intrigue inſtead of courageous aſſault; they formed parties to prevent his acceſs to the tribune, and, inſtead of a well-digeſted attack, exhauſted themſelves in affected declamations and feeble recriminations. A deſcription of one of theſe ſcenes will ſhew all the atrocity and inſolence of his character, and diſplay the feeble conduct of his opponents. 25th September. After a diſcuſſion in which Rebecqui and Barbaroux accuſed Robeſpierre of aſpiring to the dictatorſhip, Marat preſented himſelf at the tribune, to anſwer a part of the complaint in which he himſelf had been implicated. Violent murmurs aroſe. "It would appear," he ſaid, "that I have a great many perſonal enemies in this aſſembly."—"That we are all," exclaimed three-fourths of the members. Marat reſumed with the moſt unruffled ſerenity: His ſpeech. "I have a great many perſonal enemies in this aſſembly; I call them to decency. I exhort them to moderate their furious clamours, and indecent menaces againſt a man who has rendered more ſervices to the cauſe of liberty, and to themſelves, than they are aware of. Let them, for once, learn to liſten! I am grateful to the ſecret hand which has thrown in the midſt of you a vain phantom, to alarm the timid, create diviſions among good citizens, and caſt a ſtigma on the deputies of the city of Paris. They are accuſed of aſpiring to a dictatorſhip, a triumvirate, or a tribuneſhip; this abſurd accuſation could not have found credit but for my being one of the perſons to whom it applies. Well then! it becomes an act of juſtice in me to declare that my colleagues, Robeſpierre, Danton, and the reſt, have conſtantly oppoſed the idea of a dictatorſhip, though I have publiſhed it in my journals, and have had ſeveral diſputes with them

" on the ſubject. I believe I am the firſt, or rather
" the only political writer in France who has pre-
" ſented it to the public as the only mode of cruſh-
" ing traitors and conſpirators. If this opinion be
" a crime, I alone am culpable; on my head the
" vengeance of the nation ought to fall: but before
" I am cenſured or puniſhed let me be heard.

" Surrounded by eternal machinations againſt the
" country; ſeeing the repeated conſpiracies of a
" perfidious king and a deteſtable court; ſeeing
" the villany of that hoſt of traitors, who in the
" conſtituent as well as the legiſlative aſſembly,
" baſely ſold the rights of the people; will you im-
" pute it to me as a crime to have propoſed the
" only meaſure, in my apprehenſion, calculated to
" ſtop us on the brink of that precipice into which
" they were dragging us? When the conſtituted
" authorities were of no other uſe than to deſtroy
" freedom, and to murder the patriots, in the name
" of the law, will you impute it to me as a crime to
" have called down on their guilty heads, the axe
" of popular vengeance? No, the people themſelves
" would diſavow you; for, if they have not fol-
" lowed my advice, they have, too late, felt, of
" themſelves, that they had no reſource left to
" eſcape the rage of their tyrants, but by taking
" into their own hands the dictatorial power, and
" ridding themſelves of traitors.

" I, more than any one, have trembled at the idea
" of thoſe terrible commotions; and that they might
" not be always in vain, that the people might not
" be forced to renew them, I was deſirous that they
" ſhould be directed by ſome citizen, whoſe pru-
" dence, juſtice, and firmneſs might, at once, have
" ſecured the ſafety and welfare of the public. If
" the neceſſity of this meaſure could have been felt
" at the epoch of the capture of the Baſtille, five
" hundred raſcally heads would have fallen, and
" peace and liberty would have been eſtabliſhed from

" that

" that period for ever; instead of which, for want
" of displaying that energy, equally prudent and
" necessary, a hundred thousand patriots have been
" butchered, and a hundred thousand more are
" threatened with the same fate. To prove that I
" had no view of making this dictator, tribune, or
" triumvir, (for what signifies the name,) a tyrant,
" such as folly, presuming on the use of a word,
" might have represented him, but a devoted victim
" to the country, whose lot no ambitious man
" would envy, my project was, that the duration
" of his authority should be limited to a few days,
" that it should only extend to the condemnation of
" traitors; and even, that a cannon-ball should be
" chained to his foot, that he himself might always
" be within the reach of the people. All vigorous
" measures have, at first sight, appeared absurd to
" many, particularly to the deputies of the people;
" they were ever confident of their own wisdom,
" and they would have ruined the country if the
" people had not trampled under foot their cowardly
" systems. My ideas, however revolting they
" might appear, tended only to the public good,
" for no person was ever more fond than myself of
" order, and the reign of just laws. If your ideas
" are not sufficiently elevated to enable you to un-
" derstand me, so much the worse for you.

" Such is my opinion; I have not privately in-
" sinuated it to a confidential circle; I have printed,
" and put my name to it. Was it the opinion of a
" madman? I was to be pitied. Was it dangerous?
" It was incumbent on men more enlightened than
" myself, to expose it, instead of directing against
" my person the daggers of assassination, and the
" bayonets of despotism.

" My enemies have dared to impute to me views
" of ambition. If I had been willing to set a price
" on my silence, I might have been gorged with gold;
" yet I am poor. In the service of my country I

" have braved misery, dangers, and insults; incessantly pursued by legions of assassins, I have wandered during the space of three years from one subterraneous habitation to another; I have preached the truth when a log was my pillow. If la Fayette, or any other enemy of liberty, had been able to seize my person, the most ardent defender of liberty would have been no more.

" Legislators! condescend to open your eyes. Instead of consuming your precious time in scandalous quarrels, dread to afford a sanction to the manœuvres of intrigue, by giving currency to absurd reports, artfully circulated to retard the grand work of the constitution; and to put my enemies themselves to a painful trial, let me press you to fulfil the true object of your mission, by immediately perfecting the declaration of rights, and laying the foundations of a just and free government."

This speech made such an impression on the convention, that they were disposed to have terminated the discussion, by passing to the order of the day, when Vergniaud said:

" If there is a misfortune attached to the situation of representative of the people, by which I am peculiarly affected, it is that of being obliged to ascend this tribune after a man still obnoxious to decrees of arrest, which he has not discharged."

This opening shocked the friends of Marat: " Do you mean the decrees of the Châtelet?" inquired Chabot. " Or those with which he was honored for having overthrown la Fayette?" added Tallien. Verginaud continued:

" It is that of taking the place of a man, against whom a decree of accusation has been obtained, and who has lifted his audacious head above the laws; in a word, a man dripping with calumny, gall, and blood." After some confusion, occasioned by the disapprobation of the galleries, Vergniaud

and denounced an addreſs, ſigned by the committee of inſpection of Paris, which had been previouſly denounced to the legiſlative aſſembly. *As this addreſs contained nothing but the expreſſion of the moſt energetic ſentiments of liberty, terminated by an invitation to the departments, to unite with the Pariſians to repel the enemies who threatened the capital, the orator commented on it in vain; the only ſenſation produced, was that of aſtoniſhment at hearing it denounced* [m].

Boileau produced a number of Marat's journal, which he pretended had been publiſhed that very

[m] I have tranſlated this ſentence from Robeſpierre; but to enable the reader to form a judgment of this ſuppoſed *harmleſs* paper, I have added it at length, as tranſlated by Dr. Moore. Journal, vol. ii. p. 40. See alſo Roland's Appeal, vol i. p. 109.

"Brethren and friends! a horrid plot, planned by the court, to "murder all the patriots of the French empire; a plot in which a great "number of the national aſſembly were engaged, having, on the ninth "of laſt month, forced the *commune de Paris* to the cruel neceſſity of mak- "ing uſe of the power of the people to ſave the nation; the com- "mune has neglected nothing for the ſervice of the country.

"After the approbation which the national aſſembly itſelf beſtowed "on the commune, could it have been imagined that new plots were "projecting in ſilence, which broke forth at the moment when the "national aſſembly, forgetting that ſhe had declared that the *com-* "*mune de Paris* had ſaved the country, haſtened to diſſolve that very "community, as a recompence for all its faithful ſervices.

"Proud of poſſeſſing the full confidence of the nation, which we "are reſolved to deſerve more and more; placed in the centre of all "the conſpiracies, and determined to periſh in defence of the public, "we cannot boaſt of having entirely fulfilled our duty, till we "ſhall obtain your approbation, which is the object of all our "wiſhes, and of which we cannot be certain, till all the departments "have *ſanctioned our meaſures for the public ſafety*. Profeſſing principles of "the moſt perfect equality, wiſhing no other privilege, but that of "preſenting ourſelves the firſt at the breach, we will put ourſelves on "a level with the ſmalleſt municipality in the nation, as ſoon as the "dangers which now threaten the country are paſt.

"Informed that bands of barbarians are advancing, the *commune* "*de Paris* haſtens to acquaint all the departments, that part of thoſe "furious conſpirators detained in the priſons of Paris have been "put to death by the people; *an act of juſtice which ſeemed indiſpenſable, to* "*ſtrike terror* into the breaſts of thoſe legions of traitors hid within her "walls, at the time when the citizens were about to march againſt "the enemy. And no doubt the nation, after that long ſucceſſion of "treaſons which have brought her to the brink of ruin, *will haſten to* "*adopt a meaſure ſo uſeful and neceſſary*; and all the inhabitants of France "will ſay like the Pariſians: Let us march againſt the enemy, but, "let us not *leave behind us a band of villains, to murder our wives and chil-* "*dren.*"

morning,

morning, from which he read theſe words: "Con-
"ſidering the temper of the majority of the deputies,
"I deſpair of the public welfare; if in the eight
"firſt ſittings, the fundamental points of the conſti-
"tution be not decreed, fifty years of anarchy await
"you, from which, you can only be relieved by ap-
"pointing a dictator." This extract revived in the aſſembly all the violence of its former agitations, and there was a general outcry, *To the abbaye! To the guillotine!* In the midſt of the tumult, Boileau moved for a decree of accuſation againſt the monſter.

Marat, with much difficulty, obtained a hearing, and with unruffled compoſure ſaid: "I intreat
"the aſſembly not to give themſelves up to ſuch an
"exceſs of rage againſt me, I can eaſily reply to the
"new accuſations of my adverſaries. They have
"not bluſhed to advance the decrees of accuſation
"obtained againſt me by the courtly proſtitutes of the
"conſtituent and legiſlative aſſemblies. I pride my-
"ſelf in them, as titles of glory. I muſt obſerve,
"however, to thoſe who know not how to appreciate
"them, that they are annulled; the people have an-
"nulled them in calling me hither to defend their
"rights, and by that judgment have indentified my
"cauſe with their own.

"As for the paper which has juſt been denounced,
"and which I am challenged to diſavow—Far from
"me be ſuch a diſavowal—Never did untruth iſſue
"from my lips; and to fear, my heart is a ſtranger.
"But I muſt inform you, that is not, as has been
"advanced, a publication of to-day; it appeared
"ten days ago. I compoſed it at a time when the
"national convention was not yet formed, when I
"was an indignant witneſs of the re-election of thoſe
"unfaithful deputies, whom I had denounced, eſpecially
"that faction of the Gironde, by which I am this
"day perſecuted. But an inconteſtible proof of
"my wiſh to remain united to you, and the real
"opinion

"opinion I have formed of the firſt labors of the "national convention, may be found in the firſt num- "ber of a journal, intitled, *Le Journal de la Repub-* "*lique*, printed this day. That will explain to you "my real ſentiments, much better than the treache- "rous annotations which accompanied the reading "you have already heard."

The paper was read, it reſtored the favorable opinion of the aſſembly. Marks of an agreeable ſurpriſe and intereſt ſucceed the impetuous ſenſations by which it had been previouſly agitated. Marat again aſcended the tribune.

"Permit me now," ſaid he, "to recal you to your- "ſelves, and to fix your attention on the dangers of "prepoſſeſſion and anger. What then! if by the "negligence of my printer, my journal had not ap- "peared to-day, you would have devoted me to "the ſword of tyranny! But no—it would not "have been in your power to perpetrate ſuch an act "of iniquity. I had in my own poſſeſſion the means "of retaining my liberty; and, if you had voted a "decree of accuſation, this weapon ſhould have "reſcued me from the fury of my perſecutors." Saying theſe words, he drew from his pocket a piſtol, and put it to his head. The convention paſſed to the order of the day, on all the denunciations [a].

Marat was ſtill diſtinguiſhed, by his habitual hatred of eminent characters. When Dumouriez enjoyed the moſt flattering partiality of his countrymen, Marat exhibited himſelf as his detractor, he ſtigmatized him as an ariſtocrat, reproached him with having con- nived at the eſcape of the Pruſſians out of France; from ſiniſter motives, took the part of thoſe who murdered the Pruſſian deſerters at Rhetal; moved an accuſation againſt him in the convention, and in the Jacobin club; purſued him with inſults and in- juries into a private company, where he was partak- ing

Hatred of Dumouriez.

17th and 18th Oct.

[a] This narrative is taken from Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p. 82 to 92. See alſo Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 35 to 44. Debates.

ing of an entertainment; and when he set out on his expedition against Flanders, declared publicly, and in print, that he went only with a view of over-running those provinces, to make himself duke of Brabant [o].

Persecution of the king.

His exertions against the general were, however, trifling in comparison to those he used against the king and queen. To increase the miseries of their situation, to inflame the public resentment against them to the highest pitch, and to accelerate a death of unmerited ignominy; to these ends he bent all his powers. In the convention, in the clubs, in the streets; his speeches, his journals, his placards were replete with the bitterest invectives; and most flagrant untruths, against those unfortunate victims of popular frenzy and delusion. Every method was used which malice could suggest, to present the degraded monarch to the people as an object of contempt and abhorence; not only his imputed crimes, but the misfortunes which the intriguers and insurgents had brought on him, were equally held forth as motives of detestation; and the injustice the nation had already committed, or connived at, in the murder of many individuals, whose only crime was loyalty, was urged as a reason for their persevering in the same cause, and imbruing their hands in the blood
3d Nov. of the sovereign [p]. His activity on this occasion excited popular resentment; his house was once surrounded by a mob who demanded his head, and at another time, the *fédérés* vowed vengeance against him, insomuch, that he pretended to be alarmed for his safety, and, was indulged by Santerre with a guard near his place of abode [q].

[o] Life of General Dumouriez, vol iii. p. 260. 290. Mercure François, No. du 27 Octobre 1792, p. 239. 253. 262. Moore's Journal, Vol. ii. p. 163 to 170. See DUMOURIEZ.

[p] Impartial History, vol. ii. p. 215. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 280.

[q] Goudemetz's Epochs. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 360.

At

At length his malignity was gratified, by the decree that ordered the king to the bar of the convention, and ſtill further by the reſult of his trial, which he promoted with unabated rancor; combating every argument tending to mercy, and overwhelming with abuſe and miſrepreſentation all who oppoſed the ſanguinary meaſure he was reſolved to carry. It was obſerved, that, on the day of the king's appearance at the bar of the convention, his face, for the firſt time, wore the ſmile of ſatisfaction; and, as an equally extraordinary phænomenon, that he was dreſſed in a new ſuit of clothes. He moved, that the crime of foreſtalling grain and money, of aſ- 10th Dec.
faſſinations under pretence of law, and many other charges, ſhould be added to the king's accuſation. Yet it may ſerve to prove the inconſiſtency of his character, that, the next day, he moved that all charges 11th.
alluding to crimes committed before his acceptance of the conſtitution, ſhould be omitted in his act of accuſation, which was over-ruled by his colleagues [r].

This act of juſtice in him was merely fortuitous; he ſoon reſumed his wonted ferocity; on the queſtion of puniſhment, he voted for death, with execution 16th Jan.
of the ſentence within four-and-twenty hours; and 1793.
on the queſtion of reſpite, he repeated the ſame 19th Jan.
opinions, which he accompanied with the moſt clamorous abuſe of thoſe who oppoſed them [s].

While this trial was depending, he ſtood candidate Candidate for the mayoralty.
for the office of mayor of Paris, vacant by the reſignation of Petion, but he obtained only forty-one ſuffrages [t]. He had been denounced by Claviere, for having, as member of the committee of inſpection, refuſed to give any account of the effects, jewels, gold, aſſignats, and papers, found at the houſe of the treaſurer of the civil liſt. A decree was made that they ſhould be tranſmitted to the na-

[r] Debates. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 507. 509. et paſſim.
[s] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 597. Debates.
[t] Mercure François, No. du 3 Novembre 1792, p. 48.

tional

Honored by the Jacobins.

tional treaſury within four-and-twenty hours. Marat, accompanied by Robeſpierre, went to the Jacobin club, where he was received with acclamation and enthuſiaſm. He was honored with the title of *magnanimous*; and his profound ſagacity in recommending ſuch numerous decollations was highly applauded. Great complaints were made of the inciviſm and perſecuting ſpirit of the miniſters, and he reſolved to ſeek for refuge in his *ſouterrain*. Here he remained but three days, though he continued for a much longer time to date his papers from thence. He did not in them aſſume a ſtyle of greater moderation, but ſtill continued to adviſe the cutting off of heads, the partition of property, and the plunder of the wealthy [t].

His violence againſt the Briſſotines.

In the conteſt between his party and the Briſſotines he was ſignally ſerviceable; for though the diſguſt excited by his appearance in the convention was ſuch that even his known intimates appeared aſhamed to aſſociate with him, though Danton profeſſed to diſlike, and Robeſpierre denied having much connection with him, yet his intrepidity in all matters where nothing was to be apprehended but ſhame, and his facility in inciting inſurrection and intriguing with the mob, rendered him a neceſſary aſſociate in their projects. The Briſſotines, who had felt the effects of his malice, were anxious to procure his expulſion from the aſſembly, or his execution, but he had taken too firm root in the favour of the populace to fear the reſult of their exertions. Briſſot now wrote, and Vergniaud and Louvet declaimed, in vain; they had it in their power to have cruſhed him during the firſt adminiſtration of Roland, but his libels on the court were then too ſerviceable; they foſtered the ſerpent to ſting the royal family, and were afterwards them-

[t] Mercure François, du 10 Novembre 1792, p. 96. 110, 111. Du 27 Novembre, p. 194. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 397.

ſelves

ſelves deſervedly victims to his venom. Reſtrained by no impulſe of ſhame or ſenſe of truth, he returned their ſarcaſms with groſs abuſe, their accuſations with recrimination, calling them royaliſts, ariſtocrats, *muſcadins*, and heaping on them every charge which was likely to inflame the public mind: he alſo accuſed them, and not without truth, of being acceſſaries by their connivance to the acts of the 2d of September. The oppoſition made by that inconſiſtent faction to the progreſs of the king's trial, afforded him a ſtill greater opportunity of repreſenting them to the public as royaliſts; and the reſult of that tranſaction rendered their deſtruction eaſy. From the period of the king's execution, Marat was affectedly held forth by his partiſans as a teſt in revolutionary opinions; thoſe who did not think exactly as he did were reckoned counter-revolutioniſts. His aſcendancy was ſo great, that the convention was often obliged to ſuſpend all other deliberations to attend to his egotiſms, whims, and impertinences. In vain were decrees made againſt him, he violated them the moment they were formed, ſecure of impunity from the influence of the mob over the enſlaved and cowardly legiſlature [y].

Rancor againſt Dumouriez.

His rancor againſt Dumouriez, which had known no intermiſſion, led him to depreciate all his ſucceſſes, and conſtantly point him out as a traitor to the country. The famous battle of Jemappe he treated as a treacherous exertion of the general to occaſion a wanton ſacrifice of the Pariſian recruits [z]. He propheſied that he would deſert like la Fayette; and to exaſperate the inhabitants of the capital, aſſerted that his *aides-de-camp* wallowed in gold and

[y] See Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 5. 119. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 295. 493. Mercure François, No. du 29 Septembre 1792. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 455. vol. ii. p. 234, 235. Young's Example of France, p. 28.

[z] Mercure François, No. du 17 Nov. 1792. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 423.

ſilver,

silver, and made use of assignats of fifty livres (2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*) to light their pipes[y]. The accomplishment of this prediction, though produced in a great degree by the treachery of the Mountain, and by his own calumnies, raised him in the eyes of the Parisians, and inflamed his vanity to the highest pitch.

Contest with the Brissotines.

He took advantage of this circumstance to redouble his attacks on the opposing faction; he charged them with being accomplices of the general, and, as president of the Jacobin club, signed an address exhorting the popular societies to unite, and by reiterated petitions compel the convention to expel those unfaithful abettors of Dumouriez, who betrayed their trust, and did not vote for the death of the tyrant. Previous to this period, Salles had denounced him for publishing an inflammatory journal, inviting the people to murder and pillage; but, as Marat was supported by the galleries, this had no other effect than to throw the convention into one of those convulsions which then generally terminated their debates. They also procured an address from the popular societies at Amiens, requiring, amongst other things, a decree of accusation against him; but the convention passed to the order of the day[z]. In return, he accused the Brissotines of having abetted the pillage of the shops which took place in February, and of the conspiracy of the 10th of March[a]. But these were only preludes to a more daring attack: he ventured to denounce three hundred deputies, as conspirators devoted to Brissot and his coadjutors; but this attempt failed of success. He soon however returned to the charge, and pointedly accused the Brissotines of being accomplices with Dumouriez; but this denunciation had

26th Feb. 1793.

28 April 12th.

[y] Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 389. 404. Louvet's Narrative, p. 30.

[z] Debates. [a] Brissot à ses Commettans, p. 32.

no

no other effect than to create a confuſion ſo violent that the preſident was obliged to put on his hat. The adverſe party diſplayed an unexpected courage and unanimity; ſwords were drawn on each ſide, and theſe *ſoi-diſant* Romans, this aſſembly of philoſophers, thirſting for blood and inflamed with mutual hatred, were more like the contending gladiators of the amphitheatre than the philoſophical diſputants of the portico. The preſident ſucceeded in preventing mutual carnage, and thus the affair terminated for the preſent [b]. In the evening ſitting, Gaudet, by way of revenge, moved for a decree of accuſation againſt Marat, chiefly on the ground of his having, as preſident of the Jacobins, ſigned the addreſs above mentioned; to which he alleged he had put his name merely as preſident, without knowing or conſidering the contents; but, with his accuſtomed audacity, defended and juſtified them. After a debate of two-and-twenty hours, a decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt him by a very large majority, and he was ordered to be ſent to the Abbaye. This tranſaction proves, that when active and united, the Girondiſts could ſtill command a majority in the convention, on ſome occaſions at leaſt; but their weakneſs, treachery, jealouſy, and timidity had occaſioned them to loſe ſo many advantages out of doors, all of which their more active opponents had ſecured, that a ſingle exertion produced no other good than a temporary prolongation of a ſtruggle, the event of which might eaſily be foreſeen. Marat at firſt declared that the decree againſt him was only obtained to excite commotion, and that he would brave the fury of his enemies; but having eſcaped by the connivance of his jailor from confinement, he again repaired to his vault, where he remained carefully concealed, though he continued to write and publiſh with unabated rancour and au-

Denounced by Gaudet.

Eſcapes from confinement.

[b] Debates. New Annual Regiſter for 1793, p. 175.

dacity [c]. He had little to fear from a trial before the revolutionary tribunal, the jurors of which were all appointed by himſelf, an exertion of power which the timid right ſide had permitted him to uſurp, after a jury had been aſcertained by ballot [d]. His perſonal timidity, however, was ſuch, that it required all the influence of Robeſpierre, who had defended him in the convention, to induce him to come forward, and ſtand his trial [e], even though Rouſſillon, one of the jurors, had ſaid to his friends in the Cordeliers club; "Fear nothing for his "life. They talk of arreſting him; I invite you "to ſtab the firſt man who dares lay his ſacrilegious "hands on the *friend of the people* [f]."

Partiality of the jury.

23d Apr. Surrenders himſelf.

At length, having himſelf fixed a day for his trial, Marat, the day before, ſurrendered himſelf to the keeper of the Conciergerie. He was attended to the tribunal by a great concourſe of his adherents, and appeared rather as a judge than a criminal. On entering the hall, he thus addreſſed the bench: "Citizens; you do not ſee before you a culprit, but "the apoſtle and martyr of liberty; the decree of "accuſation againſt me has been obtained by a "group of factious intriguers." This inſult on the legiſlature was received with general applauſe. His interrogatory was ſlight, and his anſwers heard by the enraptured mob with all the reſpect and applauſe due to oracles. His acquittal was pronounced without heſitation, and the hall reſounded with applauſes. Marat, ſtanding on a table, ſaid, "Citizens, "judges, and jurors, the fate of traitors againſt the "nation is in your hands: protect the innocent, "puniſh the guilty, and the country will be "ſaved."

24th. His acquittal.

31ſt May.

[c] Crimes de Marat, p. 13.
[d] Louvet's Narrative, p. 41.
[e] Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 13. 66. Crimes de Marat, p. 15.
[f] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 45. n.

A ludi-

A ludicrous ſcene and groteſque proceſſion ſucceeded. The mob, intoxicated with joy and enthuſiaſm, ruſhed towards Marat, and covering his brow with crowns and branches of oak which they had already prepared, carried him to the grand ſtaircaſe of the *Palais*, where an orator commanded the audience to pay homage to the friend of the people ſo unjuſtly accuſed. The air was rent with cries of *Vive Marat! vive l'ami du peuple!* and the proceſſion moved towards the hall of the convention, forcing every one they met to pull of their hats, and join in the cry of *Vive Marat!* The object of theſe acclamations, a little, deformed, creature, meanly dreſſed, ſat in ridiculous ſtate, almoſt hid with civic crowns and oak boughs, affecting with burleſque gravity a triumphant air, and repaying the popular fanaticiſm with nods, ſmiles, and looks of protection. He is carried in triumph.

Thus eſcorted, he entered the hall of the convention, having firſt modeſtly taken off his civic crowns, which he carried in his hand. He aſcended the tribune and ſaid: "Legiſlators of the French nation: "I preſent to you, at this moment, a citizen who "has been inculpated, but is now completely juſ-"tified; he offers you an upright heart; he will "continue to defend, with all the energy he poſ-"ſeſſes, the rights of man, liberty, and the privi-"leges of the people." This harangue was received with unbounded applauſe by the mob. Marat was about to quit the tribune, but the people required him to ſtay till the preſident ſhould have anſwered his addreſs. The preſident ſaid: "It is not cuſ-"tomary to anſwer the addreſſes of citizens, unleſs "they preſent petitions, now Marat certainly does "not appear as a petitioner." Danton, however, proclaimed this one of the *beautiful days* of the French revolution. Oſſelin moved that the judgment of the revolutionary tribunal ſhould be inſerted in the Addreſs to the convention.

bulletin. The convention, glorying in its inſignificance, applauded and conſented[g].

31ſt May. Expulſion of the Briſſotines.

It now became obvious, that one party muſt triumph by the deſtruction of the other, many tumultuous debates, and even manual ſkirmiſhes took place in the interval between the time of Marat's reſuming his ſeat and the 31ſt of May, a day which decided the conteſt, and which, by his influence in the clubs and in the central committees, he greatly forwarded; and it muſt be obſerved, that, of his own authority, he made ſeveral alterations in the liſt of perſons proſcribed, ſtriking out ſome, and inſerting others, without conſulting the petitioners or the convention[h].

Marat's arrogance.

This triumph over the Briſſotines, confirmed by the ſubſequent arreſtation of ſeventy members attached to the ſame party, rendered the aſcendancy of the Mountain uncontrollable. Marat was treated with more honour and reſpect than any individual ſince the revolution, and exerted a ſway in the convention and the clubs more abſolute than was ever before known in bodies ſtyled deliberative. In fact, they ſubmitted to all his whims and caprices, and ſeemed to derive to themſelves honor from their

3d June. ſubmiſſion. The day after the arreſt of the adverſe deputies, he announced a reſolution not to deliver any opinion in the aſſembly till they ſhould have been

17th June. brought to trial, but as that could not be immediately done, he ſoon retracted the determination[i]. His extravagances were more bearable from the obvious certainty that the wretch was haſtening to

His ill health. his grave, and that nothing could ſave him. His conſtitution had never been good, and at this period,

[g] Crimes de Marat, p. 17. Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 45. Louvet's Narrative, p. 43. Pagès, v. ii. p. 74.

[h] Louvet's Narrative, p. 44. Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 302. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 80.

[i] Debates.

he

he was eat up with a leprous complaint; which adding its ravages to his natural deformity, and habitual filthineſs, rendered him an object truly diſguſting to look at, and ſometimes obliged him to a retirement from buſineſs, during which he uſed the bath, and other medical preſcriptions. On the ſymptoms which attended his diſorder a ſuſpicion has been founded, that a ſlow poiſon had been adminiſtered to him by Robeſpierre: it is even averred that he was conſcious of the treachery of his colleague, who thus attempted to cut him off at the height of his popularity, that he, ſucceeding him in the public opinion, might make uſe of it to further his projects of vengeance and ambition[k]. I do not, however, conſider this ſuggeſtion well-founded, but rather one of thoſe calumnies which the reſentment of all parties has been willing to add to the real crimes of Robeſpierre.

His days were not terminated by diſeaſe or poiſon; the man of blood ended his life in blood. During one of the receſſes from public affairs to which diſeaſe compelled him, a young woman called at his lodging on ſome pretended buſineſs. She was admitted juſt as he was coming out of the bath. After ſome previous converſation ſhe introduced the ſubject of the proſcribed deputies, and is ſaid to have pleaded for mercy. Marat, with his accuſtomed ferocity, anſwered that all the promoters of inſurrection in the departments were doomed to death. "Then you ſhall precede them," ſhe exclaimed, and drawing a knife ſtabbed him in the breaſt; he ſtaggered, fell, and expired[l]. 13th July 1793. His death.

The

[k] Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 13. 66.

[l] *Marie Anne Pierre* CHARLOTTE CORDE' or CORDAY, the woman who performed this remarkable aſſaſſination, was a native of Saint Saturnin des Lienerets. She was the daughter of a gentleman in eaſy circumſtances, and had inflamed her mind by ſtudy and meditation to the commiſſion of an act, which ſhe thought would be beneficial to her country. But her action cannot be aſcribed to patriotiſm

Conſequences of his death.

The death of Marat was of great ſervice to his party, and the period at which it took place ſingularly fortunate; it afforded the chiefs of his faction

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alone; it is not improbable that ſhe was influenced by love for Barbaroux, whom ſhe had long known, and whoſe life ſhe imagined to be at Marat's diſpoſal. While the proſcribed deputies were at Caen, ſhe frequently came, attended by a ſervant, to the town-hall, and inquired for Barbaroux, to whom ſhe pretended ſome buſineſs, but always converſed with him in preſence of her domeſtic. She was apprehended immediately on the perpetration of her extraordinary attempt, and ſent firſt to the Abbaye, and afterwards to the Conciergerie. She was put on her trial the 17th, and avowed the fact and all the circumſtances, alledging as a juſtification, that ſhe conſidered Marat a criminal already convicted by the public opinion, and that ſhe had a right to put him to death. She added, that ſhe did not expect to have been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but to have been delivered up to the rage of the populace, torn to pieces, and that her head fixed on a pike would have been borne before Marat on his ſtate bed and ſerve as a rallying point to Frenchmen, if any ſtill exiſted worthy of that name. Her anſwers to the various interrogatories were brief, pointed, diſtinguiſhed by good ſenſe, and ſometimes by wit. Her advocate, precluded by her confeſſion from making any defence as to the facts, delivered a ſpeech in her favour, in which he inſiſted, that her unruffled calmneſs and ſupernatural ſelf-denial muſt be occaſioned only by that fermentation of political fanaticiſm, which alſo armed her hand with the dagger, and that it was for them to conſider what weight that moral conſideration ſhould have in the ſcale of juſtice. She was found guilty, and executed the ſame day. When ſentence was pronounced on her ſhe thanked her counſel for the manner in which he had pleaded her cauſe, which ſhe ſaid was delicate and generous. She deſired a friend to pay the debts ſhe had contracted while in priſon, and requeſted of the judges, that three letters which ſhe had in her hand, two to Barbaroux, and one to her father, might be delivered. In her way to the place of execution, ſhe diſplayed a firmneſs and tranquillity which charmed many of the ſpectators, and even awed into ſilence thoſe perſons called revolutionary women, or furies of the guillotine, who in general purſued the victim to death with execrations and reproaches. She ſubmitted to her fate with the ſame compoſure which marked her preceding conduct. She is deſcribed by Louvet, who ſaw her at Caen, to have been ſtout, well made, with an open air, and modeſt behaviour; her face that of a fine, and pretty woman combined. The circumſtances which attended this extraordinary action, the privacy with which it was concerted, the reſolution with which it was executed, the openneſs of confeſſion, the contempt of puniſhment, and, above all, the execrable character of the wretch who was the object of it, have taken off ſo much of the horror generally felt at an act of aſſaſſination, that the name of Charlotte Corday is generally pronounced with reſpect and a great degree of admiration. Her Letters (or rather her Letter and Continuation) to Barbaroux, are given in the Appendix, No. V.

a freſh

a freſh topic of declamation againſt the fugitives, to whom, with ſome appearance of probability, they attributed the formation of the plot; it enabled them to accelerate the trial of thoſe who were in their hands, and to involve many innocent perſons in pretended conſpiracies[m]; and it delivered them from a malignant wretch, no longer uſeful to their deſigns.

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Proceedings in the convention.

The day after Marat's death, the whole city of Paris was in extreme agitation. Before the convention had commenced its ſittings, the door of the hall was beſieged by petitioners, who came from the ſections to deplore the *friend of the people*, and invoke vengeance on his aſſaſſins. One of the petitioners expreſſed himſelf in theſe words: "Repreſentatives, the paſſage from life to death is but a "moment—Marat is no more! O crime! the hand "of a parricide has ſnatched from us the moſt "intrepid defender of the people—Marat is no "more! he conſtantly ſacrificed himſelf to the "public liberty, and that was his offence—Our "eyes ſtill ſeek him in the midſt of you—O diſmal "ſight! he is on the bed of death—Where art "thou, David? Thou didſt preſerve for poſterity "the image of Lepelletier dying for his country; "thou haſt now another ſubject to employ thy "pencil. And you, legiſlators, decree a law "founded on the circumſtance; the moſt horrible "torments are inſufficient to avenge the nation for "ſo enormous a crime; annihilate for ever both "villany and crimes; inſtruct hireling aſſaſſins in the "value of life, and, inſtead of cutting them off in a "moment, let the dread of torture diſarm thoſe "parricides who threaten the lives of the people's "repreſentatives."—No decree followed this ſanguinary petition. The attention of the legiſlature was immediately engaged by Chabot, who related

[m] See Appel à l'Impartial Poſterité, vol. ii. p. 72.

the circumſtances of Marat's death, and moved for a decree of accuſation againſt Duperret and Fauchet as accomplices with Charlotte Corday; which being reinforced by the arguments of Couthon, was granted [a].

Marat lies in ſtate.

The death of Marat was hardly announced, when his partizans ſtudied how to make his funeral as grand and intereſting as poſſible. His houſe not being large enough to gratify the immenſe concourſe of people whom curioſity had attracted, it was reſolved to embalm his body, and depoſit it in the church *des Cordeliers*. The whole building was adorned with national colours. In the middle of the nave was an elevated ſtate-bed, ſurrounded with cypreſs, and bearing this inſcription: "MARAT, "*the friend of the people, aſſaſſinated by the enemies* "*of the people: foes to the country, moderate your* "*joy, he will find avengers.*" The croud who attended to contemplate his features, were however diſappointed; he was intirely disfigured, and his corpſe was abſolutely diſguſting.

His funerals.

His funeral ceremony, which was performed by torch-light, was grand and ſolemn. Mournful muſic was heard at intervals, forming an accompaniment to ſongs of woe, written for the occaſion. All elſe was ſilence, ſave the ſpeeches made at ſtated intervals by orators, who came to pay the laſt tribute of reſpect to the friend of the people, and the occaſional murmurs of the mob, expreſſing regret at the loſs of their friend. The convention and the conſtituted authorities attended in coſtume, and the body was eſcorted by a large detachment of the national guard. Numerous groups of women, young girls, and children, were placed at proper diſtances, to act the part of exceſſive grief, and nothing was omitted which could convey the appearance of woe and regret.

[a] Debates. Crimes de Marat, p. 43.

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The body was depoſited in the church-yard of the Cordeliers. The eve of the ceremony, a deputation of the club of Cordeliers attended at the municipality to demand leave to preſent a petition to the convention, in order to obtain for Marat the honours of the Pantheon: but Chaumette, *procureur de la commune*, though himſelf a Cordelier, oppoſed this propoſition. He exclaimed, "Let *ci-devant* "nobles repoſe in thoſe ſuperb temples; leave to "them their ſumptuous pantheons: to *ſans-culottes* "the temple of Nature belongs. I move that a "ſtone, a rough ſtone, be placed on the tomb of "Marat, with this ſingle inſcription: *Here reſts the* "*friend of his country, aſſaſſinated by the enemies of* "*his country.*" This plan was adopted, and the funeral ceremony concluded with a grand and affecting piece of muſic in honor of the deceaſed.

The Cordeliers, afterwards, thought proper to honour the *heart of Marat* with a ſeparate ceremony. They ſought, in the *garde meuble de la Couronne*, for the moſt precious and exquiſitely ornamented urn, in which they depoſited the heart of Marat. The day preceding this ceremony, a member of the club read an oration which he had prepared. It had for a motto, *O Cor Jeſus! O Cor Marat!* and began thus—"Heart of Jeſus! Heart of Marat! ye "are equally intitled to our homage." The orator proceeded to compare the life of our Bleſſed Saviour with that of the friend of the people. Marat's apoſtles were the Jacobins and Cordeliers; the Publicans, the ſhop-keepers; and the Phariſees, the ariſtocrats. "Jeſus was a prophet," ſaid the orator; "Marat is a deity." Continuing his eulogy, he compared Marat's concubine to the Virgin Mary; the one concealed the infant Jeſus in Egypt, the other ſaved the friend of the people from the ſword of la Fayette *. This diſcourſe was received with conſiderable

28th July. His heart conſecrated.

* I confeſs that I feel conſiderable repugnance in publiſhing theſe horrible blaſphemies; but the diſplay of mental degradation, and exceſſive

consiederable applause; but a member of the club found cause for censure. "We must hear no more "of this Jesus," he said, "it is all nonsense; re- "publicans own no God but Philosophy and Li- "berty." The speech was not spoken, but the ceremony took place. The urn containing the heart was hung up with great pomp in the dome of the hall of the Cordeliers. Robespierre, and the principal members of the Mountain attended, the whole audience were decorated with red caps, and every act denoted extravagance and enthusiasm [p]. Forty-eight feasts were given in honor of him [q]. It was decreed that the bust of Mirabeau should be moved from the Pantheon to make room for his [r], and images of him were distributed all over France [s]. One of the sections of Paris assumed his name; which was also given to Havre de Grace, to Port Dauphin in Madagascar, and to the isle of Bouen. His name was also applied to one of the companies of the revolutionary army, to a ship of the line, and assumed by many individuals in revolutionary committees in various parts of the country [t]. David made a picture on the subject of his death, and in pronouncing his eulogium, mentioned his acquaintance with Marat as a consolation for having come into the world too late to be personally known to Cato, Aristides, Socrates, and many other illustrious ancients [u].

25th Nov. Idolizedby the public.

Though these testimonies of respect were sanctioned and promoted by Robespierre; though he placed

Robespierre suspected.

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ecessive absurdity, is not without its use. It serves to shew how easily the meanest of mankind can attain a degree of impiety so abandoned as to wrest the laurel from the whole race of modern free-thinkers; and it demonstrates the justice of restraining attacks on the scripture, which would else be equally degraded by the ferocity of atheism, and the folly of fanaticism.

[p] Crimes de Marat, p. 83. et seq.

[q] Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 70.

[r] Pagès, vol. i. p. 388. Journals.

[s] Etat de la France, p. 70.

[t] Pagès, vol. ii. p. 60. Etat de la France, p. 78. Tench's Correspondence, &c. &c.

[u] Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 74.

the

the buſt of Marat on the altar of the Supreme Being [x]; yet he has not eſcaped the ſuſpicion of having been the enemy of his fame, and the improbable accuſation of having procured Charlotte Corday to accelerate his death [y]. After the fall of Robeſpierre, the Jacobins ſuggeſted that jealouſy had prevented the canonization of Marat; and there was not ſenſe of virtue in the convention ſufficient to prevent the diſgraceful ceremony. It was the cuſtom to introduce a buſt of him on the theatre to receive the applauſes of the patriotic ſpectators. But at length an end was put to theſe abſurdities; the name of the ſection was changed, his buſt was kicked out of the Pantheon, and by the decree againſt premature apotheoſes, forbid to be exhibited on the theatre: the eulogium of David is only remembered with contempt, and the ſubject of it is no longer contemplated but the horror due to his crimes [z].

Marat falls into contempt.

Marat was in perſon very diminutive; his head diſproportionately large; his complexion livid and cadaverous, and his countenance ſingularly expreſſive of his malignant and ſanguinary diſpoſition. Dr. Moore ſays, that "to a painter of maſſacres it "would be ineſtimable." In his dreſs, he affected to ſet the *ton* in point of dirt and ſhabbineſs; Chabot was his rival in this particular, and the club of Cordeliers their humble imitators. In his own houſe he is deſcribed to have been ſeen in the following attire: "He had on boots, without ſtockings, an "old pair of leather breeches, and a white ſilk "waiſtcoat. His dirty ſhirt, open at the boſom, "exhibited his ſkin of yellow hue; long dirty nails "marked his fingers' ends, and his frightful viſage "was perfectly in uniſon with this ſtrange dreſs [a]."

Deſcription of his perſon and manners.

When

[x] Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 36. [y] Idem, p. 71.
[z] See Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iv. p. 9.
[a] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 171. The deſcription of his perſon, dreſs, manners, and peculiarities, is principally taken from the fragment

When he went abroad, he wore a large round hat flouched over his eyes, ſo as to hide a great part of his face. He was characteriſed, next to his ferocity and envy, by a perſeverance which did not permit him to ſee or acknowledge any difficulties in the way which led to the execution of his favourite project; his vanity, which made him conſider himſelf all-ſufficient, ſtrengthened this diſpoſition; and the general exaggeration of his ideas, in all matters relating to himſelf or others, made him adopt modes of action which no perſon but himſelf would have deviſed, and to which no times but thoſe in which he lived could have given effect. As a philoſopher, he toiled inceſſantly in the repetition of philoſophical experiments, in hopes to enjoy the pleaſure of humbling the academy of ſciences, and of overturning the ſyſtems of Newton, or the opinions of Helvetius. As an orator, he wanted every advantage; he expreſſed himſelf with difficulty, his ideas were confuſed, his voice hollow and croaking, his words and geſtures abrupt and unconnected; yet he exhibited himſelf in every tribune, and, in ſpite of contempt and deriſion, would be heard: he affected a ſolemnity in his addreſs, and uſed to hold his head as high as poſſible, to acquire an air of dignity; callous to every appearance of diſlike or diſguſt, he never for a moment loſt the confident look of ſelf-approbation, but retorted on his diſſatisfied hearers looks and expreſſions of menace and contempt. His temper was ſudden and violent; in converſation he could not bear the leaſt contradiction, but flew out inſtantaneouſly into the moſt paſſionate exclamation and rancorous abuſe. The extravagant wildneſs of his ideas will appear as well from a fact related by Briſſot, as from the continual confiſcations and murders he afterwards recommended:

ment of Briſſot before alluded to; from the Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 153. Dr. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 155. vol. ii. p. 165. 397.; from Roland's Appeal; and from Garat's Memoirs, p. 88.

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In order to be cured of the cholic, he was desirous to have his belly opened, but could not find a surgeon who would undertake the operation. His passion for praise, or rather for publicity, was vast and indiscriminate; provided his name filled every mouth, he was indifferent whether it was repeated with applauses or execrations; and was jealous even of his associates, if they affected to surpass him in wickedness. Marat was not brave, though he was irascible and audacious. During the old government, he was afraid of the Bastille; and in the course of the new, under continual apprehension of personal danger and imprisonment. Love of fame was the disease of his mind; avarice had no place in it. At his death he was possessed of no more than one assignat of twenty-five sols (*1s. 0½d.*); madame Roland however combats this fact by a statement of the elegance of his apartments, one of which she describes as furnished with blue and white damask, and decorated with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, a splendid chandelier, superb China vases, filled with natural flowers, then scarce, and of a high price [b]. The assertion of the Brissotine writers, that he was in the pay of the combined powers [c], is unfounded. It may be regarded as a retaliation for the accusation of venality with which they were charged by his partisans; for Marat, unsolicitous about money, too vain to think that an adequate price could be set on his services, and an utter stranger to the dictates of gratitude, was not to be purchased; nor would the attempt be made by any persons whose sagacity was superior to, or whose situation was not so desperate as that of the deluded and abandoned Orleans.

[b] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 171.
[c] See Louvet's Narrative, p. 25. 30. 39. 45. 53.

GABRIEL-HONORE RIQUETTI COMTE DE MIRABEAU.

AMONG the manifold characters whom the French revolution has expoſed to obſervation, no one has excited greater intereſt or occaſioned more ſpeculation than Mirabeau. Diſtinguiſhed from his coadjutors by the extent of his talents, the rapidity and vigour of his eloquence, and ſtill more by that imperious energy of deciſion, which is the true characteriſtic of genius and keeps all competitors at a diſtance; his revolutionary career, though ſhort, is brilliant, and his abilities have ſecured to him that renown which his virtues could not have claimed. Although the vices of Mirabeau, his treachery, profligacy, and venality, entitle him to the ſevereſt cenſure, ſuch is the privilege of extraordinary endowments, that he is in general contemplated, not only without horror, but with a degree of complacency; and the French revolution has produced ſo many other public characters who, exceeding him in every evil quality, poſſeſſed none of his claims to admiration, that if he is not purified, he is at leaſt dignified by the compariſon.

Family of Mirabeau.

The anceſtors of Mirabeau were emigrants from Italy. In the year 1268, Gerard Arrighetti, and Azzuccio his ſon, were baniſhed from Florence for their adherence to the Ghibelline party. They took refuge in France, and eſtabliſhed themſelves at Seyne in Provence, where a grandſon of Gerard Arrighetti founded an hoſpital dedicated to the Holy Ghoſt. The Italian Arrighetti was in time

softened to the French appellative Riquetti; and a widow of the ancient and noble family of Barras having, by a second marriage, alienated the estate in Provence known by the name of Mirabeau, it was purchased by Jean de Riquety, and erected into a marquisate by letters patent in July 1685; from which period the family of Riquety, or Riquetti de Mirabeau, became ennobled [d].

Gabriel-Honoré Riquetti de Mirabeau was born at Egreville [e]. His father was a leader of the sect of Economists, and enjoyed a considerable reputation as author of a work intitled *l'Ami des Hommes*, and several other pieces. The education of the young count was carefully attended to, but he is said to have made so little progress as by no means to prepare the minds of his acquaintance for the brilliant exertions by which he was afterwards distinguished. An anecdote which is recorded of him seems however to prove, that this apparent indocility was in fact nothing but a contempt for the routine of study designated by his tutors: a more discerning master put into his hands, at the age of fourteen, Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, which soon occupied his entire attention; on reading the first chapter of the second book, he seemed absorbed in profound meditation; at length starting from his reverie he exclaimed, "This is "the book I wanted." He studied the work with much attention, and some years afterwards meeting his tutor in a public walk, affectionately accosted him, saying, "I shall never forget that you made "me acquainted with Locke [f]." 9th March 1749. Birth.

[d] Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, par M. de la Chenaye Desbois, art. MIRABEAU et RIQUETY.

[e] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 262. The author of a pamphlet, intitled "Vie Publique et Privée de Mirabeau," says he was born at Paris. As that author is misinformed in many particulars, and seems to have entertained great prejudices against Mirabeau, I have not relied implicitly on his information; and still less on his opinions in those facts where his production is cited as an authority.

[f] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 262.

Family

Imprisonment.

Family differences, into the merits of which it is impossible at this distance of time to penetrate, occasioned Mirabeau's father to procure a *lettre de cachet* against him. It is said by one author, that his satiric vein too freely indulged produced this act of parental severity [g]: another has not scrupled to assert, that it was occasioned by a discovery that the young count had projected the murder of his parent by poison [h]. Mirabeau himself avers that the cause of his disgrace was the intriguing disposition of a female, who led the father to apprehend that his son would disgrace himself by an ill-chosen matrimonial alliance [i]. He was however closely confined in the *Isle de Rhé*. This imprisonment took place when Mirabeau was only seventeen years of age, and lasted fifteen months, at the end of which he was liberated at his own earnest intercession [k].

1768. Serves in Corsica.

On being set at liberty, he obtained a commission in the dragoons [l], and went to serve in Corsica, which the French were then employed in subjugating, and remained there thirteen months. No authentic mention is made of his conduct in this situation; it is therefore reasonable to believe his own representation, that he behaved in such a manner as to deserve the approbation of his superior officers. He adds, that he compiled a laborious work, which was much applauded by those who had seen it, but was suppressed by his father [m]. During his stay in this island, he assumed the name of Buffière, derived from an estate belonging to his family [n].

June 1772. Marries.

At the termination of the war he returned to France, and addicted himself to every species of irregularity. The prudence or parsimony of his father prevented his allowing such a stipend as would sup-

g Anecdotes, &c. ubi supra.
h Vie Publique & Privée de Mirabeau, p. 2.
i Lettres écrites du Donjon de Vincennes, vol. i. p. 189.
k Vie Publique, &c. p. 3. Lettres ecrites, &c. vol. i. p. 185.
l Dictionnaire de la Noblesse.
m Lettres ecrites, &c. vol. i. p. 190.
n Vie Publique, &c. p. 15.

port

port these extravagances, and Mirabeau was consequently involved in great distress. To repair his fortune, and supply the means of gratifying his favourite passions, he turned his attention to the state of matrimony, and selected for the object of his pursuit Marguerite-Emilie de Covet, daughter of the marquis de Marignane, who then resided at Aix. The lady's fortune, which was supposed to amount to a million (43,750 *l.*), was a great temptation; but the enterprise was not in other respects promising, as she was already engaged to a gentleman named la Valette, and the marriage on the point of being concluded. Mirabeau, however, found means to supplant this rival, and several others of the first families in France, who made the most unexceptionable offers, and even to obtain the consent of the marquis de Marignane [o]. Application was made to Mirabeau's father, who, without opposing a match so advantageous and honourable, wrote such an answer as gave no encouragement to the proposal, and refused to advance any money towards his son's establishment [p].

[o] Mirabeau's biographer asserts, that the young lady's father at first declined the alliance; but that Mirabeau obtained his consent by the following stratagem: Early one morning he made his appearance at the coffee-house frequented by the nobility, in the same dress he had worn the preceding day, with disordered hair and tumbled linen. His friends began rallying, and hoped he had passed an agreeable evening. "Charming," said he, "for I passed it with little Marignane." The story was reported to her father, who, as the only means of preserving his daughter's reputation, consented to her marriage. Vie Publique, &c. p. 6. This account is not altogether probable, as the conduct it supposes is altogether inconsistent with the sentiments of honour entertained by the French nobility. If it had been true, in all probability the father or lover of the young lady would have challenged her supposed seducer, and she would have been shut up in a convent. I have thought it proper, nevertheless, to relate the anecdote, as there is nothing in it repugnant to Mirabeau's character; and particular circumstances might induce the marquis de Marignane to adopt a line of conduct different from what the general view of the case appeared to dictate. There is, in Mirabeau's Letters in the prison of Vincennes, a narrative of the transaction, in which an expensive intrigue is mentioned, but not described. See vol. i. p. 302, et seq.

[p] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263. Dictionnaire de la Noblesse. Lettres ecrites du Donjon de Vincennes, vol. i. p. 190.

Treament of his wife.

From an alliance formed on such principles, and at Mirabeau's age, little felicity could be expected. His father, though he would not sanction the marriage by any thing more than a mere constrained consent, presented Mirabeau at court, made him his representative in Provence and Limousin, and maintained for a considerable time an amicable epistolary correspondence, in which he styled him a darling son, an esteemed adviser, and an useful co-adjutor [q]. The bride's fortune, however, was not immediately paid; and Mirabeau, unrestrained in his libertinisms by any considerations arising from the state he had recently adopted, soon found himself three hundred thousand livres (12,125*l.*) in debt [r]. He is accused of having treated his unfortunate wife with the most savage barbarity [s]; and the account is not improbable, considering that love was not the motive of his union, that he was naturally choleric and cowardly, and that he considered women as an object of physical indulgence rather than of social esteem [t].

Banishment.

His irregularities became so excessive, that it was thought proper to obtain a *lettre-de-cachet*, by which he was compelled to fix his residence within the limits of the city of Maurique in Provence [u].

Conduct towards his parents.

He obtained a release from this confinement, but it operated no change in his morals or conduct: on the contrary, he seemed to grow desperate, and added to his profligacy a callousness to reproof, which generally indicates the most depraved state of vicious insensibility. His father was not happy in marriage, and the disputes between him and his wife were carried to such an excess, that the lady sued for a separate maintenance. Mirabeau displayed a want of filial feeling altogether unnatural. He had fomented the disputes between his parents;

[q] Lettres ecrites, &c. vol. i. p. 189.
[r] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263.
[s] Vie Publique, &c. p. 7.
[t] Lettres de Mirabeau à Mauvillon, p. 230.
[u] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263.

and

and now, availing himself of his talents, went to his father, and, for an hundred *Louis-d'or*, prepared his memorial for the court. Having done this, he repaired to his mother, and by invectives against his father induced her to pay the same price for the same service. Both memorials were actually presented, and the unnatural son enjoyed the double lucre of his perfidy and insensibility [x].

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He still pursued the career of libertinism and dishonour with such shameless effrontery, that it being again judged necessary to imprison him, he was exiled to the city of Pontarlier [y]. His sister, madame de Cabris, had associated herself with him in his disgraceful pursuits; and, in revenge for some affront offered to her, he had assaulted the baron de Villeneuve, who commenced a suit and recovered six thousand livres (262*l.* 10*s.*) damages [z]. While at Pontarlier, he fell in love with, and seduced from her husband, Sophie Ruffei, marquise de Monnier. The intrigue was for some time carried on in secret; but at length the marquis, who was seventy years of age, obtaining intelligence of the fact, to revenge the indignity he had sustained, procured an order to confine Mirabeau in the citadel of Dijon. While he was in this place, his mistress suffered great severities from her own relations; and Mirabeau's father was preparing to imprison him with more strictness, but he took advantage of the indulgence allowed him by the commandant of Dijon, broke his parole, and escaped into Holland, where he was

Imprisoned.

Intrigue with Sophie Ruffei.

[x] Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 372.

[y] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263. I do not pretend to have been accurate in the narration of Mirabeau's juvenile adventures and the imprisonments which ensued from them. He is said, besides the banishments and confinements already mentioned, to have been detained in the chateau d'If, and the chateau de Joux; in fact, he himself afterwards boasted, in the national assembly, that in the course of his life, seventeen lettres-de-cachet had been issued against him.

[z] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263. Preface du Manuel aux Lettres de Mirabeau, p. 8.

joined by Sophia. It ought not to be omitted, that Mirabeau juſtifies this eſcape, by aſſerting that the commandant connived at and indirectly adviſed it [a].

Sentence againſt him.

The huſband immediately inſtituted a ſuit againſt his wife, in which ſhe was condemned to a forfeiture of dower; and a proſecution againſt Mirabeau, who was ſentenced, by default, to pay fifty livres (2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*) as a fine to the king; forty thouſand livres (1750*l.*) as damages to the marquis de Monnier; and to be beheaded in effigy by the common hangman [b].

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Arreſted in Holland.

As the execution of this part of the ſentence would have diſgraced the whole family, every exertion was made to obtain a reverſal of it; and as the judgment had been obtained by default, it was conceived that it might be ſet aſide if the defendant could be brought within the juriſdiction of the court. His family employed the following means to get him arreſted: an *exempt de police*, named Jaquet de Douei, went to Holland decorated with the military croſs of St. Louis; and pretending to have been exiled from France by miniſterial perſecution, formed an intimacy with Mirabeau, who lodged at the houſe of a tailor, and took the name of St. Mathieu. The *exempt* found means to take Mirabeau into cuſtody, and both he and Sophia were brought priſoners to France. The lady, who was now pregnant, was till her lying-in confined in a private houſe, and afterwards ſent to the convent of Saint Clare at Gien. Mirabeau was impriſoned in the caſtle of Vincennes [c].

May 1777. Impriſoned at Vincennes.

[a] See Lettres ecrites du Donjon de Vincennes, vol. i. p. 387.

[b] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 263. Preface de Manuel, &c. p. 21. 23.

[c] Preface de Manuel, &c. p. 24. Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 264. It is to be obſerved, that Mirabeau compoſed a laborious defence of his conduct up to this period in the ſhape of a memorial to his father, in which he denies, ſuppreſſes, vindicates, or extenuates many of the facts included in the preceding narrative. See Lettres ecrites, &c. p. 287.

In

In this priſon he remained three years and ſeven months, nor could his frequent letters to the miniſters, in which he exclaimed againſt the rigour of his detention, and demanded the privilege of a trial, procure his enlargement, or any ſatisfactory exertion in his favour. The *lieutenant de police* was ſo far intereſted in his behalf, as to connive at a correſpondence which he maintained with the object of his paſſion; but, fettered with this condition, that after once reading, ſhe ſhould return the letter to the *inſpecteur de police*[d]. It is well obſerved by Dr. Moore, that "Mirabeau's exceſſive love of "pleaſure would have tended to render him com-"pletely diſſipated, and of courſe left him ignorant, "had he not employed the long intervals of con-"finement and retirement that his debauches and "his want of money obliged him to, in ſtudies "which, with better health and more riches, he "would have neglected[e]." In the ſtate priſon of Vincennes he ſeems to have thought ſeriouſly of becoming an author. He had before aſſiſted his father, and compiled ſome literary works, which do not appear to have been publiſhed, and had, while in Holland, formed a literary engagement with Fauche the bookſeller, though none of his productions were publiſhed. In this long interval of ſecluſion, he applied himſelf more attentively to this object, and began to conſider literature as a pecuniary reſource. At firſt he employed himſelf in compiling a French grammar for the inſtruction of the offspring of his illicit amour[f]; but as it was more immediately neceſſary

His employments.

[d] Preface de Manuel, &c. p. 8. The collection of letters written by Mirabeau during this impriſonment, and after his death publiſhed by Manuel, do their author no credit as a lover, a ſcholar, or a man. They exhibit the groſſneſs of appetite, without the delicacy of paſſion; they are often querulous without eloquence, and expoſtulatory without dignity.

[e] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 212.

[f] Sophie was delivered of a girl the 7th January 1778. Manuel ſpeaks very highly of Mirabeau's Grammatical Eſſay, which, according

ceſſary to provide for the ſubſiſtence of his infant, then in the care of a wet nurſe, he complied with the corrupt taſte of the times, and ſupplied the hawkers with obſcene pamphlets, under the titles of *Le Libertin de Qualité*, *Ma Converſion*, and *Erotika Biblion*, which laſt unites blaſphemy with indecency [g]. It is, however, but charitable and reaſonable to conclude, that neceſſity and the corruption of the public mind alone induced him thus to debaſe his pen, ſince even while thus employed he found leiſure to compoſe his celebrated eſſay *Sur les Lettres de Cachet, et les Priſons d'Etat* [h]. It was afterwards ſaid, that he received from government five thouſand livres (218 *l.* 15 *s.*) for the copy of this work, and that an edition of ſix thouſand was found in the Baſtille when that fortreſs was deſtroyed [i]. It was publiſhed and well known in the world many years before that event [k].

17th Dec. 1780. Releaſe.

At length Mirabeau obtained his liberty, and found little difficulty in invalidating a ſentence which had been pronounced merely by default, and without any examination of witneſſes. His miſtreſs recovered her dower, and an annuity was ſettled for her maintenance [l]. Mirabeau, however, did not continue long attached to her after obtaining his liberty.

Goes to Switzerland.

His ſtay in France now became impoſſible, from the magnitude of his debts, and the total loſs of his character; he went, therefore, to reſide at Neuf-

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ing to him, compriſed, in twenty-five pages, all the eſſential rules of the French grammar, explained all difficulties, pointed out all the exceptions to general rules, facilitated the conjugation and ſyntax of the irregular verbs; contained all the rules of pronunciation and proſody, and particularly explained the declenſion of participles. Preface de Manuel, p. 35.

[g] Preface de Manuel, p. 36.

[h] Idem, p. 38.

[i] See Le Livre rouge, and the editor's Annotations.

[k] See Lettres de Mirabeau à Chamfort, p. 1.

[l] Preface de Manuel, p. 38.

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chatel in Switzerland, where he publiſhed his eſſay on *Lettres de Cachet*[m]. For ſome years after this, almoſt all traces of Mirabeau are loſt, he ſeems to have been involved in obſcurity and penury. It appears, however, that he commenced an action againſt his father, for maintenance and arrears, in which he finally ſucceeded[n]. It is alſo averred, that he

Suit againſt his father, and wife.

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[m] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 264.

[n] Lettres de Mirabeau à Chamfort, p. 45. I have not been very minute in my reſearches reſpecting the origin of theſe family diſputes, as the diſcuſſion would not intereſt the reader. The character of Mirabeau, as diſplayed in the whole of his life, does not impart a favorable prepoſſeſſion of his filial conduct, and independently of any provocation; and the temper of the elder Mirabeau, as it is repreſented, does not acquit him of probable miſconduct. The complaints the father and ſon had a right to make againſt each other are thus preſented in the abſtract by Mirabeau himſelf: "What have you "done!" my father will exclaim: "Your youth afforded a preſage of "the diſorders of your more mature age. I was obliged to impriſon "you at ſeventeen, and omitting your ſmaller profligacies, this is a brief "ſketch of your life. As ſoon as you could act for yourſelf, you "contracted enormous debts;—when, in order to ſave the fortune of "my grandſon, I cauſed you to be baniſhed from my eſtates, and "confined to a city, you broke through all reſtrictions to purſue freſh "extravagances; you have drawn on yourſelf a criminal proſecution; "you compelled me to get you confined in a citadel, and then abuſed "the liberty which had been allowed you by the commandant, to "ſeduce and carry off a woman of quality. Certainly, juſtice has "not been done, but the injuſtice conſiſts in ſhielding you from the "ſeverity of the laws." In anſwer to this ſuppoſed accuſation, Mirabeau depicts his father in the following colours: "The marquis "de Mirabeau, after paſſing a moſt licentious youth, ſignalized his "more mature age by the following traits. He proſecuted one of his "brothers, in France and in foreign countries, with an inveteracy "which afforded room to ſuſpect that he wiſhed to evade the payment "of his patrimony. He has ruined himſelf in creating a political "economy. He has deteriorated the property of his wife and children "by two millions (87,500*l.*) while declaiming againſt luxury and "debts. He continued obſtinately to reſide at Paris to form a new "ſect, though he had injured his own fortune, and was continually "preaching to all his fellow-citizens retirement to their own eſtates. "Three times he infected his wife with the moſt ſhameful of maladies, "while he was in the daily habit of crying up purity of manners. He "has notoriouſly made ſettlements on his miſtreſſes, while he affected "to deplore the depravity of the age. The feeling and tender friend "of man, (*l'ami des hommes*,) whoſe exalted ſoul cannot ſtoop to vul-"gar affections, diſdains his family, and loves the whole human "race. He has perſecuted his wife, and every one of his children. "He has turned out of doors, and confined in a convent, a wife who "had brought him a fortune of fifty thouſand livres (2187*l.*) a-year,

he inſtituted a ſuit againſt his wife, claiming the cuſtody of her perſon and property, or requiring, as an alternative, that ſhe ſhould retire to a convent.

1783. He pleaded on his own behalf before the parliament of Aix. The archduke Ferdinand and his conſort, together with the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages of the city, were preſent. Every one was charmed with the eloquence diſplayed by Mirabeau; but the allegations of matrimonial miſconduct and unmanly cruelty were ſo ſtrong againſt him, that he loſt his cauſe*.

Writes on the order of Cincinnatus.

In order to enable himſelf to turn his literary talents to a better account, Mirabeau had contracted an intimacy with the celebrated Nicolas Chamfort, who, if he wanted the genius and audacity of Mirabeau, poſſeſſed much more extenſive information; and who, conſcious of the feebleneſs of his own character, was content to direct that ardour in another, which he could not create in himſelf. By Chamfort's aſſiſtance, Mirabeau was enabled to produce his work intitled *Conſiderations ſur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus*. In preparing this publication, Mirabeau uſed the greateſt diligence; and beſides the advantages derived from Chamfort, viſited Dr. Franklin, then at Paris, and conſulted with him during the whole progreſs of the work. His gains

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" and eleven children. He has withheld her alimony, contravened " his moſt ſolemn engagements, and haraſſed her, from year " to year, with *lettres-de-cachet*. He has obtained decrees againſt his " mother-in-law, and her eldeſt ſon, to gratify his own love of " guardianſhips, and becauſe he fancies himſelf an excellent manager " (the beſt proof would be his own rental). He compelled his eldeſt " daughter to take the veil. He has perſecuted his ſons, and refuſed " them the ſlighteſt pecuniary aſſiſtance. He has attempted to extend " his tyranny over one daughter who is married, and whoſe huſband " made no complaint. In the ſame manner he behaved to all his " children, except a daughter, who found favour in his ſight by her " complaiſance to his miſtreſs, and becauſe her huſband has had the " art to profeſs a paſſionate admiration of *the economical mills*." Lettres ecrites du Donjon de Vincennes, vol. i. p. 185. 187.

* Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 267.

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were but ſmall, as the Engliſh bookſellers were averſe to ſpeculate on the ſubject, and diſcouraged the author [p]. The work, however, met with conſiderable applauſe.

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Mirabeau had now formed a connexion with a mademoiſelle Nehrat, to whom he continued attached for ſeveral years. In order to publiſh his work, he reſolved to go to London, accompanied by this lady, who, for decency's ſake, was called comteſſe de Mirabeau. After a ſtormy paſſage, they arrived in England, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in Hatton-Garden. Mirabeau, after publiſhing the book with which he came prepared, was involved in great pecuniary diſtreſs, which he ſought to relieve by forming engagements with bookſellers. In conſequence of theſe, he produced ſome volumes of a work called *Le Conſervateur*. The original intention, as deſcribed by Mirabeau, was to analyſe good books of every deſcription, and to draw from the unformed maſs of periodical publications detached pieces, which, from their brevity, were liable to be forgotten [q]. He was yet unacquainted with the Engliſh language; but conceiving that Engliſh literature would ſucceed in France, undertook to tranſlate, and qualified himſelf for the taſk while performing it; he procured a grammar and dictionary, and learned the Engliſh language as he proceeded in his tranſlation [r].

Aug. 1784. Reſides in London.

[p] Lettres de Mirabeau à Chamfort, p. 30. 43. 87.

[q] Idem, p. 67 74. 83.

[r] Pagès, vol. i. p. 377. To a genius like Mirabeau, ſuch an exertion might be poſſible, but it ought to ſerve rather as a warning than an encouragement to other tranſlators. I can hardly think the work alluded to by Pagès to have been a ſelection of Engliſh comedies, which, in a letter to Chamfort, he expreſſed an inclination to attempt (p. 93). The colloquial language of comedy was not ſuited to that mind which could ſo ſucceſsfully commit a plagiariſm on Burke as to make profeſſor Wilde regret that the whole works of that inеſtimable writer had not been tranſlated by Mirabeau. See Addreſs to the Friends of the People, p. 115.

Profecutes his fecretary.

During his ſtay in England, Mirabeau was obliged to proſecute one Hardy, who lived with him as ſecretary, for ſtealing ſome of his property. The priſoner was acquitted, and Mirabeau's enemies have endeavoured to fix grievous inculpations on his character for this proſecution; but, on a fair review of the proceeding, he ſeems in no manner blamable[s].

Writes.

On his return to Paris, Mirabeau, ſtill an author by profeſſion, turned his attention to finance, then the moſt popular topic, and produced *Conſiderations ſur la Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, and *Conſiderations ſur la Banque de St. Charles*, neither of which are now much remembered. In theſe works he accommodated himſelf ſo much to the principles laid down by Calonne, that he was ſuſpected of being hired by that miniſter[t]. In fact, it is not improbable that he received ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance, and, perhaps, a promiſe of being employed in the diplomatic line, as that appears now to have become an object of his attention, and, for a long time, to have formed his chief ambition.

1786. Goes to Berlin.

Actuated by this motive, and inveſted with ſecret orders, though not recognized in any public capacity, by Calonne, Mirabeau went to Berlin. The period of his arrival was remarkable and intereſting. Frederic II. diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Great*, was in his laſt illneſs; he ſent for, welcomed, and was peculiarly kind to Mirabeau, who was the laſt foreigner admitted to his converſation, though many noble travellers teſtified their wiſhes for that honour[u]. On the demiſe of that illuſtrious monarch, Mirabeau wrote two memorials or letters

Advice to Frederic William II.

[s] See Vie Publique, &c. p. 18. Seſſions Papers, 1714-5, Clark Mayor.

[t] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 265.

[u] See Mirabeau's Advertiſement, prefixed to the Memorial preſented to Frederic William II. printed with the Tranſlation of his Secret Hiſtory of the Court of Berlin, by Bladon, 1789.

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to his ſucceſſor, in which he gave advice with equal freedom and confidence, and reviewed the ſtate of the kingdom, and the meaſures of the deceaſed monarch, in a ſtyle bold and impreſſive, yet exempt from every mark of rudeneſs and diſreſpect [x]. One of his principal objects was to induce the new monarch to place the Jews, hitherto grievouſly oppreſſed, on the ſame footing with his other ſubjects. To attain this end, Mirabeau ſpared no labour; he did not confine his efforts to a memorial, but wrote in the French and German journals, excited others to write, and uſed every exertion calculated to defeat prejudice and inſure ſucceſs [y].

Motives.

Mirabeau's conduct in this affair was not diſintereſted: he conſidered himſelf qualified to fill a high department in the ſtate, and expected to obtain ſome poſt of honour. The new king, however, was diſguſted with his licentious and profligate manners, ſhocked at his open profeſſion of atheiſm, and not inclined to pay regard to his pretenſions. This diſappointment induced Mirabeau to connect himſelf with a band of writers who had united to diſſeminate licentious principles, both in religion and government. His audacity, his knowledge of men and manners, and particularly his talent for ſarcaſm, were highly uſeful to this junto, at whoſe inſtigation he produced ſeveral pieces tending to make thoſe in adminiſtration the objects of public ridicule and reproach. Among theſe were the Letters on the Conſtitution of the Pruſſian States, the *Chronique Scandaleuſe*, and, afterwards, the *Hiſtoire ſecrète de la Cour de Berlin* [z].

Becomes an illuminatus;

One of the moſt remarkable events which diſtinguiſhed Mirabeau's reſidence in Berlin, was his aſſociation with a daring and dangerous ſect, enemies

[x] The tranſlator of this work truly aſſerts, that the reaſoning is in a great meaſure borrowed from Smith's Wealth of Nations. See Tranſlation above-mentioned, vol. ii. p. 373. n.

[y] See Lettres de Mirabeau à Mauvillon, p. 6.

[z] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 274, 275.

of

of religion, government, and all ſocial order, diſtinguiſhed by the name of ILLUMINATI.

Account of that ſect.

The patronage afforded by Frederic II. king of Pruſſia, to Voltaire, d'Alembert, and other writers, who affected to treat the Chriſtian religion, and revelation in general, as a mere impoſture, had given ſuch extenſive credence and circulation to their opinions, that proſelytes and champions were to be found in every country. Their works were greedily read, and the avenues to fame entirely ingroſſed by their partiſans. The wit and ſarcaſtic vein of Voltaire, together with his acknowledged pre-eminence in many walks of polite literature, rendered oppoſition dangerous, as the reſult was, in general, the contempt of the multitude of ſmall wits, who are ever more ready to laugh than to reaſon, and who can cry down an author againſt whom their talents would, in any other way, be employed in vain. Nor were the doctrines ſet up by theſe new philoſophers devoid of external claims to popular approbation. They affected univerſal tolerance, and declaimed againſt prieſtcraft, and ſuperſtition alone. But from the vices they turned their arms againſt the eſtabliſhment. By putting extreme caſes of ſuppoſition, by bringing forward the moſt ſtriking events recorded in hiſtory, which reflect on the conduct of prieſts, they facilitated the deduction, that the ſacerdotal character never alters; and that becauſe numerous inſtances are found of prieſts who have been avaricious, profligate, ambitious, or cruel; avarice, profligacy, ambition, and cruelty muſt neceſſarily form an integral part of the diſpoſition of the whole prieſthood.

They could not, however, believe that all mankind would reſiſt the conviction of experience, and, in ſpite of their own obſervation, conclude againſt individuals, merely becauſe involved in general ſarcaſms or undiſtinguiſhing cenſures. To prevent the effect of theſe conſiderations, they redoubled their attacks

attacks on thoſe books which form the baſis of the Chriſtian religion; they laboured, with incredible perſeverance, to impeach their veracity, hoping, by ſuch means, to procure currency for the opinion, that a prieſt, if not cruel, was a mean, diſſembling hypocrite, who, in order to eat his bread in idleneſs, vouched for ſtories he did not believe, and recommended doctrines in which he had no faith. Theſe efforts were attended with great ſucceſs, and perhaps the moſt important firſt-fruit of them was the degradation of the prieſthood in the eyes of mankind; many who could not hate or deſpiſe, began to pity, and inſtead of contemplating them as the champions of a ſacred doctrine, under whoſe banners they muſt fight to obtain an immortal reward, conſidered them as docile ſupporters of a flagrant impoſture, which they wanted courage to examine, or ability to detect.

Had the efforts of this anti-chriſtian party been confined, like thoſe of their predeceſſors, to mere polemical writings, their proſelytes would have been few, and their attacks ſpeedily forgotten. But they had recourſe to new arms. The ſprightly genius of Voltaire, united with extenſive reading, and a great facility of combination, enabled him to give diverſity to the forms of aſſault, and inſtead of confining himſelf to dry eſſays, or harſh critical diſcuſſions, to ſtrew the ſeeds of ſcepticiſm in every department of the ſciences; to make hiſtory, philoſophy, and aſtronomy the vehicles of his ſatire. That even the lighter minds might not eſcape infection, and that the mere readers for amuſement (a numerous tribe) might be inliſted in the cauſe, novels and tales were fabricated, in which, while the fancy was amuſed by all the brilliancy and luxuriance of unbounded wit, graced with all the decorative charms which a pen of more than threeſcore years' experience could confer, the heart was poiſoned with doubts which indolence or want of vigour would not ſuffer the reader

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to remove, but which, while they flattered his vanity by eaſy triumphs, ariſing from the diſplay of borrowed wit, fettered his judgment in chains which were never to be looſened, and which the deluded wretch miſtook for ornaments becauſe he heard them jingle.

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As the aſſailants of religion increaſed in number, an opportunity offered of uniting them ſtill more firmly, of producing that interchange of ſentiment which facilitates diſcuſſion, and of ſubjecting every ſpecies of literature, and every topic of human curioſity, to the influence of their favourite ſpeculations: this was the projected publication of the French Encyclopedia. To obtain the excluſive direction of this work became a favourite view of the new philoſophers, and, by the influence of d'Alembert, they were enabled to accompliſh it. They uſed their advantage with vigour and addreſs; conſcious that attacks too direct and open againſt a prevailing ſyſtem would fruſtrate their own end, they adopted a mode of conduct apparently very moderate, but fraught with the moſt artful duplicity. In treating of certain topics, ſuch as the exiſtence of God, the immortality of the ſoul, &c. they made a point to detail thoſe reaſons which were favourable to the popular belief; but, at the ſame time, by reference to other articles, contrived to direct the reader's attention to arguments more forcibly urged, and more ſpeciouſly advanced, tending to deſtroy the opinions they had at firſt coldly inculcated.

The ſect, by theſe and other means, became numerous and popular; the great, influenced by the king of Pruſſia's example, and ſenſible that fame or diſgrace were in the gift of thoſe who commanded the portals of literature, opened to them their purſes and their palaces. The riſing generation of wits, eager to ſecure the ſame advantages, adopted the ſame means; any reſpect ſhewn to the forms or even

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to the more eſſential doctrines of religion, was ſoon decried as the mark of a grovelling genius, or an uncultured underſtanding.

From attacking the higheſt objects of human veneration, the mind is led by an eaſy gradation to reſiſt the immediate depoſitaries of temporal authority. The hatred of kings naturally followed the endeavour to obliterate the ſentiments of religious belief. Voltaire and d'Alembert, favoured by nobles and careſſed by kings, were, at firſt, aſhamed to make their authority the object of a direct attack; they indicated in their writings ſome enmity to royalty, but were compelled, to preſerve appearances, to confine themſelves to general declamations, or anonymous philippics. It was reſerved for another writer, equally hoſtile to religion with themſelves, to lay the foundation of thoſe doctrines of liberty and equality, which, however ſpecious, have by miſconſtruction and exaggerations produced ſo many evils, ſuch wide-ſpreading anarchy, ſo general a depravation of morals, and ſuch extenſive miſery. Rouſſeau, a republican by birth, an author by profeſſion, unnoticed by the great, and endowed with a rancorous heart and gloomy diſpoſition, was deſirous of extending his fame by being the author of new ſyſtems, and by defending apparent paradoxes. He began, in eſſays and popular romances, to broach thoſe extravagant, though ſplendid notions of liberty which, in order to make individuals free, diſunite ſociety; and, to exalt man in a fanciful ſcale formed by vanity, degrade him to that ſtate in which the human ſpecies would exiſt if arts, manners, and civilization were unknown. A diſciple of this ſyſtem might boaſt that he was

——as free as nature firſt made man
Ere the baſe ſervitude of laws began,
When wild in woods the noble ſavage ran.

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The doctrines of infidelity, and thoſe ſo nearly allied to them, of diſorganization, found their earlieſt promoters in France; but with ſucceſs widely different. The neceſſity of ſupporting a form of government was, from its daily contact with all their functions, obvious to thoſe whom vanity, levity, or worſe motives rendered indifferent to innovations in matters of religion; and thus, while the police maintained the ſtricteſt vigilance with reſpect to publications on government, the principles of infidelity, even to the exceſs of atheiſm, were openly avowed by miniſters, courtiers, and even by many of the clergy.

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The ridicule of things ſacred was not, however, ſufficient to gratify thoſe who, with the purchaſe they had already gained, meditated the immenſe and important project of turning the whole Chriſtian world. That atheiſtical philoſophers, and raving enthuſiaſts in politics, ſhould in ſmall detachments, or by ſeparate exertions, try their ſtrength in various countries, was a matter of no great importance. Another ſcheme, more extenſive, more operative, and more conſiſtent, became neceſſary; and to give ſhape and execution to ſuch a plan was the taſk of Dr. Adam Weiſhaupt, profeſſor of canon law in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt. This man, bred under the Jeſuits, was, on the abolition of their order, induced to change his views; and, from being their pupil, he became their moſt bitter enemy.

Weiſhaupt was member of a lodge of free-maſons eſtabliſhed at Munich in Bavaria, called *the Lodge Theodore of good Counſel.* This lodge correſponded with, and had formed a particular ſyſtem of its own by inſtructions from the *Loge des Chevaliers bienfaiſans* at Lyons; it was thoroughly imbued with the modern principles, and in no degree reſembled the maſonic inſtitutions in England, or thoſe which were immediately derived from or informed by them

them. This lodge occupied itſelf with economical, ſtatiſtical, and political matters; and had arranged a ſyſtem of coſmopolitiſm, propoſing, as a fundamental poſition in the formation of ſociety, that every office ſhould be held by a man of talents and virtue, and that every kind of ability ſhould be employed in a ſuitable ſtation. The engaging pictures of poſſible felicity in a ſociety ſo conſtituted were very captivating to youth; and as the members of the lodge were enjoined to promulgate their doctrines by all poſſible means, they obtained many proſelytes.

Weiſhaupt had long entertained a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing an aſſociation which in time ſhould govern the world. The ſyſtem of coſmopolitiſm was ſo favourable to his views, that he took great pains to inculcate it in the minds of thoſe numerous pupils whom his high reputation as a profeſſor of civil law drew to his lectures. He employed his eloquence in deſcribing the abſurdity and horrors of ſuperſtition with ſuch effect, that his youthful audience eaſily underwent the inviting tranſition to general infidelity and irreligion. With this aſcendancy over the minds of ſeveral youths of good family, he became the founder of a new ſect; and his emiſſaries had already been very ſucceſsful in procuring adherents, when the audacity of the lodge Theodore occaſioned alarms in the elector of Bavaria, who diſcovering too late that the ſect of ILLUMINATI had taken deep root, and produced the moſt dangerous effects in his ſtates, endeavoured to ſuppreſs them, but in vain. He baniſhed Weiſhaupt, together with two Italian marquiſes, and one Zwack a counſellor, his devoted adherents, and impriſoned ſeveral others.

Weiſhaupt ſullenly retired, refuſing a proffered penſion, to Regenſburg on the confines of Switzerland. Confiding in the early ſucceſs of his projects, and the numbers of his proſelytes in different coun-

tries, he boldly wrote in defence of the ſect of ILLUMINATI; knowing that inquiry would inſtigate curioſity, and that if ſome were led to abhor and dread the new ſociety, many would be induced to inquire after and embrace it, while the great majority of mankind, wrapt in ſecurity, would be indifferent to its progreſs.

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The principles of the ILLUMINATI, as denounced to the elector of Bavaria by ſome apoſtates who had not attained any very exalted rank, were theſe:— "The order was to abjure Chriſtianity; and to "refuſe admiſſion to the higher degrees to all who "adhered to any of the three confeſſions. Senſual "pleaſures were reſtored to the rank they held in "the Epicurean philoſophy. Self-murder was juſ- "tified on ſtoical principles. In the lodges, death "was declared an eternal ſleep. Patriotiſm and "loyalty were called narrow-minded prejudices, "and incompatible with univerſal benevolence. "Continual declamations were made on liberty "and equality, as the unalienable rights of man. "The baneful influence of accumulated property "was declared an inſurmountable obſtacle to the "happineſs of any nation, whoſe chief laws were "framed for its protection and increaſe. Nothing "was ſo frequently diſcourſed of as the propriety "of employing for a good purpoſe the means which "the wicked employed for evil purpoſes; and it "was taught, that the preponderancy of good in "the ultimate reſult conſecrated every mean em- "ployed, and that wiſdom and virtue conſiſted in "properly determining this balance." Theſe principles were denied by Weiſhaupt; who was undoubtedly angry that facts of ſuch importance ſhould be diſcloſed to aſſociates ſo young, and whoſe fidelity had not been ſufficiently inſured: but the information gained by ſubſequent diſcloſures fully evinces that the communication was ſtrictly true.

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The young members were not immediately admitted to a knowledge of these principles: had they been disclosed ere the mind was properly prepared, terror and amazement would have repelled many proselytes. To induce them to wander in the mazes of depravity, it was necessary to decorate the entrance with emblems of wisdom and virtue: for this purpose, when any of the elder adepts had discovered a person whom they judged fit for their purpose, (persons whom they were no less careful to examine than diligent to seek,) they made a point to gain his confidence by such declarations and sentiments as are most captivating to a virtuous and benevolent mind, while they secured his gratitude and attachment by extending the resources and emboldening the efforts of his genius. At his first entrance into the society, the novice was encouraged to hope every thing if he rendered himself worthy of a more intimate confidence. By displaying shewy theses, and using the pupil to reason on them with success, they imparted a habit and readiness of disputation; and the novice, accustomed to combat received notions as prejudices, was led by imperceptible degrees to oppose the most confirmed doctrines in religion and government. His gradations to the higher classes were performed with a rapidity or procrastination proportionate to the ardour he displayed in qualifying himself for the more concealed arcana and more atrocious confidence. In proportion as he advanced in the path of proselytism, he was encouraged with new gradations, new disclosures, and new employments, till at last, not without many occult ceremonies and formal abjurations and professions, he was instated in the full dignities of the superior class.

The degrees to be passed through were these:—1st class, or nursery; preparation, novice, minerval, illuminatus minor.—2d class; apprentice, fellow-

craft, maſter, illuminatus major, illuminatus dirigens.—3d claſs; preſbyter, prince, magus, rex.

Some pupils, whoſe minds were not ſufficiently apt, or whoſe principles were too firmly rooted to anſwer the purpoſes of the ſect, were initiated only in the degrees of the firſt claſs, and there left with a full perſuaſion of the innocence and laudable views of the ſociety. They omitted no means which ingenuity could deviſe, or perſeverance effect, to increaſe their influence, and attain a reſpectable and permanent eſtabliſhment. They acquired the direction of colleges, and even founded ſchools and ſeminaries of their own. They aſſumed the entire direction of the literary taſte in Germany, by promoting the ſale of books favourable to their views, and ſuppreſſing ſuch as were of a contrary tendency. This they were enabled to effect by an intimate intercourſe with eminent bookſellers, and by obtaining an aſcendancy in the moſt celebrated reviews and literary journals. They founded reading-rooms and book-ſocieties, where, for a trifling ſubſcription, their publications were put into the hands of the indigent; where curioſity was piqued by diſcuſſion and eulogium; and content baniſhed by diſputations, in which the civil and religious condition of man was expoſed, in a ſtyle which could not fail of inflaming the mind, and producing clamour and diſaffection.

Nor was the female ſex exempt from their arts: towards them they exhibited a mode of conduct equally inſidious and pernicious. Their deſire of information was ſtudiouſly excited, and their attention directed to works which tended to make them diſſatisfied with their ſtation in ſociety, and taught them to aſpire to a rank yet untried. In claiming their independence, they were taught to undervalue that quality which formed their moſt exalted notion of honour—chaſtity; and no effort of mental ſeduction

duction or perſonal blandiſhment was omitted to reduce them to a level which, under pretence of liberty, would place them in abject ſubjection to their tutors: at the ſame time, to prevent diſcoveries which would have produced fatal conſequences, the deluded victims were taught to carry to their own lips thoſe baleful compoſitions which counteract the operations of nature, and deprive of exiſtence the ſemi-animate offspring.

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The great ſource from which they drew their members, the baſis on which they reſted for acquittal in caſe of ſuſpicion, and the grand maſs into which they affected to reſolve the principles of their ſociety, were the lodges of free-maſons. Free-maſonry, imported into France by ſome Britiſh adventurers who followed the fortunes of James II. had ſpread over many countries of the continent, and lodges were formed correſponding with thoſe from whom they derived their origin. According to the different genius of different countries, this benevolent ſocial inſtitution was disfigured by pedantry, or diſgraced by vanity and foppery; till the maſonry of the continent reſembled only in a ſlight degree the profeſſion of the Britiſh lodges. In ſome ſtates they were conſidered harmleſs, in ſome ſlightly obſerved, but in others regarded with the moſt vigilant jealouſy. In the papal dominions in particular, free-maſons were declared, *prima facie*, excommunicated, obliged to hold their aſſemblies with the moſt cautious privacy, and even to maintain watchmen to prevent the intruſions of the civil power. Weiſhaupt's new ſect, as its exiſtence was derived from a corrupt maſonic lodge, affected to be an integral part of maſonry, or rather a ſuperior directing claſs. The degrees were ſimilar in name, though widely different in import from the maſonic degrees[a]; and the *frere inſinuant*, or recruiting brother,

[a] I have given (Appendix, N° VI.) a genuine copy of the diploma of a highly reſpectable Engliſh gentleman, who was admitted a member

ther, while leading his pupils through these different degrees, felt extreme regret if, from his perverseness or incapacity, he was obliged to leave him amongst the free-masons. This artful involution of characters afforded the ILLUMINATI the means of repelling suspicion, by citing the testimony of those whom they had left in the mere rank of masons, and by vouching the exemplary character of many members of that body, whose names alone formed a sufficient guaranty that no conspiracy would be conducted by a society of which they were members [b].

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Consequences of Mirabeau's becoming an Illuminatus.

While at Berlin, Mirabeau attracted the particular notice of Weishaupt, who, through the medium of Mauvillon, a Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel in the service of the duke of Brunswick, imparted to Mirabeau the honors of a noviciate [c]; and from his ardent character, and facility of exertion, there is every reason to suppose he was speedily admitted to a participation of the higher secrets of the order. Mirabeau's connection with this society probably produced some of the most desperate excesses and daring characteristics of the French revolution, as it facilitated the union between the conspirators and freethinkers in Paris, and those in the provinces and in foreign countries; as it formed the basis of a most extensive confederacy and correspondence; and as it delivered the lodges in France to the influence of the duke of Orleans, who, some time before, by dint of money and intrigue, had

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ber of a lodge at Palermo in 1766, at least nine years before Weishaupt's sect was in existence. The reader will observe, that the expressions and allusions are strictly consonant with the descriptions of Robison in the Chapter of Schisms in Free-masonry.

[b] It is hardly necessary to inform the reader, that the above account of the Illuminati is derived from Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme, par Barruel; and Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, by John Robison, A. M.—works which merit frequent and attentive perusal, and claim profound contemplation.

[c] Robison's Proofs, p. 276.

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been conſtituted grand-maſter. In Mirabeau it produced immediately a perceptible change of manners and purſuits. All the levity and frivolity of his diſpoſition ſeemed ſuddenly diſcarded; he became obſequiouſly obſervant of Mauvillon's inſtructions, and expreſſed the moſt laudable deſire to increaſe his knowledge, eſtabliſh his fame, and augment his utility [d]. Among other ſchemes in which he embarked was one which marks the genius and views of the Illuminati in the moſt forcible manner, namely, to acquire a correct ſtatiſtical and topographical knowledge of every country in Europe. He acquired ſuch an acquaintance with Pruſſia and Saxony, and frequently expreſſed his wiſh and reſolution to extend reſearch [e].

Publiſhes Eſſai ſur la Secte.

Mirabeau rendered an important ſervice to his aſſociates by his *Eſſai ſur la Secte des Illuminés*. The diſcoveries which had been already made reſpecting the ſociety had infuſed a ſpirit of ſuſpicion and jealouſy extremely dangerous to their exiſtence. Mirabeau had no reaſon to expect that the king of Pruſſia would favour their eſtabliſhment in his ſtates, and therefore, to avert ſuſpicion and make diſcovery ridiculous, he produced this eſſay. It is written in the ſtyle of a man who, heated with a new diſcovery, and exaſperated by the detection of concealed villany, feels impatient to impart his ſentiments, and eager for their making a proper impreſſion. The diſcloſures it contains are not new, as they had been previouſly ſtated in various publications; but they are involved with ſo many improbable fictions and fallacious reaſonings, that a perſon who ſhould after that time ſpeak of the ſect of *Illuminati* as a ſubject of terror, or an object of juriſprudential reſtraint, muſt be content to father all the improbabilities introduced in Mirabeau's eſſay. He could not ſtate any fundamental truths which were not

[d] See Lettres à Mauvillon, paſſim. [e] Idem, 211, &c.

there advanced, and the ingenuity of oppoſition could hardly fail of aſcribing his fears and his intelligence to the ſame ſource, and, by conſequence, of decrying the reaſoner as one who, being himſelf impoſed on by fables, and terrified by chimeras, was ſolicitous to extend impoſture, and perpetuate groundleſs alarm. Robiſon juſtly ſtyles this one of the ſtrangeſt and moſt impudent performances that ever appeared. "Mirabeau (he adds) con- "fided in his own powers of deception, in order to "ſcreen from obſervation thoſe who were known "to be *Illuminati*, and to hinder the rulers from "attending to their real machinations, by means of "this *ignis fatuus* of his own brain. He gained "his point in ſome meaſure, for Nicholai and "others of the junto immediately adopted the "whim, and called them *Obſcuranten*, and joined "with Mirabeau in placing on the liſt of *Obſcuran-* "*ten* ſeveral perſons whom they wiſhed to make "ridiculous[f]."

Returns to Paris.

When the meaſure of aſſembling the *notables* was reſolved on, Mirabeau returned to Paris, hoping that his connection with the miniſter would procure him the appointment of ſecretary to that aſſembly. He was however diſappointed: the functions of the office had been divided, and ſome perſons appointed before his arrival, with whom, as he pretends, he could not act; but more probably he had been entirely diſregarded by Calonne. This opinion is rendered more likely by the ill ſucceſs of Mirabeau's application for a miſſion to Holland, which the miniſter refuſed, giving Mirabeau to underſtand that he had better have ſtayed at Berlin[g].

Feb. 1797. Publication on ſtock jobbing;

He was determined nevertheleſs to render himſelf conſpicuous; or, in his own words, to plant himſelf

[f] Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 370.—As Mirabeau's Eſſay is extremely ſcarce and little known in England, I have given a general abſtract of the contents, together with a tranſlation of the Preface and ſome remarkable paſſages. See Appendix, No VII.

[g] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 189. 198, 199.

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in the breach, even if he got his head broke [h]. Though Calonne's refusal engendered a coldness between him and Mirabeau, yet he did not carry his regret or resentment to the extreme of quarrelling with the minister; on the contrary, in his first publication after his arrival, called *Denonciation de l'Agiotage au Roi et à l'Assemblée des Notables*, he attacked Necker with so much vigour, as to occasion suspicions that his work was a mere venal production. He acknowledged that his book was replete with faults; that it was composed with too much rapidity to be good; that it appeared surcharged with matter, for want of arrangement; and that he paid more attention to his subject than to his plan. Yet it had a prodigious and unexampled success: The greater part of the notables, the heads of bodies corporate, the better sort of every class, congratulated and thanked him. From the offices of notaries to the dressing-rooms of belles, he was read, extolled, and quoted. He says, "You can "form no idea of the effect it has produced, and "how likely it is to occasion an earthquake, even "under the very steps of the sanctuary [i]." its success.

Mirabeau avers that, on his arrival in Paris, Calonne had caused him to be sounded on the subject of employing his pen in the service of administration; but that Mirabeau declined the task, and continued to solicit a diplomatic mission. His failure in obtaining this object, and some disrespectful expressions of the minister, inflamed him to a certain degree of resentment; but his still greater dislike of Necker, and perhaps the view of attaching himself with advantage to another party, prevented his joining the opposition. The freedom of his remarks however was so injurious and offensive to government, that though, in consequence of his pam- Order issued to arrest Mirabeau. 20th Mar.

[h] Letter à Mauvillon, p. 189.
[i] Idem, p. 192. 203. 206. 243.

phlet,

phlet, an order was iſſued tending to repreſs ſtock-jobbing, it was accompanied with one to arreſt the author [k].

He eſcapes. On receiving information of this intention, Mirabeau was perſuaded to retire from Paris, and conceal himſelf near Liége. Convinced that the order againſt him was a mere cabinet intrigue, which would ſoon be counteracted by other intrigues, he would have ſubmitted to an arreſt which he knew could only produce a temporary inconvenience, and in the end enhance his reputation; but he was given to underſtand that the Baſtille was not intended for his priſon, and that he would be confined in a caſtle in a remote province, where he might wear out his life in oblivion. This determined him to make his eſcape. He judged rightly of the motives and duration of the proceedings againſt him. The oppoſition murmured; and the miniſtry, five in ſix of whom had ever been adverſarious to his arreſt, now feeling a greater alarm from his abſence than even his preſence could inſpire, began to make overtures of accommodation, Calonne himſelf wrote him a letter, in which he imputed the inimical meaſure to the abbé Perigord; and Dupont aſſured him that he would inſtantly apply to the king to permit his return to Paris; and addreſſed him throughout in a ſtyle the moſt conciliating and conſiderate [l].

7th April. Is recalled.

Hopes, and diſappointment. From the circumſtances attending his recal, Mirabeau, had no reaſon to doubt that the miniſtry would be induced by fear to employ him, and that they would enable him to make an honourable retreat, that duty might keep him ſilent. But before his return to Paris, Calonne was diſmiſſed, and with the new miniſtry ſuch motives would operate rather to prevent than occaſion his employ. His hopes revived when he underſtood that de Brienne was, in

[k] Letters à Mauvillon, p. 201. [l] Idem, p. 204. 208. 222.

fact,

fact, to be considered, and would soon be appointed prime minister [m].

Writes against Necker.

Mirabeau had long entertained a contemptuous opinion of Necker [n], and, perhaps, thought that appearing as his opponent at this crisis would advance him greatly in the minister's favour. He had a fair opportunity of doing this, as a private letter written by him had been very unhandsomely published, and placed Mirabeau in such a situation that he could not avoid defending his own production. He wrote a pamphlet which he describes in these terms: "I have produced a pamphlet which will "please you. I have exerted my whole force as a "disputant, a calculator, and even as a sophist. It "is a pretty game of chess, which I have played "with great caution, and he will infallibly be check "mated [o]."

May.

Forms a connection with Orleans.

Either de Brienne did not make such advances as Mirabeau expected, or the discernment of Mirabeau enabled him to appreciate the importance and influence of a new faction now rising in the kingdom, called the Orleans' party. That corrupt and abandoned conspirator easily perceived the importance of attaching to his cause such a man as Mirabeau, who was easily induced to join a party which he hoped to govern and direct. If the plans of Orleans succeeded he might expect the most brilliant rewards, and even if they failed he was not without his recompence, while by uniting with ministers, he could only hope for an honourable banishment under the name of a diplomatic employ, or an obscure appointment without importance and without confidence. As the best means of extending the influence of his newly-adopted patron, he imparted to him the mysteries of illuminism, the principles of

[m] Letters à Mauvillon, p. 238. 242.

[n] See Lettres à Chamfort, p. 85.

[o] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 242. I do not know the pamphlet alluded to.

which

which ſect were the more eaſily diffuſed, as Orleans was grand-maſter of the order of free-maſons in France [p].

Goes to Berlin. Mirabeau conſtantly maintained a correſpondence with Mauvillon, and they were between them preparing for the preſs the celebrated work called *Hiſtoire de la Monarchie Pruſſienne.* Mirabeau, this ſummer, went to Berlin to viſit his friend; apparently with a view to forward their joint labour, but probably the chief object was to confer on the means of extending the influence of illuminiſm, and

Sept. At Hamburgh. forwarding the grand projects of that ſociety. He left Mauvillon, and proceeded to Hamburgh, where he had ſome negotiations to arrange with the book-ſellers. He did not make a long ſtay. The news he received from France was ſo congenial to his wiſhes, that he reſolved to haſten his departure. The Orleans' faction ſeemed to acquire a rapid aſcendancy, and Mirabeau's letters breathe confidence and exultation. He ſays, "As to the affairs of France, "be aſſured my day is coming. The kingdom is "in a blaze. The parliament has not been ba- "niſhed, but only commanded to go and diſpenſe "juſtice at Troyes. The meaſure is equally ab- "ſurd and inſulting." He expreſſes in four letters written to Mauvillon from Hamburgh, the greateſt impatience to be in France, and go *quo trahunt fata* [q].

Oct. Returns to France. The elements did not ſecond the eagerneſs of Mirabeau, for he had a paſſage of more than ſeventeen days, perpetually tempeſtuous, and was afterwards much longer than he had expected in reaching Paris. He found the public mind in a ſtate perfectly ſuited to his views, and the active ſhare his connection with Orleans compelled him to take, incroached greatly

[p] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 376. See ORLEANS.
[q] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 255—267.

on

on his time [r]. Mirabeau immediately obtained a favourable change in his fortune, though ſome contrarieties of intereſt and the uncertainty of events kept him in ſuſpenſe, and prevented his adopting thoſe extremes into which his character would naturally have led him. In one letter he ſays, "A propitious gale once again blows on your "friend, and the public veſſel, as well as your own "ſkiff, will be benefitted [s]." In the ſubſequent letter he ſays, "My laſt, ſuch as it was, will have "led you to expect a change, if not in my deſtiny, "in my lot. Nevertheleſs, far from retarding our "meeting, the change may accelerate it. *I am, "however, as yet, in a miſt on this ſubject, becauſe I "do not conſider ſound policy exactly in the ſame light "as the maſters of the magic lantern, and they, as yet, "ſee nothing but indiſtinct images on my ſide* [t]." He entered deeply into public affairs, and the importance attached to his agency may be gathered from his own declaration, that during the eight days anxiety which the royal ſitting (that at which the duke of Orleans made himſelf ſo conſpicuous,) occaſioned to the parliament, he never had a minute's leiſure [u]. His exertions.

Yet with all this exertion, Mirabeau cautiouſly avoided committing himſelf; no reproaches, no calumnies could induce him, during the conteſt Caution.

[r] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 280. In the correſpondence of Mirabeau with his intimate friend Mauvillon, the name of Orleans is never mentioned, or the train of public affairs at all minutely deſcribed, though many alluſions are found to the political conteſts and tranſactions of the day. A proof of the extreme caution of the Illuminati in their publications, as no doubt, much curious information perſonal, political, and myſtical, has been ſuppreſſed. For inſtance, Mirabeau ſays in one letter (p. 283), "You may expect by the next courier ſome curious "details, drawn from the *Gardes of the Heſperides*." Yet no information of the kind, or any explanation of the expreſſion, appears in the correſpondence. There are alſo frequent alluſions to the contents of previous letters which are obviouſly ſuppreſſed.

[s] Idem, p. 283. The metaphor here uſed ſeems to contain an equivocal alluſion; it may as well apply to the intereſts of the ſect which Mirabeau and Mauvillon had embraced, as the country of which Mauvillon could no longer be conſidered a ſubject.

[t] Idem. [u] Idem, p. 290.

between

between the king and parliament, to write a line in favour of the popular cauſe, and he abſtained with equal care from ſupporting the crown [z]. He employed his leiſure in perfecting, and ſuperviſing the impreſſion of *La Monarchie Pruſſienne* [y]. He produced beſides ſome pamphlets on foreign politics, among which may be numbered *Aux Bataves ſur le Stathouderat*, and *Doutes ſur la Liberté de l'Eſcaut*. Of the former he ſpeaks with the partiality of a fond parent [z]. The latter is deſcribed by the author of "An Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution," as denoting a moſt violent and malevolent temper [a]. At length his great work, *La Monarchie Prúſſienne*, iſſued from the preſs in a quarto edition of four volumes, and an octavo edition on the ſame day. On this production he had beſtowed great pains and conſiderable expence, he had laboured aſſiduouſly himſelf, and purchaſed the aſſiſtance of Mauvillon. From this circumſtance, and from the nature of the ſubject, it has been inferred that Mirabeau had, in fact, little ſhare in the work [b]. The truth is, Mauvillon ſupplied the materials, and it was left to the genius and eloquence of Mirabeau to arrange, to methodize, to animate the whole. The account given in the preface to Mirabeau's letters to Mauvillon, which is ſtrongly corroborated by the whole tenor of the correſpondence, is as follows: "Among the moſt lively "paſſions of the count's friend, was that of being "uſeful to mankind. He had already attempted "to gratify it by ſeveral publications, and particularly by developing ſome important truths relative to political economy. But from mediocrity "of talent, want of authority, miſmanagement, or "misfortune, whatever he wrote produced but

1788. Publications.

Sept. His Hiſtory of the Pruſſian monarchy.

[z] Letters à Mauvillon, p. 374.
[y] Idem, p. 297. et paſſim.
[a] Hiſtorical Sketch, &c. p. 75.
[b] Vie Publique, &c. p. 36.
[z] Idem, p. 348.

"little

" little effect. In this ſituation, he is adviſed by " a celebrated writer to republiſh his Eſſays, to " add many new ones; to ſupport his opinions by " facts known, avowed, and atteſted in a thouſand " works; he undertakes to adorn them with the " magic of his ſtyle, to ſupport them with the au- " thority of his name, and to publiſh them in the " moſt univerſal of all the European languages. " Periſh, then, the man who ſhall reproach Mira- " beau with not being the author of *La Monarchie* " *Pruſſienne* [c]." Mirabeau himſelf thought ſo highly of this production, that he expected it would change the ſtyle of writing biography and hiſtory. He mentions it in theſe terms: " I have had time, my " dear friend, to re-peruſe our whole work. Be- " tween ourſelves be it ſaid, it is truly excellent in " every point of view. I am ſo enthuſiaſtic in my " admiration of it, that, during theſe ſeventeen " days [d], I have never thought of the probability of " loſing my life; and really, it often ſeemed to " depend on a turn of the die, but the regret that " this precious manuſcript would periſh with me, " immediately ſucceeded the anguiſh I felt at leaving " my miſtreſs and my ſon in diſtreſs [e]." The work, undoubtedly, has conſiderable merit, but not ſufficient to juſtify Mirabeau's vanity.

Hopes on convoking the ſtates-general.

The decree for convoking the ſtates-general inſpired Mirabeau with freſh hopes and freſh confidence [f]. The recal of Necker was not ſo agreeable to him; he knew that Necker diſliked him, with good reaſon, and felt that his own contemptuous opinion of the financier was not altered. He was apprehenſive that the miniſterial influence would be employed to prevent his obtaining a ſeat in the ſtates-general, and as the ancient laws of France

[c] Avant-propos aux Lettres de Mirabeau à Mauvillon, p. 15.
[d] The period he was at ſea in his voyage from Hamburgh to Calais.
[e] *Lettres à Mauvillon*, p. 269. [f] Idem, p. 372.

were

were not then abrogated or ſuperſeded, he knew that his excluſion was very poſſible. A ſhort ſpecimen of Necker, and a curſory ſurvey of the public mind, in a great meaſure quieted his alarms. He wrote to Mauvillon: "Necker muſt eſpouſe "the royal or the national cauſe; he has no other "alternative. If he adheres to the firſt he is loſt! "If he adopts the latter his reign will not be long. "Fear, which already aſſails him, in ſpite of his "efforts, aided by reſentment, will ſoon drive him "from the helm. I do not conſider his talents "proportioned to the exigency of the times, and "the defects of his character will fruſtrate the "exertion of his abilities[g]."

Exertions. It now became highly important to Mirabeau to inſure ſuch a portion of popularity, as would enable him to attain the object of his wiſhes by means of his partiſans, whatever influence might be exerted againſt him. He redoubled his attention to the maſonic ſocieties, and exerted himſelf to forward the views and diſſeminate the publications of the lodge *des Chevaliers bienfaiſans*, of which he was a member[h]. He was attached to the Society of *Amis des Noirs*, and one of their regulating committee[i]. He alſo contrived to effect a reconciliation with his father, though it produced no diſplay of affection on either ſide[k].

Publication. The cautious conduct he had reſolved to adopt was ſtill, in a certain degree, adhered to; for though pamphlets on the ſubject of the approaching meeting of the ſtates-general daily ſwarmed from the preſs, he reſolved to publiſh nothing on the ſubject till ſecure of his election. He would not, however, ſuffer an occaſion ſo favourable to political diſcuſſion to eſcape him, but wrote *Obſervations*

[g] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 377. 380.
[h] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 41. 49.
[i] Memoires du Jacobiniſme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 447.
[k] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 425.

d'un Voyageur Anglois ſur la maiſon de Force, appellée Bicêtre, ſuivie de Reflections ſur les Effets de la Sévérité des Peines, et ſur la Legiſlation Criminelle de la Grande Bretagne. He alſo publiſhed a work on the liberty of the preſs, but I do not know the title[1].

1789. Secret Hiſtory of the Court of Berlin.

Previous to the election for deputies to the ſtates-general, a book was publiſhed under the title of *Hiſtoire Sécrete de la Cour de Berlin.* It conſiſted of letters written by Mirabeau to Calonne during his reſidence in Pruſſia, in which Frederic II. and his ſucceſſor were very diſreſpectfully treated, as were prince Henry of Pruſſia, and ſeveral diſtinguiſhed perſonages about the court. The duke of Brunſwick was greatly extolled, and Calonne abjectly flattered. The book was condemned by the parliament of Paris, as the production of an unknown author, and burned by the common hangman. No doubt was entertained by the public that Mirabeau was author of all, or the greater part of the letters, but it was not clearly aſcertained whether he had conſented to the publication, or whether the moſt offenſive paſſages were not interpolations. Mirabeau himſelf diſavowed the publication *in toto*, by advertiſements in the French and foreign newſpapers. In his letters to Mauvillon he ſpeaks of the book as one with which he is entirely unacquainted, not having even read it, but through the veil of his renunciation it is eaſy to perceive the vanity of an author. His ſecretary, in writing to the ſame perſon, ſays, that to attribute the work to Mirabeau, is horrible perfidy. "They "have taken out of the office for foreign affairs, his "correſpondence from Berlin, and have got it "printed to excite againſt him the hatred of the "powerful and the rage of the great. Much has "been added to this collection to render the ſup-

[1] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 402. 436. 444.

"posed author additionally odious. What could "the count do? Disown the publication. He has "done so, and your gazettes will attest the dis- "avowal[m]." This explanation is by no means satisfactory. Although it might be convenient for Mirabeau to disavow the publication for fear of legal consequences, and even to write letters to Mauvillon, which he might shew under pretence of confidence at Berlin, still in the state France then was, Mirabeau could not enhance his character more than by a work tending to make courts contemptible, and degrade exalted personages. If part of the publication only was genuine, it became a point of honor in him afterwards to have distinguished between the letters he had actually written, and those which had been malevolently added. Not having done this, his tranquil acquiescence justifies the judgment of those who rank this imperfect renunciation with the similar acts of Voltaire and many others, whom fear of consequences has induced to disown publications, which a sense of rectitude could not prevent their giving to the world[n].

1789. Mirabeau's election. Mirabeau had acquired a fief in Dauphiny, but considering Provence as his natural situation, resolved to go there for the purpose of being elected a deputy. He was aware that if it were left to the nobility to elect their own representatives, he should be excluded by that class, but he had some hopes that all the orders would vote for each order, and in that case the influence of the *tiers etat* would secure his election, as representative of the *noblesse*[o]. On his arrival at Aix, he was received by the *tiers etat* with enthusiastic acclamation. He was met and

[m] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 453 455. 457.

[n] On this subject see the translator's Preface to the Secret History of the Court of Berlin. Pages, vol. i. p. 270. Historical Sketch, p. 75. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 265.

[o] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 445.

carried

carried to his hotel, amidſt reiterated cries, which proclaimed him *the defender*, *the tutelary angel of the people*[p]. The Bourgeoiſie appointed for him a guard of honor[q], which, if his own aſſertion may be believed, was not unneceſſary, as the rage of the prieſthood and ariſtocracy ran ſo high, that he entertained fears of aſſaſſination[r]. He was rejected by the *nobleſſe*, who alledged that he was not competent to take a ſeat as repreſentative of their order, not having a fief in Provence[s]. During a receſs of ſittings in the ſtates of Provence, he is ſaid to have qualified himſelf to repreſent the *tiers etat*, by becoming a ſhopkeeper. He opened a ſhop where he ſold grocery by retail, and dreſſed with an apron, diſtributed his wares, his politics, and his bon mots[t]. It is ſaid that curioſity attracted ſo many purchaſers to his ſhop, that his ſale amounted to three hundred louis-d'ors a-day, and the firſt day produced fifteen thouſand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*). He was elected preſident of the order of the *tiers etat*, and always in public ſeated under a canopy. When he went to the play, he was eſcorted by fifty young men in uniform, and had a box ſet apart for him. Fire-works, balls, ſerenades, and continual dances under his windows teſtified his popularity. The people took off his horſes and drew his carriage, and he was honored with a triumph; a crown was placed on his head, and he entered Aix amidſt a diſcharge of artillery, and ſhouts of "God ſave the king! God "ſave Mirabeau!" Similar marks of reſpect were paid to him at Marſeilles, where he was elected deputy as well as at Aix, but he took his ſeat for the latter[u].

[p] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 447.
[q] Pagès, vol. i. p. 82.
[r] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 452.
[s] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 267.
[t] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 125.
[u] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 267. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 173. Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 456.

His eloquence.

A popular aſſembly was the preciſe ſphere in which Mirabeau could diſplay himſelf to advantage. He was, as madame Roland juſtly obſerves, "formed "to command the vulgar, to concentrate in one "focus the opinions of the wiſe, and to preſent "them with that force of genius which compels "obedience the moment it is diſplayed [x]." In the national aſſembly, where moſt of the members read their ſpeeches, he was among the few who poſſeſſed the gift of extempore eloquence, which beſides its more forcible impreſſion afforded him great advantage in replies, and in thoſe quick turns of ſarcaſtic raillery which conſtituted his forte [y]. He continued firmly attached to Orleans, and forwarded all his views, hoping, in caſe of his ſucceſs, to attain the ſituation of prime miniſter [z]. His oppoſition to the court was therefore ſyſtematic, conſtant, and violent.

Publiſhes a journal.

As a means of propagating his principles, relating the debates of the aſſembly in his own manner, and effectually ſerving his party, he undertook the direction of a daily paper, which he called "*Lettres de Mirabeau à ſes Commettans.*" Its appearance was, for a ſhort time, prevented by authority, but Mirabeau eaſily ſurmounted, or reſolutely braved every impediment, and began his publication ſoon after the ſitting of the ſtates-general. The expectation excited by this undertaking was ſo favourable, that in a week after the publication of the proſpectus, ſubſcriptions to the amount of more than thirty thouſand livres (1312 *l.* 10 *s.*) were lodged at his bookſeller's for the firſt three months delivery [a]. This paper, which was afterwards continued under the name of *Le Courier de Provence*, was highly ſerviceable to Mira-

[x] Appeal to Impartial Poſterity, vol. i. p. 84.
[y] See Arthur Young's Travels, p. 110
[z] Hiſtorical ſketch, p. 80. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p 31.
[a] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 123.

beau's

beau's views, as it gave additional weight and consequence to his party, and augmented his popularity in the capital.

Mirabeau's eloquence and manner of attack were new to the French; and though the disposition of the public mind, and the mass of seditious pamphlets which preceded the meeting of the states-general might have induced an expectation of violent proceedings, both parties seem to have regarded him with astonishment. The privileged orders said that his insidious and fatal eloquence inflamed and exasperated the commons; while many of the *tiers etat* declared their apprehensions that his excessive zeal would be fatal to the public cause [b]. The first topic which agitated the *tiers etat* was the verification of orders, in which Mirabeau took a distinguished share, and, besides the inflammatory effect of his eloquence, his quickness of apprehension, and ready perception of the strong and weak parts of a case, greatly facilitated the triumph of his party. After trying in vain, several messages inviting the nobility to join with the *tiers etat* in the common-hall to verify their powers, he suggested the expedient of conjuring the clergy, *in the name of the God of peace*, to unite with them for the benefit of the nation. Though the clergy had the address to evade this proposal, yet the result of the messages rendered them extremely unpopular, and made it almost impossible for them to maintain their point [c]. After several weeks of affected moderation, during which the factious leaders were trying their strength, and endeavouring to exasperate the public, the *tiers etat* resolved to constitute themselves, and leave to the other two orders the choice of joining them, or becoming odious and insignificant. On this subject a debate of considerable length took place, and

His boldness.

Judgment.

27th May.

12th June.

[b] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 464.

[c] See Debates. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 153. Historical Sketch, p. 104.

occupied the assembly for four days. Mirabeau, though ill of the ague, attended constantly, even while under the operation of sudorifics, and spoke three times from the tribune while attacked by shivering fits [d]. His wish was that the assembly should be declared representatives of the French people (*peuple*). In this he had great obstacles to surmount, as the term *peuple*, in French, unlike people in English, was ordinarily applied to the lower class, or mere rabble. He succeeded in removing this prejudice, but failed in his grand object. The majority adopted a motion of M. le Grand, and assumed the title of *national assembly* [e]. In opposing a metaphysical definition proposed by Syeyes, Mirabeau displayed great judgment, sense, and knowledge; he distinguished ably between the actual state of man in society, and the abstract representation of him which may be fitted for mere verbal discussion, and illustrated his distinction by the difference of tracing countries on a painted map, and traversing the face of the globe. In the former all is level and mountainous deserts, rivers, and abysses oppose no impediments, but the traveller is obliged to consider the face of Nature as she exists, to provide against difficulties, resist obstacles, and keep constantly in mind that he is in a real, not an imaginary world [f]. Though Mirabeau was not successful, still his exertions were much applauded. Some pains were taken to impress on the public a belief that he had been bribed by the court; his character afforded a foundation for the conjecture, but it was in every other respect improbable [g]. The assumption of a title which threatened to invest all power in the *tiers etat*, and render the nobility and clergy

15th. Political sagacity.

[d] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 468.
[e] Debates. Histories. Young's Travels, p. 110.
[f] Debates. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 163. Collection of Mirabeau's Speeches in the Assembly.
[g] Young's Travels, p. 114.

entirely

entirely ſubſervient to them, was a meaſure for which Mirabeau was not prepared. As a politician he wiſhed for many changes in the form of government; as an individual, his ambition would have been gratified by ſuch a change of rulers as would have enabled him to hold the higheſt offices in the ſtate; but this ſtep appeared too hazardous at the preſent juncture, when the aſcendancy of his faction was not ſufficiently confirmed. He ſays, "ſuppoſing the moſt favourable event; that the king "ſhould afford his ſanction to the new title *we have* "*arrogated to ourſelves*, the reſult will be that they "have played the welfare of the kingdom on a *coup* "at *rouge et noir*, where there is no advantage, "while I would have put it on a game at cheſs, "where I was the beſt player." He afterwards adds, "The beſt means to render the revolution "abortive is to aſk too much [h]."

Whatever might be Mirabeau's private opinions, he acquieſced in the meaſures of his party, and would not riſk the favour of the people by a decided oppoſition. He was highly popular in Paris; and the following anecdote will ſhew how great homage was paid him.—The firſt night, after the ſitting of the aſſembly, that Voltaire's *Brutus* was performed, Mirabeau took a place in the fourth tier of boxes. The people perceiving him, required that he ſhould come down to a lower box, and ſent a deputation to requeſt he would indulge them. He did more: he went and placed himſelf in the gallery in the midſt of the people, who were unwearied in teſtifying their ſatisfaction at ſeeing amongſt them their darling repreſentative [i]. Popularity.

Mirabeau diſplayed, at the period of the royal ſitting, when Necker evinced ſo much perfidy, and the king ſuch benevolent and patriotic intentions [k], a degree of factious intemperance which demon- 23d June. Royal ſitting.

[h] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 469.
[i] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 268.
[k] See NECKER.

Mirabeau's conduct.

ſtrated that no conſideration could reſtrain him in the purſuit of a favourite object. While the *tiers etat* were waiting till the ſuperior orders were ſeated, he ſhewed great impatience, and required the preſident to conduct the nation immediately to the king's preſence. When the king had pronounced his truly paternal and conciliatory harangue, he ordered the deputies to depart and aſſemble the ſubſequent day; and then retired, attended by the nobility and the majority of the clergy. The *tiers etat* remained, but though animated by the applauſe which had attended their recent exhibition in the tennis-court, they ſeemed at a loſs, and preſerved ſilence. The workmen began to remove the throne and the vacant benches; ſtill the deputies did not move: at length M. de Brézé, grand-maſter of the ceremonies, entered, and ſaid to the preſident, "You have heard, ſir, the intentions of the king." Bailly, the preſident, timid and uncertain how to act, anſwered, that the aſſembly was not conſtituted to receive orders from any one. Mirabeau was diſſatisfied with this evaſion, and conceiving the occaſion to demand all his intrepidity, roſe, and addreſſing himſelf to M. de Brézé, ſaid, "Yes, we "have heard the intentions the king has been pre-"vailed on to expreſs. But you, who cannot be "his organ in this aſſembly, you, who have nei-"ther ſeat, nor vote, nor any right to ſpeak here, "you are not the perſon to remind us of his diſ-"courſe. However, to avoid all equivocation and "all delay, I declare, that if you are inſtructed to "make us leave this place, you muſt return and "demand inſtructions to employ force. Go, and "tell thoſe who ſent you, that we are aſſembled by "the will of the people, and nothing ſhall expel "us but the bayonet [1]." The effect of this ſpeech

[1] Debates. Hiſtories. Collection of Mirabeau's Speeches. A buſt of Mirabeau was afterwards made for *the friends of the conſtitution*, on which the laſt ſentence of this ſpeech was engraved. White's Tranſlation of Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 92. n.

was

was the triumph of the *tiers etat*. That body, before ſo irreſolute, commenced a virulent debate, in which the royal authority was derided, and the king's perſon and commands treated with indignity. Mirabeau took advantage of a moment ſo favourable, to move for a decree declaring the perſons of members inviolable, which was inſtantly granted [m].

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27th. Junction of orders.

The reſult of this day greatly augmented Mirabeau's popularity, and enhanced his importance with his party. The junction of the two ſuperior orders with the *tiers ctat*, which ſpeedily followed, extended his influence, and with it, his power of doing injury to thoſe he was inclined to oppoſe. On this event he made a ſpeech replete with florid imagery, in which he diſguiſed, under an appearance of philanthropic congratulation, his exultation at an event to which he had ſo materially contributed [n].

Exertions for Orleans.

The triumph of the Orleans party over the court now ſeemed ſo certain and decided, that the conſpirators purſued their operations without affecting diſguiſe, and hardly reſtrained by the common rules of caution. Mirabeau was guilty of a flagrant imprudence, which nothing but a certainty of ſucceſs could have occaſioned. Converſing in a circle of deputies, among whom were Mounier, Bergaſſe, Duport, and la Fayette, he praiſed the duke of Orleans in terms ſufficiently expreſſive, but with ſome reſtraint. La Fayette quitting the party, he became leſs guarded, and ſaid, "Gad, gentlemen, "ſhall I tell you my mind at once?—I think we "ſhall never have made a ſtep towards liberty, till "we ſhall have effected a revolution at court."—"What revolution do you mean (ſaid one); what "is the nature of the revolution you wiſh?"—"I "will tell you without diſguiſe (ſaid Mirabeau); "we muſt raiſe the duke of Orleans to the poſt of

[m] Debates. Hiſtories. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 306.

[n] Debates. Collection of Speeches. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 274.

"lieutenant-

" lieutenant-general of the kingdom." One of the company repreſented, that it was not certain that the duke of Orleans would conſent to aſſume the poſt. " Oh, (replied Mirabeau,) make yourſelves " perfectly eaſy on that point; I have ſpoken to " the duke about it, who anſwered me in a very " pleaſing manner." This diſcourſe alarmed Mounier, who, in a ſubſequent converſation, expreſſed his apprehenſions ariſing from the aſpect of affairs. " Why, you ſimple good man (*bonhomme*)," anſwered Mirabeau, " I am as much attached to roy- " alty as you; but what ſignifies whether we have " Louis XVI. or Louis XVII.; or why ſhould we " have a child to govern us?" Mounier expreſſed ſo much diſapprobation at theſe ſentiments, that Mirabeau, after ſome vague attempts to explain away his meaning, haſtily broke off the converſation *.

Addreſs reſpecting the troops. 8th July.

The train, in fact, was now laid, and the exploſion confidently expected. The only circumſtance which reſtrained the conſpirators was the army under the command of marſhal Broglio, which was aſſembled round Paris. To remove theſe troops became an object of the utmoſt importance, and to this Mirabeau bent all his efforts. In a moſt eloquent and inflammatory ſpeech, he repreſented to the aſſembly the danger of theſe preparations: he drew an exaggerated picture of the miſery of the people, the numbers and movements of the troops, and the views of the court; and concluded by moving an addreſs, praying his majeſty to remove the army which occaſioned ſo much diſquietude. Though it was known that ſuch an addreſs was to be moved, and ſeveral members had prepared to oppoſe it, the effect of Mirabeau's eloquence was ſuch as to convince them of the inutility of oppoſition, and that their own diſgrace would be the only reſult. The

* See Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 60. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 293. Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 153.

addreſs

addreſs was drawn by Mirabeau, read twice, adopted, and preſented by a deputation of twenty-four members, among whom were Mirabeau and Robeſpierre. It is a model of inſidious compoſition, where treaſon is plainly ſhewn through the thin maſk of affected loyalty, and pretended praiſe is beſtowed on the monarch, only as the means of overwhelming him with increaſed reproach if he ſhould refuſe compliance with the dictates of an imperious aſſembly. In anſwer to this addreſs, the king declared that the tumultuous ſtate of the metropolis was the reaſon for ſurrounding it with troops; diſclaimed every idea of interrupting the debates of the aſſembly; and offered, if the troops gave any alarm, to transfer their ſittings to Noyon or Soiſſons, and remove himſelf to Compeigne, to maintain the neceſſary communication with them. This anſwer was ſatisfactory to the majority of the aſſembly, who were inclined to rely on the royal promiſe; but Mirabeau, alarmed at the manifeſtation of ſuch ſentiments, expreſſed violent diſapprobation of the king's anſwer. He averred that it was a direct refuſal of their requeſt; and affecting to doubt the king's ſincerity, inferred ſtill greater treachery from the ſituation of the place to which he had propoſed to remove them. He concluded by obſerving, that the abſence of the troops from the capital was the principal object of the addreſs, and not that the aſſembly ſhould remove to a diſtance from the troops. This reaſoning made great impreſſion on the aſſembly; and Dr. Moore extols their moderation and reſpect for the king, in not renewing the petition. Mirabeau did not urge the meaſure; but the reaſon was, that in the interval between the two debates, and while he had ſuch a meaſure in agitation, a ſecond conference took place between him and Mounier. This deputy remonſtrated on the impropriety of a ſecond addreſs; and Mirabeau, who was ſenſible he

he had been too open in his expreſſions, and apprehended a ſchiſm in his own party, did not venture to preſs a meaſure which might have led to the moſt diſagreeable explanations [p].

14th July. Encourages maſſacres and outrages.

The diſmiſſion of Necker accelerated the projected commotion; and the aſcendancy of the Orleans party gave a more complete ſucceſs to their proceedings than could have been expected. The puſillanimity of the duke however prevented his adherents from deriving from it thoſe advantages to which they conſidered themſelves entitled. Mirabeau in vain endeavoured to urge him to aſſume a greater ſhare of reſolution. On one of theſe occaſions, when Mirabeau had been unſucceſsfully attempting to perſuade him to ſhew himſelf in Paris, he exclaimed, "What, ſir, you are within four leagues of the throne, and yet will not travel to it: it is written then that Mirabeau ſhall never be a man of conſequence [q]." Mirabeau is accuſed of having incited the mob to acts of violence and maſſacre during the tumults which ſucceeded the capture of the Baſtille. Though this charge wants direct proof, it is rendered probable by his being the conſtant defender of their exceſſes, and the oppoſer of meaſures calculated to repreſs them. When Lally Tollendal was deſcribing the deaths of Berthier and Foulon with expreſſions of appropriate horror, Mirabeau told him that it was a time to *think* rather than to *feel*; and, in defending the conduct of the populace, he made the following ſavage obſervation; "If theſe ſcenes which have paſſed at Paris had paſſed at Conſtantinople, the moſt timorous characters would ſay, *the people have done themſelves juſtice*, the meaſure of iniquity

[p] Debates. Hiſtories. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 295 to 307. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 153.

[q] Lettre d'un François ſur les Moyens qui ont Opéré la Revolution, p. 11. n. 16.

"quity was full, and *the punishment of one vizier* "*will become a lesson to another*[r]." He also defended the further excesses of the mobs in the provinces, and apologised for their burning castles, and other cruelties towards the nobility, on a principle of justice and retaliation[s].

Moves for Necker's recal.

Mirabeau had not altered his opinion of Necker, or ceased to entertain the same sentiments of rancour against him; but as the tide of popularity ran strongly in his favour, and as it was considered a measure distressing and insulting to the court, he determined to move for an address requiring the dismission of the new ministry, and the recal of the popular idol. This measure was opposed by some who remonstrated on the unconstitutional indelicacy of interfering with the appointments of the executive government; but Mirabeau's exertions surmounted all opposition, and the address was carried, when the delivery of it was rendered unnecessary by the voluntary resignation of the ministers, and the king's declaration, that he had sent to recal the favourite of the assembly[t].

Opposes his measures.

Necker, whose vanity surmounted his judgment and his duty, was weak enough to return; and Mirabeau commenced a vigorous and successful opposition to his measures, both in the assembly and in public. An opportunity of enfeebling the minister's popularity occurred immediately on his return, when by his address to the electors of Paris, at the *Hotel-de-ville*, he had prevailed on them to decree the liberation of the baron de Bezenval, and a general amnesty. Mirabeau exerted himself among the political clubs, where he represented the transactions at the *Hotel-de-ville* as a compromise with aristocracy, rendered Necker an object of suspicion, and roused the minds of his audience to measures of severity and vengeance. The resolutions of the commune of Pa-

[r] Historical Sketch, p. 194.
[s] Pagès, vol. i. p. 172. [t] Histories. Debates.

ris were declared illegal, and the matter was referred to the national aſſembly, where Mirabeau and his adherents ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing their point, and
Auguſt. the amneſty was annulled[u]. Conſiſtently with the principle he had determined to adopt, Mirabeau reſiſted with effect Necker's propoſal for a loan, which, had it been ſucceſsful, would have relieved the embarraſſments of the court, and rendered Necker's adminiſtration permanent. Mirabeau raiſed ſo many objections, and deducted ſo much from the advantages of the loan, that it never filled[x].

Offers his ſervices to the king;

It was probably about this time that Mirabeau offered his ſervices to the king on certain conditions, which were rejected through the influence of Necker[y], who perhaps felt himſelf incapable of acting in concert with a man of Mirabeau's principles; or more probably was actuated by perſonal reſentment alone. Mirabeau ſeems to have been indignant at the baſeneſs of Orleans, diſplayed at and juſt after the period of taking the Baſtille; and at this time ſeems in his public conduct to have ſhewn a diſpoſition to approach the court, and even to conciliate the miniſter. In the debates on the ſhare of authority to be intruſted to the crown in the ratification of laws, he ſupported the unpopular doctrine of an abſolute *veto*. Montjoye imputes this to his attachment to Orleans, and his wiſh to be the miniſter of an arbitrary monarch; but the other motive is full as probable[z]. The diſtreſs of the revenue ſtill increaſing, and the loan having been found entirely unſucceſsful, Necker brought forward a propoſition, that every individual ſhould contribute a fourth part of his revenue towards the

[u] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 234. Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 172. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 380. See NECKER.
[x] Debates. See NECKER.
[y] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 248. 277.
[z] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 127. Mrs. Wollſtonecraft's Hiſtory, p. 332. Debates in Auguſt and September. Moore's View, and the other Hiſtories.

exigencies

exigencies of the ſtate. This meaſure alarmed the aſſembly by its violence; but Mirabeau, "more "eloquent than ever he had been, great in his geſ- "ture, in his countenance, and in his voice, pre- "vailed on the aſſembly to decree with confidence "the meaſure propoſed by Necker[a]." Though this ſignal ſervice ought to have convinced the miniſter of Mirabeau's value and importance, he could not forgive his critical animadverſions, and his previous oppoſition. He felt no kindneſs to him for ſupporting his ſecond financial plan, after overthrowing the firſt; he did not acquieſce in the propriety of an abſolute *veto*; and he fruſtrated the negotiation between the king and Mirabeau. rejected through Necker.

Irritated at this rejection, Mirabeau attached himſelf more firmly than ever to Orleans. He contrived to render the compliment he had paid to Necker unavailing, by tacking to the decree a requeſt that the king would immediately ſanction certain obnoxious reſolutions voted on the fourth of Auguſt[b]. In the debates which followed, eſpecially thoſe which related to the limitation of the crown, and the ſettlement of a regency, he ſhewed a decided predilection for the intereſts of Orleans[c]. What could not be produced by cabal in the legiſlature it was determined to effect by external violence, and the dreadful inſurrection which took place on the fifth of October was projected and organiſed. Attaches himſelf more firmly to Orleans. 15th Sept.

No doubt can be entertained that Mirabeau took an active ſhare in contriving and conducting this celebrated inſurrection. Mrs. Wollſtonecraft, with her uſual raſhneſs, has declared his innocence, deducing it only from his diſlike to Orleans, and the 5th and 6th Oct. Conduct of Mirabeau.

[a] Quoted from Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 141. See NECKER. Debates. Hiſtories.

[b] See NECKER.

[c] Debates. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 135. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 235.

opinion

opinion ſubſequently delivered by the abbé Mauri[d]. Dr. Moore ſtates it as evident that Mirabeau did not act in concert with the duke; and ſays it does not appear that he had any hand in exciting the inſurrection, but he certainly endeavoured to turn it to his own purpoſes when excited[e]. The argument of Mrs. Wollſtonecraft of his contempt for Orleans is not very cogent, conſidering how many facts appeared in evidence to ſhew that he was very active in urging the proceedings of the mob. The conduct of the abbé Mauri will be mentioned hereafter. The want of concert between the conſpirators, adduced by Dr. Moore, is eaſily accounted for by adverting to the character of the duke of Orleans, with whom it was eaſy to *plot*, but whoſe cowardice and inconſiſtency rendered it extremely difficult to *act* in concert. A ſtatement of Mirabeau's proceedings during and previous to the inſurrection will beſt elucidate his motives. For ſome time before this event, a great many deputies, dreading the anarchy which they had reaſon to apprehend from the intrigues and ambition of the popular party, had meditated a junction with the members attached to the court; and their influence had ſo far prevailed, that in the election of preſidents, the compoſition of committees, and the nomination of ſecretaries, the friends of order were generally preferred. Mirabeau was indignant at this junction, which threatened to reduce his party to a ſtate of inſignificance, and wrote a letter replete with threats to Clermont Tonnere, who was then preſident, which he, with more forbearance than prudence, did not denounce to the aſſembly[f]. A ſecret committee compoſed of the adherents of Orleans met frequently at the duke's country-ſeat at Mouſſeau; Mirabeau was a conſtant attendant at

[d] Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 456.
[e] View, vol. ii. p. 50.
[f] Lettre d'un François ſur les Moyens qui ont Opéré la Revolution, p. 27.

theſe

theſe meetings [g]; he was continually travelling to Paris, and exerting his influence in the clubs and coffee-houſes [h]. On the day of the exploſion, the debates were conducted with peculiar acrimony. The pretended *orgies* of the *Gardes-du-corps* afforded a ground for ſome accuſations which Petion levelled againſt the queen, but wanted courage to ſign his denunciation. Mirabeau, who in theſe extremities never loſt his preſence of mind, relieved Petion from his embarraſſment by ſaying, "I begin by declar-"ing that I conſider the motion ſupremely impo-"litic; nevertheleſs, if it is perſiſted in, I am ready "to produce the details, and ſign them with my "own hand: but the aſſembly muſt firſt decree, "that the perſon of the king *alone* is inviolable; "and that all other individuals, whatever their ſta-"tion, are equally ſubject to the laws." This ſpeech produced a ſeries of inflammatory obſerva-tions, but the denunciation was not proceeded on [i]. While the debates were going on, Mirabeau roſe and whiſpered to the preſident, "Mounier, there "are forty thouſand men marching againſt us from "Paris; adjourn." Many people had been ob-ſerved going in and out with an appearance of great agitation, theſe were the agents of the conſpi-racy, and from them Mirabeau derived his intel-ligence [k]. In the courſe of the debate Mirabeau had behaved with great petulance, and diſplayed the confidence of a ſucceſsful conſpirator. In ad-verting to the king's delay in ſanctioning the de-crees, he renounced his own principle of an abſolute *veto*, and ſaid, "It appears to me that in an addreſs "to the king, it would not be improper to ſpeak "with the ſame frankneſs and truth which a court

[g] Moore's View, vol. ii p. 39. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 244.
[h] *Lettre d'un François*, &c. p. 28.
[i] Debates. Hiſtories. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 204.
[k] Pagès, vol. i. p. 235. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 205.

" fool of Philip conveyed in this trifling ſentence: " *What would you do, Philip, if all the world were to* " *ſay no when you ſay yes* [l]." A deputation to the king had been decreed, when the *Poiſſardes* ruſhed into the hall. In the confuſion which enſued, Mirabeau alone retained any authority; he alone dared, when the clamour was ſuch as to interrupt the debate, to move that all perſons who were not deputies ſhould be expelled. Though the mob did not permit ſuch a motion to paſs, they expreſſed no anger againſt the mover [m]. As ſoon as the aſſembly adjourned, Mirabeau went among the rabble, who were aſſailing the guards, and threatening the life of the queen. He was among the privates of the *regiment de Flandres*, the complete ſeduction of whom had been only that day effected; and the Pariſian women, when they loſt ſight of him, were continually ſcreaming, " Where is our count Mira- " beau? we want to ſee our count Mirabeau." Sometimes he appeared with a huge ſabre under his arm, and ſometimes diſguiſed in women's clothes. In this dreſs he was ſeen the next morning, uttering imprecations againſt the queen, and mixing with the mob to inſtigate freſh violences [n]. When the aſſembly met, Mirabeau was at his poſt, diſappointed at the reſult of the conſpiracy, and gloomily awaiting an opportunity of turning it to ſome advantage. Such an occaſion ſoon preſented itſelf. The king, aſtoniſhed at the audacity of treaſon, which, not content with violating the refuge of his palace, ſought to deprive him of liberty by a compulſory journey to the capital, ſent a meſſage to the aſſembly, requiring them to come and hold their ſitting in the hall of Hercules, that he might have the benefit of their advice. Mounier, the preſident,

[l] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 3.
[m] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 427.
[n] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 234. 245. Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 377.

would

would instantly have complied; but Mirabeau prevented it. He said it was not consistent with the dignity of the assembly to go to the king, and that the freedom of debate could not be preserved within the walls of a palace. As soon as the king's submission to the orders of the mob was announced, Mirabeau moved that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the monarch, and that a deputation of one hundred persons should accompany the royal family to Paris. The secretary, in preparing the list, inserted the name of Mirabeau, which Mounier immediately erased. "Why do you take out "my name, Mounier? (said Mirabeau); I insist on "being one of the deputation, that I may appease "the people in case of any tumult." The president answered; "Sir, those who have so much "influence on the people as to *appease* them, may "also be instrumental in *making them rebel.*" Mirabeau however insisted on carrying his point; and as his word was that day a law to the assembly, he succeeded [o]. Though the grand object of the conspiracy, that of destroying or dethroning the king, had failed, yet the transfer of the king and assembly to Paris, where the king would be kept a prisoner, and where Mirabeau, by means of the clubs, possessed so great an influence, was a subject of considerable triumph; and the final victory of the faction appeared to be only retarded. Mirabeau expressed his exultation on the occasion by saying, in an address to the provinces, that now "the vessel of public business would proceed in its "course more rapidly than ever [p]."

As there was reason to apprehend from the manner in which these transactions are mentioned, that they would become the subject of a judicial investigation, Mirabeau proposed to avail himself of the present

[o] Debates. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 266. et seq.
[p] Debates. Historical Sketch, p. 267.

disposition of the assembly, and obtain such decrees as would prevent any inquiry; and instead of juridical depositions, leave the facts to be recorded by tradition alone, and forgotten when the day was past. Every thing was arranged, and the time fixed; when Orleans, from cowardice, refused to appear in the assembly, and the project was abandoned. Mirabeau was transported with rage, and vented himself in angry expressions; he declared the duke did not deserve the pains which had been taken for him; that he was base as a foot-boy; and added, that he always carried a loaded pistol in his bosom, but had not sufficient spirit to pull the trigger [q]. His indignation was carried to the highest pitch, when he learned the duke's resolution to go to England. "He used imprecations worthy of "Philoctetes [r];" and afterwards declared, that so far from desiring to elevate the duke to the throne, he would not choose him for a lacquey. He made an attempt to prevent the assembly from permitting his departure, and hinted at the imperious conduct of la Fayette on the occasion; but without success [s].

19th Oct. Moves thanks to la Fayette.

Though highly displeased with la Fayette, and always personally inimical to him, Mirabeau, when the assembly began to make Paris the place of their sittings, moved a vote of thanks to the commandant of the national guard, which was carried with universal applause [t]. He opposed la Fayette's proposition of a martial law, though without success; but the arguments he used were highly gratifying to the people [u].

Mirabeau's popularity;

Mirabeau had calculated rightly on the effects of his popularity in Paris, he was idolized by the mob,

[q] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 289. Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 378.
[r] History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 8.
[s] Debates. Histories. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 350.
[t] Debates. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 258.
[u] Debates. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 340.

who

who carried their complaiſance towards him to ſuch an exceſs, that he was accuſed of ſending meſſengers when he intended to ſpeak to give notice to the people that they might fill the galleries. He denied the fact, but it is far from being improbable [x]. He extended his influence by a regular attendance at the Jacobin club, where he was one of the committee of correſpondence [y], and he was the founder or promoter of various other clubs. He belonged to the club of 1789, but ſeeing there was no popularity attached to it, ſoon declined attending [z]. He alſo founded, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Swiſs malcontents at Paris, a club, called the friends of Swiſs liberty, which was in ſome degree encouraged by the aſſembly, and carried on a correſpondence with the partiſans of the ſame cauſe in Switzerland [a].

In the courſe of this year Mirabeau's father died, but as the arrangement of his affairs took up a conſiderable time, Mirabeau derived no immediate pecuniary advantage from the event [b]. Mirabeau, however, was enabled, by the large ſums he received from Orleans, and afterwards from the king, to live in a very ſplendid ſtyle. He bought a great part of his father's library, which was one of the beſt in France, and almoſt all the library of the celebrated Buffon. He alſo purchaſed the houſe of Fleſſelles, and had agents at all the ſales of books and rarities at the hotel de Bouillon [c]. Mirabeau was the firſt who had propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a city militia, a project which was diſregarded at the moment, but which was afterwards embraced, and became the foundation of the national guard [d]. His profuſion;

[x] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 111.
[y] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 7.
[z] Expoſition abrégée des Principes, &c. par Arthur Dillon, p. 34. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 387.
[a] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 351.
[b] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 473.
[c] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 294.
[d] Pagès, vol. i. p. 137.

The command of the battalion *de la Grange Battelière*, the ſection where he reſided, was beſtowed on him, and he gave a fête to his comrades and a part of the national guard, which coſt about ten thouſand livres (437*l.* 10*s.*). When any perſons expreſſed ſurpriſe at his living ſo expenſively, they were taught to believe that he was enabled to do it by the profits of his journal, which had an immenſe ſale [e].

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His deſire to be miniſter.

The abſence of Orleans, and the impoſſibility of raiſing popular commotions, which, in fact, were no longer neceſſary either to his popularity or power, ſeem to have allayed the ferment of Mirabeau's mind. He began to wiſh for a more regular government, where the executive branch might be reſtored to a due ſhare of authority by means of a miniſter poſſeſſed of a genius for finance and government, who might ſupply the place of the feeble Necker, and, by his ſuperior powers, reſtrain the tribe of jealous expectants. His remarks are curious and intereſting. "You reaſon very juſtly on our "*revolution*; but it ariſes among us, rather from "*devolution* than *exaltation* [f]. The party which "was able to have reſiſted was ſo degenerate, the "inevitable effect of a long monopoly, that they "felt rather the ſpite of a child, or the rage of a "woman, than a deſire to operate a counter-revo-"lution. The crown is more in danger from "want of energy than from any conſpiracy. Un-"leſs an able pilot is found, it is probable that the "veſſel will be ſtranded. If, on the contrary, the "force of events compels the appointment of a "man of parts, and inſpires them with courage to

[e] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 170.

[f] I am compelled to uſe this affected phraſeology to preſerve a miſerable pun. In plain language, Mirabeau means that the weakneſs of the court rather than the enthuſiaſm of the people occaſioned the revolution. In the next ſentence he completely acquits the royal family of aiming at a counter-revolution, and, of courſe, ſigns his own condemnation as a conſpirator and calumniator.

"diſregard

" difregard the opinions of mankind, and the " efforts of ſubaltern jealouſy, you cannot imagine " how eaſy it will be to ſet the public veſſel afloat. " The reſources of this country, and the inconſtancy " of its inhabitants, which conſtitutes their greateſt " fault, give birth to ſo many expedients, and ſuch " a variety of means, that in France we ought " never to preſume or to deſpair [t]."

Political opinions.

Mirabeau now thought ſeriouſly of eſtabliſhing the government, and extending the power of France. He entertained the ſame projects of aggrandizement, education, and government which have been purſued by his ſucceſſors, but he was not prepared to aſcend to the ſame height of revolutionary violence which they attained at a ſudden ſpring. He wiſhed to make the finances of the country reſpectable and flouriſhing, by appointing funds for the regular payment of intereſt; they have eaſed themſelves of ſuch exertions by repeated bankruptcies. He intended to produce a change of manners in his countrymen, by altering the ſyſtem of education, and allowed fifteen years for the perfection of his plan; they ſuperſeded the neceſſity of education by the decapitation and baniſhment of thoſe who expreſſed an opinion of their own, by which means the whole country could be brought to adopt any ſyſtem of religion or government in fifteen days. Mirabeau was deſirous to extend the influence of France by increaſing the proſperity of other countries; his ſucceſſors inſtead of influence have acquired an enforced and ſullen obedience, and inſtead of inſpiring gratitude by an increaſe of proſperity have excited univerſal horror and latent indignation by unparalleled rapacity and want of faith. The identity of ſyſtem, however the variation in practice may have diſfigured Mirabeau's plan, and the fact and time of his making his confeſſion

[t] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 487. See alſo p. 498. for his opinion of Necker.

of faith on the ſubject to Mauvillon, prove that there did always exiſt a conſpiracy againſt all the religions and governments of Europe, and that the ſame views have been conſtantly adhered to, though differences of education and ſyſtem in the demagogues of France have given a variety to its operation. The following is an extract from Mirabeau's letter in which he delineates his plan, but the whole merits a ſerious peruſal. " Upon the whole, I am " more than ever attached to my ſyſtem. *A great* " *empire can never be well-governed but as a congrega-* " *tion of ſmall federative ſtates, whoſe federal knot is* " *in a repreſentative aſſembly* preſided over and " watched by the monarch. Thus by force of a " good conſtitution alone *we might ſoon have the* " *Rhine for a boundary*, and, what is more, *an irre-* " *ſiſtible influence over all the governments of Eu-* " *rope*, by the amelioration and extended proſperity " of the whole human ſpecies. But to produce " theſe advantages we muſt have a ſyſtem, we muſt " not be obliged, in addition to our general laws, " to make ſpecial laws, which we do not and " ſhould not underſtand. *A government muſt be a* " *profeſſor, not a pupil; a chief, not a ſlave.* The " repreſentative of the nation muſt not act in a " manner contradictory to her intereſts. In a " word, an expiring juggler [h], muſt not continue " his clumſy cup-and-ball tricks, when there is no " longer any need for hocus-pocus, or mounte- " bank's tables. Comus and Pinetti muſt not ex- " pect to receive from an academy of ſciences, the " ſame applauſes they acquire at a fair [i]."

Exertions in the aſſembly;

To deſcribe all Mirabeau's labours in the conſtituent aſſembly, it would be requiſite to enter into a minute detail of every debate which took place from its commencement to the laſt day of his life, ſince no debate occurred which was not directed by his

[h] Necker.

[i] Lettre à Mauvillon du 31 Janvier 1790, p. 506. du Recueil.

judgment,

judgment, guided by his genius, or illuminated by his eloquence. I ſhall deſcribe the courſe of his exertions on a few ſubjects, as they enable us to form a juſt eſtimate of his politics, without narrating hiſtorically the circumſtances which preceded, or the effects which followed them. From an early attachment to the doctrines of infidelity, and as an *illuminatus*, Mirabeau was inimical to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and the oppoſition made by the clergy to the uſurpation of the *tiers etat* had exaſperated him to a ſtill higher pitch. He had frequently been heard to ſay, "If you wiſh for a revo- "lution, you muſt baniſh the Catholic religion "from France[k]." He was an advocate for the abolition of tithes, a meaſure which he ſupported with all his eloquence and influence, and finally ſucceeded[l]. The neceſſity and rapacious diſpoſition of the aſſembly could not be ſatisfied with the tithes alone, but required that the whole wealth of the clergy ſhould be at their diſpoſal. The lay members of the aſſembly, apprehenſive of cenſure from the invidious appearance ſuch a motion would aſſume if it proceeded from them, availed themſelves of the profligacy of a member of the clerical body to obtain their object. Talleyrand Perigord, biſhop of Autun, was prevailed on by Mirabeau to propoſe the meaſure, which was ſupported by all the zeal, eloquence, and intrigue of the party. The reſiſtance was proportioned to the magnitude of the object, and the popular party, not feeling ſufficiently ſtrong to inſure a majority, more than once adjourned the debate. The mob ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted the enemies of the clergy. Placards were paſted up, containing liſts of thoſe who had oppoſed the motion, and offering rewards of twelve hundred livres (52*l.* 10*s.*) to any patriot who would kill them. On

against the clergy.

[k] Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, part I. p. 2.
[l] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 193. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 211.

the

the day when the queſtion was finally decided, a mob, armed with pikes, aſſembled in the avenues to the place of ſitting, and threatened to put all the biſhops and prieſts to death, if the motion was loſt [m]. Several members produced letters in which they were threatened with deſtruction if they perſevered in oppoſing the meaſure; but Mirabeau ſilenced them by producing letters of ſimilar import, which, he pretended, had been written to him by the other party [n]. This meaſure was followed by the ſuppreſſion of all monaſtic eſtabliſhments, and the grant of nominal penſions to the clergy, while their lands were aſſigned to the creditors of the ſtate, and aſſignats iſſued on them, as a new kind of paper money. Mirabeau was one of the ſtrongeſt advocates of theſe violent proceedings in oppoſition to his own ſentiments, expreſſed in his pamphlet againſt the emperor, called *Doutes ſur la Liberté de l'Eſcaut*, where, among many ſimilar paſſages, he ſays expreſsly, 'Deſpiſe the monks as much 'as you pleaſe, but do not rob them, for it is unlawful to rob either the moſt determined Atheiſt 'or the moſt credulous Capuchin [o].' Yet, with all this violence, Mirabeau had occaſion to ſhew his moderation at the expence of others. He ſaid one day at the Jacobin club, while deſcanting on the inveteracy diſplayed againſt the prieſts: "For God's "ſake, gentlemen, let us not torment their con-"ſciences. We have got their property, and what "ſignifies any thing elſe [p]?" Mirabeau, as a member of the club of *Amis des Noirs*, was anxious to aboliſh ſlavery, and make the coloured inhabitants of the colonies in every reſpect equal with the whites; a meaſure ſupremely impolitic, in which he failed [q].

for the ſlaves.

[m] Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, part I. p. 22.
[n] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 222. [o] Idem, p. 173.
[p] Lettre d'un François, p. 45. n.
[q] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 319.

Theſe

These measures, and the arrangement of some articles of the constitution, took up the attention of the assembly during the early part of the year. Mirabeau's popularity continued to increase, and he augmented his insolence in proportion. His appearance and manners were such, that an author in describing him says, "When silent he resembled a savage "bear, when he spoke, a foaming lion[r]." He felt no fear of the persons to whom he was opposed, knowing them to be attached to order, morals, and the laws. "You have nothing to apprehend from "the aristocrats," was his expression to his adherents, "they neither pillage, burn, or assassin-"ate[s]." Towards his opponents he behaved with the utmost ferocity, threatening them with the vengeance of the mob on every occasion[t]. Yet Mirabeau was cowardly to the greatest degree. His presence of mind never forsook him in debate, but in action, or when threatened, he exhibited none of that inflammability which distinguished him on other occasions; his courage bore an inverse proportion to his insolence[x]. He received two or three challenges, which he always declined, with fresh insolence or unmanly pleasantry. "I will write to my "constituents," he said, "to know if they deputed "me to stake my life at sword and pistol; if so, I "shall request them to nominate Saint George, or "some equally skilful combatant, as my super-"numerary[y]."

1790. His violence, and cowardice.

As Necker's influence declined, some friends of the king renewed a negotiation with Mirabeau for

His exertions for the crown.

[r] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 198.
[s] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 305. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 269.
[t] See Historical Sketch, p. 300. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 204.
[x] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 192.
[y] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 220. For instances of Mirabeau's tameness in submitting to insults, see the same volume, p. 143. 193. 202.

his assistance, which finally succeeded. It was either in consequence of this negotiation, or of Mirabeau's wish that it should take place, that many motions made by him appeared to favour the royal cause. He seems to have had some prospect of being minister, when he endeavoured to get rid of the absurd self-denying decree, by moving that ministers should have a consultative voice in the assembly. This proposition was so ill received, that instead of producing the desired effect, it only caused the exclusion to be more strongly enforced [z]. In the question respecting the power of declaring war and making peace, Mirabeau shewed his disposition to favour the court still more openly, for he maintained the unpopular though rational doctrine, that these powers ought to be vested in the king. This produced an immediate effect on the mob; it was rumoured that he was sold to the court. The hawkers cried about the streets *the grand treachery of count Mirabeau*; and Marat, who had long been his enemy, printed the opinion that he ought to be broiled on a gridiron, as the greatest traitor in the assembly. Mirabeau was now obliged to retract a part of his opinion, and compromise with the more moderate of his opponents, to form a decree that war should be declared on the part of the king, in the name of the nation. Even this was not sufficient to gratify the populace. Barnave and Lameth, who had opposed him, were carried in triumph on coming out of the assembly. "I too," said Mirabeau, "had it in my power but two days "ago to have been carried in triumph, but I was "not then to learn that it is but one step from the "capitol to the Tarpeian rock [a]."

Jealousy of the populace.

22d May.

[z] Debates. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 284.

[a] Debates, Historical Sketch, p. 277. Pagès, vol. i. p. 345. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 295.

Although

Although Mirabeau aſſumed in public the ſemblance of ſtoical indifference, he felt the inſult he had received with conſiderable ſenſibility. He ſays, "I have attended cloſely to buſineſs in the aſſembly, and even powerfully maintained the barrier, as you will have read in the public papers. We have here a multitude of perſons whoſe only aim is confuſion. Their audacious turbulence awes the timid, alarms the prudent, hurries away the impetuous, and rallies the factious. It was neceſſary to form, to guide, to render victorious a truly monarchical party, which was not eaſy in a nation ſo fickle, which does nothing but by the impulſe of the moment, or at the dictates of faſhion. Now the faſhion of this day is licentiouſneſs and anarchy [b]." The prevalence of this diſpoſition was ſuch that he was led to apprehend it would terminate in a civil war. In a ſubſequent letter he ſays, "You muſt ſuppoſe, my 4th Aug. dear friend, that my career becomes daily more perilous. In the firſt place, I never had any faith in the poſſibility of effecting a great revolution without bloodſhed; and I no longer entertain a hope but that the internal fermentation, combined with intrigues, will occaſion a civil war; I am not clear that ſuch an event is not a neceſſary evil." It is probable, that at the time he wrote this his treaty with the king met with ſome obſtacles, as in another part of the letter he ſays, "The miniſtry, equally treacherous and baſe, cannot, even for their own ſafety, forgive me for having rendered ſome ſervices to the nation. The throne has neither conception, judgment, or free-will. The people, ignorant and anarchical, float at the diſcretion of every political juggler, and of their own illuſions [c]."

[b] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 510.
[c] Idem, p. 517. 518.

It

Inculpated by Chatelet.

It is poſſible that ſome portion of jealouſy felt by the miniſtry might ariſe from the return of Orleans, and a ſuſpicion that the connexion between him and Mirabeau would be renewed. This might originate from their being jointly implicated in the charge of conſpiracy on the fifth of October, and the preſumption that they muſt unite in their de-

7th Aug. fence. Of this, however, there is no appearance. When Boucher d'Argis made his report to the aſſembly, Mirabeau was in the frame of mind which induced him to write the letter mentioned above.

30th Sept. Before the Chatelet had delivered in their accuſation, Necker had retired, and as no impediment remained, it is highly probable that Mirabeau had made his bargain with the court, and was conſequently under no apprehenſions of the event of this

Acquitted by the aſſembly; proceeding. To this muſt be attributed the phenomenon of Mauri's undertaking his defence, and the ſlight oppoſition made to the vote of exculpation which could not apply to Mirabeau without extending to Orleans alſo [d]. Mirabeau's guilt is ſtrongly apparent in the depoſitions in the Chatelet as publiſhed, but that part can afford only very imperfect information, as the more important examinations were not committed to the preſs. It is ſaid they are preſerved, and will at ſome future time appear [e].

Bribed by the court. Mirabeau had now entirely diſſolved his connexion with Orleans, though he found it neceſſary to maintain an appearance of cordiality with him, and even to attach himſelf to the Lameths, and ſome other leaders of the Jacobins, in order to counterbalance the influence of la Fayette, of whoſe duplicity and ambition he was juſtly apprehenſive [f]. Senſible of the diſorganizing power which Orleans, by dint of

[d] Debates. Hiſtories. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 81. et ſeq. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 443. See ORLEANS.

[e] Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 392. n.

[f] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 254.

corruption,

corruption, had acquired in the army, Mirabeau propoſed the bold but ſalutary meaſure of diſbanding the whole military body, and re-eſtabliſhing it on conſtitutional principles. This plan would not have been diſagreeable to la Fayette, but when it was propoſed in the aſſembly, moſt of the members were terrified at its audacity, and it was rejected by all parties[g]. The price Mirabeau received from the crown for his ſervices was ſix hundred thouſand livres (26,250*l.*) in prompt payment, and an allowance of fifty thouſand livres (2187*l.*) a-month[h]. The king had much repugnance to overcome before he could repoſe an entire confidence in Mirabeau, or reſolve to rely on a man of his character[i], but the marquis de Bouillé; to whom Mirabeau's junction with the court was communicated, was immediately ſenſible of its beneficial tendency. He was of opinion that the genius, talents, and firmneſs of Mirabeau were equal to the greatneſs of the emergency; and that if any man could ſave the king and monarchy it was he[k]. The following compariſon between the characters of Mirabeau and la Fayette is ſo ſagacious and juſt, that I give it in M. de Bouillé's own words: "It will appear aſtoniſhing, "without doubt, that I ſhould act with ſo much "confidence towards Mirabeau, when my conduct "towards la Fayette was marked with ſuch diſtruſt. "The reaſon is obvious; avarice and ambition were "the reigning paſſions of the former, and theſe "the king could amply gratify when re-ſeated on "his throne: now I very well knew that Mirabeau "poſſeſſed too much diſcernment not to perceive "that the gratitude and favours of a prince, whom "he ſhould have contributed to reſtore to his "power and authority, were much to be preferred "to popular favour, and the temporary ſituation of

Compared with la Fayette.

[g] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 174. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 170.
[h] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 277.
[i] Idem, p. 275.
[k] Idem, p. 277.

"leader

" leader of a party. La Fayette, on the contrary, " was an enthuſiaſt, and intoxicated with ſelf-love; " whoſe price could neither be known or reached; " a deſcription of men at all times dangerous, but " particularly ſo during a revolution[1]."

Mirabeau's plan;

The plan which Mirabeau propoſed to adopt for reſtoring the king to liberty and political importance, and the means and reſources he poſſeſſed for putting it in execution, are thus faithfully diſplayed by the ſame candid and judicious author:—" The " intention of Mirabeau was to procure the diſſo- " lution of the aſſembly and the liberty of the king, " by the force and will of the nation itſelf; eſta- " bliſhing this principle, that the repreſentatives of " the people at this aſſembly were not poſſeſſed of " the powers neceſſary to make a change in the an- " cient conſtitution, ſuch a meaſure being contrary " to the inſtructions given by all the provinces to " the deputies ſent by them to the ſtates-general, " which inſtructions had neither been altered nor " revoked; and that the king, being deprived of " his perſonal liberty, could not inveſt with his " authority the new laws that had been enacted. " The validity of this objection being admitted, he " then intended to procure addreſſes from the dif- " ferent departments, praying that the preſent aſ- " ſembly might be diſſolved; a new one convoked, " with the powers requiſite for making ſuch alter- " ations in the conſtitution as ſhould appear neceſ- " ſary; and that the king ſhould be reſtored to his " liberty, and the enjoyment of a reaſonable au- " thority. Theſe addreſſes were to be ſupported " by the people of Paris, whom Mirabeau ſeemed " to think at his diſpoſal, when he ſhould have re- " moved ſome of the leading men of the Jacobin " faction, whom he had already denounced to the " aſſembly. Mirabeau reckoned ſix-and-thirty de-

[1] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 281.

" partments

" partments whoſe conduct he could direct, and I " myſelf could depend upon ſix; beſides, as I have " already obſerved, there was hardly a department " in the kingdom which was not well affected to " the royal cauſe. Mirabeau was further to deliver " to me the king and royal family either at Com- " peigne or at Fontainbleau, where I ſhould have " ſurrounded them with my beſt troops [m]." In this whole plan there was no violence meditated either againſt the aſſembly or individuals; the people were to be reſorted to that they might remedy the evils which an uſurping body had committed in their name. Nor could it with propriety be termed a counter-revolution, but merely a corrective meaſure, tending to reſtrain the vices and defects which had originated in raſhneſs, violence, and ignorance. A new aſſembly, duly elected and authorized for the purpoſe, could have framed a conſtitution with greater probability of ſucceſs than that which already exiſted. Obtaining their authority without a ſtruggle, they would have proceeded to buſineſs without rancour, and inſtead of deſtroying every thing without reſerve, they would have endeavoured to combine exiſting laws and eſtabliſhments with ſuch reforms as the diſpoſition of the people and the neceſſity of the times ſuggeſted. Enlightened by the experience of their predeceſſors, they would have avoided their faults; while from a contemplation of the danger into which the kingdom had been plunged by precipitation, jealouſy, and party-ſpirit, they would have learned moderation, forbearance, and mutual confidence. Thus the firſt national aſſembly would not have exiſted in vain, and the few principled members of it who ſurvive the wreck of the times would not be under the neceſſity of lamenting that they have been unintentionally acceſſary to the deſtruction of their ſove-

[m] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 278.

reign, the extirpation of religion, the enslaving of their country, and the conflagration of Europe.

His exertions,

Mirabeau applied the whole force of his genius and all the energy of his indefatigable mind to give effect to this new plan, in the result of which he expected to be prime minister. He used all his efforts to disunite the prevailing factions, and make them jealous of and odious to each other. He had attached to himself the Lameths, Barnave his former rival in eloquence, and Duport [a]. There is reason to suppose that Mirabeau also made some attempts to conciliate la Fayette; this might be dictated either by hope or fear; there was reason to apprehend that the general had by some means obtained a knowledge of the project, and had, at his own desire, had a conference of three hours with Mirabeau, at the house of Emery, deputy for Metz, who was a confidant of la Fayette [b]. From the union of two such men, had it been possible, the greatest advantages might have been derived; but la Fayette, limited in his talents though unbounded in his ambition and vanity, could not have borne the near approach of a mind so much his superior, or have consented to embrace so grand a plan, from the execution of which hypocrisy, petty intrigue, and trivial manœuvre must have been banished. To strengthen his own party was among Mirabeau's greatest efforts. He was desirous of forming a connection with persons of talents, and of employing them in such a manner as to give effect and vigour to a new system and a new administration. Among others so applied to was Dumouriez, who undertook the embassy to Prussia, and seems to have entered cordially into Mirabeau's interests. Mirabeau also made due preparations to secure the approbation of foreign courts, and proper advances to ministers: even count Hertz-

[a] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 192.
[b] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 281. 297.

berg,

berg, the Pruſſian miniſter, though Mirabeau hated him, was complimented with numerous conſultations [p].

During theſe tranſactions, Mirabeau was not inattentive to his duties in the aſſembly, where the debates generally turned on ſome articles of the conſtitution, in which he intereſted himſelf in proportion to their magnitude, but avoided a mode of conduct ſo deciſive as to alarm the one, or injure the other party. He was elected one of the adminiſtrators of the department of Paris, which gave him a right to command the municipality, and drew up a proclamation, in which he ſtrongly recommended obedience to the law, and ſubmiſſion to authority [q]. He was elevated to the preſident's chair, which he filled with dignity and moderation. He diſtinguiſhed his preſidency by the anſwer he gave to a deputation of quakers, who required permiſſion to abſtain from military duty, as it was repugnant to their religious tenets. Mirabeau's anſwer is one of thoſe ſpecimens of ſubtilty which rarely occur: it refuſes the requeſt of the petitioners, without leaving them reaſon to complain, or the power of renewing their ſupplication; and invalidates the reaſoning of the petition, without throwing diſgrace or blame on the petitioners [r]. The laſt words pronounced by Mirabeau in the tribune were theſe:—"I will oppoſe "the factious; I will combat them, of whatever "party or on whatever ſide they may be [s]."

in the aſſembly.

29th Jan.

10th Feb.

Converſing with Dumouriez on affairs of the utmoſt importance, the character of count Hertzberg became the ſubject of diſcuſſion. "This old

His ſudden death.

[p] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 115. Among Mirabeau's motives for diſliking count Hertzberg, may be reckoned the pride of authorſhip. The count had produced a criticiſm on the Hiſtoire de la Monarchie Pruſſienne which highly offended Mirabeau. See Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 450. 515.

[q] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 323.

[r] Debates. Talma's Chronology.

[s] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 271.

" fox (ſaid Mirabeau) is ſurrounded by a chaplet " of obſtructions, and attacked at the ſame time by " at leaſt five or ſix maladies, all of which are mor- " tal; and yet he is continually broaching new " projects, as if he were to live a hundred years; " while in fact one of the fatal ſiſters has her ſciſſars " ready to cut the thread that holds ſuſpended over
2d April. " his head the ſword of Damocles." In four days Mirabeau himſelf was no more[t]!

30th Mar. When his illneſs was announced, all Paris was in conſternation and alarm: his door was crowded with inquirers, and the king himſelf ſent for information of the ſtate of his health. He ſuffered the acuteſt pains without betraying any unmanly ſymptoms of alarm or anguiſh. He converſed with his friends, and delivered to Talleyrand Perigord a ſpeech which he had compoſed on the law then agitated in the aſſembly reſpecting teſtamentary deviſes. " It will be a remarkable circumſtance (he ſaid) " that the man who offers them this, his laſt tri- " bute, prepared it immediately after making his " own will[u]." He appeared to feel ſome regret at quitting life, juſt when he was about to have commenced an uſeful and truly glorious career; and he predicted, that with him the French monarchy would expire[x].

Suppoſed to be poiſoned. The ſuppoſed cauſe of Mirabeau's death was a gathering occaſioned by the ſtoppage of an iſſue: his heart was dried up, and a mortification had taken place in his inteſtines. Such was the *procès verbal* publiſhed by the ſurgeons who opened him[y]. The people of Paris ſuſpected that the days of their favourite had been ſhortened by poiſon. All authors who have written on Mirabeau's death have mentioned this ſuppoſition with different degrees of

[t] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 119.
[u] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 272.
[x] Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 470.
[y] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 273.

acquieſcence

acquieſcence or diſbelief. I am of opinion that the fact, ſo far as it can be decided by probability, appears almoſt certain. The critical period at which Mirabeau was carried off; the laſt words he uttered in the tribune, ſo well calculated to ſtrike terror and infuſe deſperate reſolutions in the party he had relinquiſhed, naturally gave birth to ſuſpicion: the extent of the project in which he was embarked implied a neceſſity for a diffuſe confidence, and Orleans, who had his ſpies and agents every where, could not fail of obtaining information, if not of the whole circumſtances, at leaſt of the leading features of a plan which threatened entire deſtruction to all thoſe ſchemes of ambition and revenge, in purſuit of which he had ruined his fortune, and expoſed himſelf to every danger. No man was ſo likely as Orleans to effect the death of a dangerous opponent by violence of any kind, but in the preſent caſe poiſon was the moſt eaſy and effectual method. I am not qualified to diſcuſs chirurgically or medically the probability of the cauſe which was ſuppoſed to have occaſioned Mirabeau's death operating by ſuch means as an acute excruciating agony, terminating an illneſs of three days by paralytical affections, and an incapacity to ſpeak, though the power of writing remained till almoſt his laſt moment [2]. The ſuſpicions of the people were appeaſed by the report of the ſurgeons who opened the body; but the reports of ſurgeons are not always true, and the circumſtances on this occaſion afforded juſt ground for continued ſuſpicion. Sixty ſurgeons were choſen from the different ſections of Paris to attend on the occaſion; few of them, as they afterwards confeſſed, approached the body ſo as to examine it minutely; and there was a mob of above one hundred thouſand perſons collected, vowing vengeance if it ſhould be diſcovered that Mirabeau's days had

[2] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 272.

been abridged by treachery. Uncertain againſt whom the popular violence might be directed, it is not wonderful if theſe ſurgeons made a report contrary to their conviction, and ſuppreſſed ſymptoms which might have led to doubts, if not certainties of the fact [a]. But even ſuppoſing the ſurgeons to have declared faithfully the reſult of their experiment, it ſeems that diſſection does not always afford deciſive proof on the ſubject, and ſuſpicion, ſtrongly founded on the political criſis at which he died, is left to point out as her objects thoſe whoſe conſequence would be diminiſhed, and whoſe ſchemes would be thwarted by his newly-adopted politics [b]. His death, however, was the greateſt political misfortune that could have occurred to France. The aſſembly immediately loſt its ſmall ſhare of reſpectability, the proceedings of the clubs aſſumed an unexampled audacity, and a multitude of crawling reptiles became conſpicuous and noxious, whom the blaze of Mirabeau's genius would at pleaſure have driven back to the caves of ignominy and obſcurity.

Funeral and poſthumous honours.

When Mirabeau's death was publicly known, a general regret was teſtified by all ranks of people. The theatres were ſhut, the fleets lowered their topſails, and every thing wore the appearance of public calamity. M. Comps, his ſecretary, was ſo affected that he attempted to ſtab himſelf with a penknife, but was ſaved. The news occaſioned in the national aſſembly a general exclamation of grief. It was immediately decreed, that the members ſhould go into mourning; the members of the department, and of the municipality of Paris, followed their example; and it ſpread all over France. In a few hours after his death, the people changed the name of the ſtreet where he had reſided, from *Rue de la*

[a] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 296. n.
[b] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 400.

Chauſſée

Chauſſée d'Antin, to *Rue de Mirabeau*. After much deliberation, and propoſals to bury him at Saint Denis in company with the kings of France, and in the *Champ de Mars* under the national altar, it was decreed that the church of Saint Genevieve ſhould be a receptacle for the remains of illuſtrious men, and that Mirabeau ſhould firſt have the honour of being placed there. It was decreed that the whole national aſſembly ſhould attend his funeral. The retinue extended to the length of a league, though the national guard formed a front of ſixteen deep. All the civil and military bodies attended, as did the king's miniſters. His coffin, inſtead of a marquis's coronet, which his rank would have required before the abolition of nobility, was adorned with a civic crown decreed by the country. No ſound was heard, ſave muffled drums, melancholy martial muſic, and occaſional diſcharges of artillery. His funeral oration, a ſplendid compoſition, was delivered by Cerutti. The buſt of Mirabeau was placed in the halls of moſt of the municipalities and political clubs throughout the kingdom. In many provincial towns and cities, as Bourdeaux, Verſailles, Bayeux, and Bagneux, funeral ſervices were celebrated to his memory. At Bagneux the concourſe of people was ſo great, that ſeveral of the neighbouring villages were abſolutely ſtripped of their inhabitants; in the town only ſeven infirm perſons were left at home, and that (ſays my author) only becauſe they could get nobody to carry them [c]. At Leſneven, near Breſt, an image of Mirabeau was cut in wood, and placed on a pedeſtal in a public ſquare, for inauguration: there was a civic feaſt; the Marſeillois hymn was chanted, and, at a given word, the people, the municipal officers, the juſtices of peace, and the national guards, fell proſtrate,

[c] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 273 to 279. Hiſtories.

and, with a new kind of idolatry, paid their homage to Mirabeau [d]. Funeral orations and poems of every deſcription were publiſhed in abundance; more than one collection was made of his ſpeeches [e]; Manuel fraudulently publiſhed his letters written while in the caſtle of Vincennes; and his letters to Mauvillon and Chamfort have ſince been committed to the preſs.

Dies inſolvent.

Mirabeau made a will, in which he left ſeveral conſiderable bequeſts, yet he died inſolvent. It is probable that his effects were immediately diſtributed, and his collection of books, &c. never ſold. Some of his creditors endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the letters which Manuel had printed and was about to publiſh [f], but were at length obliged to apply to the legiſlative aſſembly, which, after ſeveral debates, decreed that his debts ſhould be paid by the public [g].

11th Aug. 1792. Poſthumous inſults.

A ſhort period ſubverted the fragil edifice of Mirabeau's popularity. As a friend to monarchy he firſt encountered the fury of the mob. After the ſtorming of the Tuilleries, his buſts were devoted to deſtruction, together with thoſe of la Fayette and Necker [h]. As the principles of republicaniſm were more generally adopted, the reſpect for Mirabeau decreaſed, the ſtreet named after him was, when general Monteſquiou had over-run Savoy, new named *Rue de Mont Blanc* [i]. In the celebrated iron cloſet ſeveral papers were found, or pretended to have been found, certifying Mirabeau's connexion with the court. They were produced at

Sept. 1792.

[d] Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, Part II. p. 47.

[e] The only means an Engliſh reader, unacquainted with the French language, can have of eſtimating Mirabeau's eloquence, are ſupplied by an admirable tranſlation of his Speeches, made by James White, Eſquire.

[f] See MANUEL.

See Debates 24th and 27th October, and 3d November 1791, and 12th January 1792.

[h] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 115.

[i] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 116.

the

the king's trial, and denied by him, and there are strong reasons, from internal evidence, to consider them forgeries, though the facts inferred happened to be true. When the rage of republicanism was at its greatest height, Chenier the poet, in the name of the committee of public instruction, presented a report to the convention, in which these letters were recited. It formed the basis of a decree that the remains of Mirabeau should be taken from the Pantheon, and those of Marat placed there in his stead [k]. The execution of this absurd decree (absurd as to the latter part at least) is not to be recorded amongst the disgraces of the age of terror, it was reserved to stigmatize the pretended age of moderation. It was not carried into effect till some months after the fall of Robespierre [l]. 25th Nov. 1793.

Mirabeau's features were harsh, and his person clumsy. His head, which was uncommonly large, seemed to be wedged in between his enormous shoulders, and his body and limbs formed a thick unshaped mass. Yet when he applied his talents to seduction, he was more successful than many others, whose personal attractions seem much greater [m]. After the facts contained in the preceding narrative, it is unnecessary to descant on his character as son and husband. He is said to have been extremely choleric, and even brutal in the regulation of his family, frequently descending to the cowardly meanness of striking his own servants [n]. As an author he derived much of his success from his art in always writing on the topic which created the greatest share of momentary interest. He was not diligent in the selection of materials, frequently relying on the labours of his friends, as Mauvillon and Chamfort, and often adopting without reserve as Person and manners. Talents as an author;

[k] Debates. Pagès, vol. i. p. 384.
[l] Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iv. p. 10.
[m] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 211. Pagès, vol. i. p. 389. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 213.
[n] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 214.

much

much as suited his subject, from the works of other authors, either ancient or cotemporary [o]. What he received and what he selected he made his own by the force of his genius, the propriety of his arrangement, the beauties of his style, and the elegance of his ornaments. He had an exalted opinion of his own abilities, relied on the favourable judgment of posterity, and disdained his cotemporaries. "No bankruptcy," he says in a letter to Mauvillon, "is the production of Messrs. Clavière and "Brissot de Warville. Your German critics must "be miserable tasters, to mistake the brewings of "these gentry for my wine [p]." His voice was forcible, loud, and commanding, except when he was agitated by passion, then it occasionally assumed the depth and compass of Stentor, and sometimes by a sudden transition was brought to resemble the treble string of a violin squeaking under the bow [q]. He had great rhetorical talents, and could employ them on sudden emergencies, and in all directions. This, in popular assemblies, rendered him almost irresistible. He never despaired of turning the debate. His victories were always splendid, his defeats never ignominious. He never appeared vanquished, and no man could assume a triumph over him. His talents for repartee, joined to his powers of reasoning, enabled him with equal facility to disconcert his opponents with sarcasm, or refute them by force of argument, while the greatness of his abilities and his sudden command of them enabled him, if any of his co-adjutors approached him, so as to be thought competitors, by a little effort to throw them back to their original and natural distance [r]. To appreciate Mirabeau as a

As an orator;

As a politician.

[o] See a remarkable instance in Wilde's Address to the Friends of the People, p. 115.

[p] Lettres à Mauvillon, p. 440.

[q] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 213.

[r] Wilde's Address, p. 103. 106. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 211.

politician, it will be more proper to ſurvey the end than the earlier part of his career. In his ſtruggle for power, he diſgraced himſelf by many violences and exceſſes, for which a priſon or a ſcaffold would have been the deſerved puniſhment. When he had attained the object of his ambition, when wealth, reſpect, and nobility * became his own, he was deſirous to tread back the ſteps he had taken, and to eſtabliſh a more ſplendid reputation, as well as a more permanent authority. Awake from the dream of popular frenzy and recovered from the deluſions of illuminiſm, he might have rendered the moſt conſpicuous and eſſential ſervices to his country, and to the world. From his deceaſe we may date the rapid declenſion of royalty, and the audacious diſplay of diſorganizing politics purſued by the demagogues of France.

* Mirabeau was not friendly to the decree for aboliſhing titles, armorial bearings, &c. He thus expreſſes himſelf: "It is the moſt difficult of all undertakings, to eraſe from the human heart the influence of recollections. True nobility is, for this reaſon, a property, no leſs indeſtructible than ſacred. Forms may vary, but the worſhip will ever continue. Let every man be equal in the eye of the law, let every monopoly diſappear, all elſe is but changing the object of human vanity." Lettres à Mapvillon, p. 519.

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JAQUES NECKER.

As Necker is generally conſidered one of the principal authors of the French revolution, his conduct and views have been examined and criticiſed with ſingular aſperity. On one hand, thoſe who have ſuffered by the revolution, and attribute to him all the evils they complain of, are inceſſant and intemperate in their reproaches; while thoſe who think his reforms too much reſtricted, and his views in many reſpects too confined, and often perſonal, are no leſs inveterately his enemies; but, on the other hand, Necker priding himſelf in his integrity, and poſſeſſing a ſtyle ſufficiently eloquent, and much improved by habit, has defended his conduct in many works, equivalent in themſelves to the efforts of thoſe partiſans whom intereſt or affection might have attached to him.

1732. Birth, education, and outſet in life.

Necker was born at Geneva; his father was profeſſor of civil law in the college there[t]; he received an education much ſuperior to that generally given to men intended for buſineſs[u]; but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances obliging him to ſeek ſome means of gaining a ſubſiſtence more promiſing than the walks of literature, he became clerk to a banker at Geneva, at a ſalary of ſix hundred livres (26 *l.* 5 *s.*) a-year[x]. While he was in this ſituation, Theluſſon, the banker at Paris,

1758. Goes to Paris.

[t] Hiſtoire Literaire de Geneve, par Jean Senebier, vol. iii. p. 90. 294. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. v. p. 142.
[u] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 97. Anecdotes, &c.
[x] Moore's View. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 145.

wrote

wrote to his correſpondent at Geneva to find him a clerk to keep his caſh-books; and this correſpondent, who happened to be Necker's employer, recommended him [y]. He was retained at a ſalary of one thouſand two hundred livres (52 *l.* 10 *s.*) and gave ſuch ſatisfaction by his aſſiduity and intelligence, that his emoluments were rapidly raiſed, and he was ſoon made caſhier [z]. Great ſucceſs.

In this ſituation he has been accuſed of ſpeculating with the money of his employers [a], and reproached with having raiſed his fortune by means far leſs honourable [b]; but as no proof of theſe aſſertions has ever been brought forward, I rather incline to the deciſion of an accurate obſerver, who ſays, that "his greateſt enemies have not been able to injure "his reputation for probity [c]." The embarraſſment of the finances of France, under the adminiſtration of the abbé Terray, afforded him the means of advantageous ſpeculation; and his employers, conſcious of his ſagacity and of the benefits they derived from his intelligence, admitted him partner [d]. He made a very large and rapid fortune by theſe ſpeculations, and by his interference in the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, an interference equally ſatisfactory to the company and the public, and extremely profitable to himſelf. Yet it has been aſſerted, that he impoſed on the company by falſe pretences, and ſacrificed their advantage to his own cupidity [e].

[y] Bertrand's Memoirs. The author of Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. gives a different account of Necker's introduction to Theluſſon: he ſays, that immediately on finiſhing his education, Necker came to Paris, and was employed by Iſaac Vernet; that he was ſuddenly diſmiſſed from his houſe, and offered his ſervices to Theluſſon, who was the rival of Vernet's ſucceſſor, Saladin, and received him with no other recommendation than his having been employed by Vernet, and a few falſe pretences, vol. v. p. 142.

[z] Bertrand's Memoirs. Anecdotes, &c. [a] Ibid.

[b] See Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 144.

[c] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 146.

[d] Bertrand's Memoirs. Anecdotes, &c. [e] Ibid.

While

Marries. While he was partner in the houſe of Theluſſon, he made his addreſſes to a young lady living with madame Theluſſon as companion, whoſe name was Suſanna Curchod. This lady had previouſly excited amorous ſenſations in the boſom of Gibbon the hiſtorian, which the repugnance of his father to the match, and his own prudence, enabled him to conquer: he ſpeaks of her with the warmth of a lover, and with that eloquence for which he is ſo much celebrated. "The perſonal attractions of "mademoiſelle Suſan Curchod were embelliſhed by "the virtues and talents of the mind. Her fortune "was humble, but her family was reſpectable. Her "mother, a native of France, had preferred her "religion to her country. The profeſſion of her "father did not extinguiſh the moderation and phi-"loſophy of his temper, and he lived content with "a ſmall ſalary and laborious duty, in the obſcure "lot of miniſter of Craſſy, in the mountains that "ſeparate the Pays de Vaud from the county of "Burgundy. In the ſolitude of a ſequeſtered vil-"lage he beſtowed a liberal and even learned "education on his only daughter. She ſurpaſſed "his hopes by her proficiency in the ſciences and "languages; and in her ſhort viſits to ſome re-"lations at Lauſanne, the wit, the beauty, and "erudition of mademoiſelle Curchod were the theme "of univerſal applauſe. The report of ſuch a "prodigy awakened my curioſity; I ſaw and loved. "I found her learned without pedantry, witty in "converſation, pure in ſentiment, and elegant in "manners; and the firſt ſudden emotion was "fortified by the habits and knowledge of a more "familiar acquaintance. * * * * The miniſter of "Craſſy ſoon afterwards died; his ſtipend died "with him; his daughter retired to Geneva, where, "by teaching young ladies, ſhe earned a hard ſub-"ſiſtence for herſelf and her mother; but in her "loweſt diſtreſs ſhe maintained a ſpotleſs reputation

"and

" and a dignified behaviour. A rich banker of Paris, " a citizen of Geneva, had the good fortune and " good ſenſe to diſcover and poſſeſs this ineſtimable " treaſure; and in the capital of taſte and luxury " ſhe reſiſted the temptations of wealth as ſhe had " ſuſtained the hardſhips of indigence. * * * * In " every change of proſperity and diſgrace he has " reclined on the boſom of a faithful friend; and " mademoiſelle Curchod is now the wife of M. " Necker, the miniſter, and, perhaps, the legiſlator " of the French monarchy [f]."

On Necker's marriage, his ſhare in the bank was increaſed; and, on Theluſſon's death, he eſtabliſhed 1765. a houſe of his own, taking into partnerſhip with him Meſſ. Girardot and Haller [g]. The rapidity of his riſe, and the extent of his eſtabliſhment, put it out of doubt that he muſt have been more indebted to the myſteries of ſtock-jobbing, than to the regular courſe of the banking buſineſs for his fortune.

His reputation for financial knowledge, aided by a favourable impreſſion he had made in ſome literary productions, was ſuch, that at the period when France was about to embark in the American conteſt, he was pointed out by M. de Pezay, who had great influence with the miniſter Maurepas, as a proper perſon to ſucceed M. de Clugny, recently deceaſed, as director of the finances [h]. It is ſaid by ſeveral writers, that he owed his appointment to an intrigue amongſt the bankers of Paris, who wiſhed to avail themſelves of his communications during the war, and to his own urgency and perſeverance with M. de Pezay, who engaged M. de Maurepas in his intereſts ſo effectually, as at laſt to vanquiſh every obſtacle [i]. Necker was the firſt

Made director of finances. July 1776.

[f] Gibbon's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 73.
[g] Anecdotes, &c.
[h] Moore's View. Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 133.
[i] Anecdotes, &c. Bertrand's Memoirs. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 68.

proteſtant

proteſtant who, ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantz, had held any important place in the adminiſtration of France[k]; and ſome extraordinary circumſtances muſt be ſuppoſed to have contributed to his elevation. He himſelf attributes it wholly to the deranged ſtate of the finances, and the decline of public ſpirit[l]; but it is not impoſſible that it was favoured by the intrigues alluded to; and perhaps by a little bribery, which was known to be a ſure paſſport to the favour of M. de Pezay[m].

Comptroller general

But whatever might be expected from Necker's talents and exertions, he had not at firſt acceſs to the king, a circumſtance which impeded his deſigns and hurt his pride, but which he contrived to ſurmount by creating a financial diſpute between M. Taboureau, the comptroller-general of finances, and himſelf, which occaſioned that miniſter to retire

July 1777.

in diſguſt, and Necker obtained his ſituation[n]. Even when he had immediate communication with the king, he found great difficulty in effecting the reforms he deſired; he had many prejudices to ſurmount, and many diſcordant intereſts to reconcile; ſo many, that even late in life he mentions the difficulties of his ſituation with ſome feeling and more vanity. "I ſtill remember," he ſays[o], "that "high dark ſtaircaſe to M. de Maurepas' apart- "ments, which I uſed to aſcend with fear and de- "jection, uncertain how a new idea might ſucceed "with him, which occupied all my attention, and "which often tended to produce an increaſe of the "revenue by ſome juſt but ſevere operation. I ſtill "remember that cabinet, placed under the roof of

[k] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 14.

[l] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, par lui même, p. 8.

[m] Moore's View. M. de Pezay is ſaid to have been only a *ſoi-diſant* marquis; but having fortunately obtained an introduction to M. de Maurepas, he acquired an entire aſcendancy over him. Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 162.

[n] Moore's View. Bertrand's Memoirs. Anecdotes, &c.

[o] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, p. 13.

"the

" the palace of Verſailles, but above the king's " apartments, and which, by its ſmallneſs and ſitu- " ation, really ſeemed the eſſence (and a very re- " fined eſſence too) of human vanity and ambition. " There was I obliged to diſcourſe on reform and " economy to a miniſter grown old in the pomps " and formalities of a court. I remember the ad- " dreſs I was obliged to uſe to ſucceed, and how, " after many repulſes, I ſometimes obtained a little " attention to the public, as a recompence for the " reſources I found in the midſt of war. I ſtill re- " member the kind of baſhfulneſs I felt when I in- " troduced, in the diſcourſes I ventured to addreſs " to him, ſome of thoſe grand moral ideas with " which I was animated. I then appeared as gothic " to this old courtier as Sully did to the young ones, " when he appeared at the court of Louis XIII."

Plans of economy.

The ſtate of the finances was at this period very much deranged, though not ſo much as to gain credit for the aſſertion of Rabaud, that a peaceable adminiſtration of fifty years, without wars and without wants, would have been inſufficient to effect a remedy of diſorders[p]. Necker, however, notwithſtanding the confidence of his boaſts, diſplayed no genius capable of producing any great national advantage. The principal act which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration was the ſuppreſſion of the *intendans des finances*. It is of little import at preſent to diſcuſs the poſſible utility of theſe officers; but their ſuppreſſion was certainly no great national benefit, as the price of their places was refunded to them, and the intereſt of the money was nearly equivalent to their ſalaries, beſides the inconvenience of diſburſing the capital. Theſe places were filled by old and diſtinguiſhed members of the king's council, and the ſuppreſſion could only diminiſh the influence of the crown, without producing any real

[p] Rabaud's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 34.

Mode of raiſing ſupplies.

benefit to the nation [q]. The American war, ſo contrary in every reſpect to the true intereſts of France, had commenced at this period; and Necker undertook to carry it on without laying any new impoſts. This he was enabled nominally to perform by means of his credit amongſt the monied people, and perhaps by the exorbitant ſacrifices he made to them, at the public expence. His ſyſtem was the moſt abſurd and puerile ever invented; he borrowed money for the exigences of one year, and the next borrowed another ſum ſufficient for the expences of the current year and the intereſt of the year or years preceding; relying, for a final liquidation, on the precarious reſource of an untried, and perhaps impracticable economy. By theſe means he maintained a forced and artificial credit, but ſet the example of thoſe improvident loans which occaſioned the final ſtagnation of the finances [r]. In the courſe of his adminiſtration, he borrowed in this way five hundred and thirty millions (23,187,500*l.*), on terms extremely advantageous to the lenders; and ſubſequent miniſters, in the ſpace of ten years, increaſed the ſum to upwards of fifteen hundred millions (65,625,000*l.*), for which no proviſion was made [s].

Aſpires to a ſeat in the council.

The improvident character of the French, and the triumph of Necker's partiſans, prevented the public from ſpeculating too minutely on the conſequences of this ſyſtem. His popularity increaſed, and with it his vanity; he was no longer contented with the ſituation of comptroller-general of the finances, unleſs he could be admitted to a ſeat in the privy council, for which his religion diſqualified him. He made application to M. de Maurepas on

[q] Moore's View. Bertrand's Memoirs. Anecdotes, &c.

[r] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 17. Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 32. Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Ambition and Conqueſts of France, p. 109.

[s] Anecdotes, &c. Expoſition, &c. par Arthur Dillon, p. 4.

the

the ſubject; but the old miniſter, wiſhing perhaps to get rid of him quietly, and make him the author of his own diſgrace, adviſed him to write a letter to the king, requeſting a ſeat, and a diſpenſation with the cuſtomary oath. Necker wrote accordingly; and not receiving any anſwer for two days, was ſo irritated that he waited on the queen and offered his reſignation, which, to his great mortification, was inſtantly accepted. This event is attributed, not without ſome appearance of probability, to the reſentment of the parliaments, ariſing from the eſtabliſhment of provincial adminiſtrations, and the diſlike conceived againſt him by the queen and the count d'Artois [t]. May 1781. Reſigns.

Some time previous to his reſignation, Necker had publiſhed his *Compte rendu*. This method of ſubmitting the views of government and operations of finance to the judgment of the public, was not new: Turgot [u] had ſet the example, and other miniſters before Necker had followed it. His book however was written with more art, and had a greater effect on the public mind, as it was long conſidered and quoted as the only work which placed the affairs of France in a clear light, and gave occaſion to Necker's partiſans to hold him out, long after his retreat, as the only man capable of reſtoring order, and re-eſtabliſhing public credit. Popular opinion was, for ſome time after the publication, divided; but it is now generally treated as a ſplendid deluſion [x]. Jan. 1781. Publiſhes his Compte rendu.

Necker's

[t] Bertrand's Memoirs. Moore's View. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 33. Anecdotes, &c. The lively author of this laſt work relates ſeveral inſtances of the diſlike of M. de Maurepas to Necker; particularly a ſharp reply when the comptroller, relying on his importance, threatened to take poſt-horſes and return to Geneva. "Sir," ſaid Maurepas, "I "muſt inform you that foreigners who have been finance miniſters in "this country, cannot have poſt-horſes without the expreſs command "of the king." Vol. v. p. 176.

[u] Wilde's Addreſs to the Friends of the People, p. 315.

[x] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 101. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 32. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 151. Of this work Maurepas ſaid to the

Obſervations on Necker's adminiſtration;

Necker's firſt adminiſtration undoubtedly paved the way for all the evils which have befallen France ſince that period, by putting a new and dangerous mode of ſupply into the hands of miniſters; and by ſuppreſſing, in a harſh and wanton manner, ſeveral offices which, though he might imagine them unneceſſary, had been of great ſervice to his predeceſſors, and might have averted many errors of his ſucceſſors. His intentions however were perfectly honeſt, and he had the good of the country at heart. It is but juſt to give his own ſtatement of the benefits of his adminiſtration, which, though much exaggerated, is not, I am perſuaded, wilfully miſrepreſented.—"I was ſo fortunate (he ſays) in "the five years of my firſt adminiſtration, that, in "the midſt of a war which gradually brought on a "want of extraordinary ſupplies to the amount of "one hundred and fifty millions (6,562,500*l.*) a-"year, the public funds, which ſunk in England "from thirty to thirty-five *per cent.*, were gradually "riſing in France; and almoſt all the loans which "were opened were filled in eight days[y]." He alſo gives himſelf great credit for the eſtabliſhment of provincial aſſemblies, the publicity given to the affairs of finance, and the abolition of mortmain tenures[z].

His diſintereſtedneſs.

One ſingularity attended his conduct in office; that he received no ſalary or fees of any kind. He ſtates the amount of what he thus renounced, allowing at the rate fixed by the reformed economy of the national aſſembly at the time he wrote, at two hundred thouſand livres (8750 *l.*), independent of his appointments as miniſter of ſtate, fixed at twenty

king, that it was written *with as much truth as modeſty*. And the critics, punning on the title, called it a *Conte bleu*. Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 177.

[y] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, p. 9.

[z] Ibid. p. 16, 17.

thouſand

thouſand livres (875 *l.*). Beſides the income annexed to thoſe places, he refuſed without exception all the indirect emoluments, fines, gifts, preſents from corporations and individuals, boxes at the theatres, and all other advantages which had been enjoyed by his predeceſſors, and often amounted to very large ſums [a]. This diſintereſtedneſs has not eſcaped the animadverſion of his adverſaries: they aſſert that, as he ſtill continued a partner in the houſe of Girardot and Haller, he could make more by ſtock-jobbing in a day than he would derive from his ſalary in ten years; and that therefore there is more affectation than reality of virtue in the circumſtance [b]. There is, however, no proof offered of the juſtice of theſe inſinuations, and Necker himſelf meets them in the moſt manly and ſatisfactory manner.—"I defy any man (he obſerves) to aver "that, directly or indirectly, I have had the ſmalleſt "intereſt in any *buſineſs whatever*; that I have "had the moſt trifling ſhare in any ſpeculation in "the public funds; or that I have procured places "for any of my relations or dependants in any of "the offices in my own department, or in that of any "other miniſter." He adds to this aſſertion, that, in the beginning of the American war, he advanced to government two millions two hundred thouſand livres (96,250 *l.*), at five *per cent.*, which he never on any change of affairs ſold out or received, and which he ultimately left behind him [c].

1786. Marriage of his daughter.

A few years after his retreat, his daughter, who had received a moſt accompliſhed education, and was author of ſeveral ingenious works, married the baron de Stael, the Swediſh ambaſſador in France.

[a] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, p. 399. Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 167.

[b] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 68. Apologie des Projets & de la Conduite des Chefs de la Revolution, p. 12.

[c] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, p. 401. 403.

He publiſhes De l'Adminiſtration des Finances.

During his retreat he was employed in literary purſuits, in aſſiſting the efforts of his friends to force him again into the cabinet, and in keeping up the prepoſſeſſion of the public in his favour.

1784. He publiſhed his laborious work on the Adminiſtration of Finances; and to make himſelf better known, and enjoy the buzz of his own celebrity, viſited the ſouthern provinces of France. His book was received with enthuſiaſm, and read with the greateſt avidity and admiration. It certainly contains many accurate ſtatements and ingenious deductions, but abounds with that vanity, egotiſm, and ſelf-ſufficiency, which are his characteriſtics [d]. The true character of the book may be appreciated from the mention made of it by the revolutionary hiſtorian Rabaud: he ſays, "It did perhaps more "good than a long and wiſe adminiſtration; for it "ſpread knowledge far and wide, and *ſowed the* "*ſeeds of the preſent patriotiſm* [e]."

In a recent publication, Necker has aſſerted that, at the time of his retreat in 1781, he had left the finances in a "perfect equilibrium [f]." This aſſertion is, at leaſt, doubtful, conſidering the acknowledged inſufficiency of the means he employed to maintain a balance between the receipt and expenditure, and the embarraſſments felt by his immediate ſucceſſors, which rendered them incapable of proceeding without having recourſe to the moſt extraordinary means. Calonne had written an eſſay to prove that the ſtatements in the *Compte rendu* were falſe; that inſtead of a ſurplus there was an immenſe deficit in the ſupplies. Necker, notwith-

1787. Writes an anſwer to M. de Calonne.

[d] Anecdotes, &c. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 20. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 157. and ſee the work itſelf. I ſuppoſe this to be the publication alluded to by the author of the "Impartial Hiſtory," which he confounds with the *Compte rendu*, and with Necker's Anſwer to Calonne. See vol. i. p. 25.

[e] Rabaud's Hiſtory of the French Revolution, p. 29.

[f] On the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 13.

ſtanding

ſtanding the king's expreſs prohibition, publiſhed an anſwer, in which he refuted this aſſertion, and laid the whole blame of the deficit on Calonne. For this conduct he was baniſhed to his country-ſeat at St. Ouen. It is probable that this offence was not the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace: he is ſaid to have been extremely aſſiduous in procuring writers, painters, and engravers, to impute errors to the adminiſtration, and throw ridicule on the perſon of M. de Calonne. If his baniſhment was intended as a puniſhment, it was too ſlight to produce either reſpect or terror; if it was intended to weaken his party, the place was ill choſen on account of its vicinity to Paris [g].

Apr. 1787.

Is baniſhed to St. Ouen.

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It was probably during his retreat at this place that he wrote his Eſſay on the Importance of Religious Opinions; a book which, though it contains no great originality of thought, or ſtrength of argument, is written in a ſtyle which claims applauſe for its elegance. The recollection of having produced it ſeems to have afforded the author ſome ſatisfaction in the moment of diſgrace, and may probably afford him pleaſure when others, of more apparent importance, are obliterated from his memory, or only recur to it attended with ſentiments of vexation and diſguſt [h].

1788. Writes De l'Importance des Opinions Religieuſes.

While he was at St. Ouen, the affairs of France were drawing to a criſis. Calonne had been driven from the helm by the intrigues of the archbiſhop of Sens, the errors of whoſe adminiſtration embarraſſed the court, and rendered the recal of Necker abſolutely neceſſary. His party had not been idle in influencing the popular judgment in his favour;

Exertions of himſelf and friends

[g] Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 200. 309. 330. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 63. Rabaud's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 41. Necker, on the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 29. acknowledges himſelf to have been wrong in this tranſaction, but pleads that he was impelled to this act of diſobedience *by a lively ſenſe of honour*.

[h] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 22. On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 292.

his work on the administration of finances was generally read during the first assembly of the notables; and the facts contained in it opposed to the statements of that minister [i]. His wife, animated by a spirit of dislike to a court where she could never hope to shine, and feeling indignation at the banishment of her husband, whom she idolized, redoubled her efforts to acquire popularity. She had founded an hospital, and was unremitting in her attendance to the necessities of those who were reduced to make it their abode. She visited the other hospitals, the prisons, and even private houses wherever misery was to be found, stimulated by the desire of raising a conspicuous reputation, and making the name of Necker dear to the people [k]. The political club of females, of which his daughter, the baroness de Stael, was a distinguished member, and the band of political writers, whom the imprudence of the minister had exempted from all restraint, contributed to the recal of the popular favourite [l]. Before the retreat of de Brienne, Necker had been sounded, on the part of the king, to know if he would undertake the administration of the finances, in conjunction with that minister. The feat in council, which had before occasioned his dismission, was to have been conceded: but he rejected the proposal [m]. The increasing turbulence of the people, the growing distress of the court, and a consciousness of his own incapacity and want of popularity, at length compelled de Brienne to resign; and he left his advice to the king, to recal Necker, and convene the states-general [n].

His recal resolved on.

25th Aug. 1788.

[i] Sur l'Administration, &c. p. 21.

[k] Idem, p. 397. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 68. Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 18.

[l] Conjuration de d'Orleans.

[m] Necker on the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 29.

[n] Impartial History, vol. i. p. 32. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 87. Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 401.

The

The reinſtatement of Necker took place immediately on the reſignation of the archbiſhop of Sens; and the queen and count d'Artois are ſaid to have been no leſs ſtrenuous in recommending it than de Brienne himſelf [o]. The whole court vied in felicitating the return of a miniſter from whom the reſtoration of tranquillity and the ſalvation of the country were expected. He is ſaid to have had a private audience of three quarters of an hour with the queen; and it is aſſerted that ſhe herſelf wrote the letter requeſting his return [p]: but he himſelf makes no mention of theſe circumſtances. He ſays the king received him in the queen's cloſet, and in her preſence; that the king's great good-nature made him feel ſome embarraſſment on account of the baniſhment of the preceding year; but he ſpoke to his ſovereign only of his devotion and reſpect; and from that moment replaced himſelf on the ſame footing he had formerly maintained [q]. Monſieur, on his firſt public appearance in quality of miniſter, complimented him on the occaſion, avowed the prejudices he had formerly entertained againſt him, and profeſſed a hope that the experience of his mature age would correct the errors of his youth [r].

His reinſtatement in office.

Behaviour of the court.

The circumſtances which marked his return to adminiſtration were not calculated to inſpire confidence or impart ſatisfaction. The ferocity which marked the public rejoicings on the expulſion of his predeceſſor, the riots and military execution which followed, did not preſage a calm and ſtable adminiſtration. In fact, the taſk he had aſſumed of guiding the helm of ſtate, at this particular juncture, was extremely difficult. Circumſtances and indivi-

State of the public mind.

[o] Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 55.
[p] Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 201. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 165.
[q] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 29.
[r] Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 202. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 166.

duals

duals had undergone an entire change since his retreat in 1781. The people, who were at that time, gay, careleſs, and indifferent to public affairs, now devoted their whole time to the ſtudy and diſcuſſion of politics. Books, inimical to the intereſts of government, which were formerly procured from Geneva and London, and circulated in a clandeſtine and ſparing manner, were now boldly publiſhed at the *palais royal*, and diſtributed gratis. A prince, who in 1781 had been conſidered with the contempt and diſregard due to profligacy and cowardice, was now at the head of a violent, numerous, and active party, conferring popularity, or taking it away at pleaſure, and by means of the public opinion, making haſty ſtrides towards obtaining the rule of all public meaſures. The kingdom was plunged in the greateſt diſtreſs, and, beſides the ferment occaſioned by political diſcuſſion, was agitated with the fear of wanting the firſt neceſſary of life. Theſe appearances, however, did not intimidate Necker: the public opinion was his idol; he flattered himſelf that the more it was permitted to operate without reſtraint, the greater would be its influence in his favour, and he relied with too much confidence on his own ſagacity and reſources to feel the leaſt diſmay.

His popularity.

In fact, his popularity, at this period, was at an unexampled height; the people ſeemed to look up to him as their only hope, and even to lay themſelves at his feet. His return was a complete victory of the public voice over the court, and it has been ſaid, with great truth, that the king was exactly reduced to the ſtate of a bankrupt, who had ſurrendered his effects to his creditors [a].

Recals the parliament and ob-

The firſt ſtep of his adminiſtration was to recal the baniſhed members of the parliament of Paris,

[a] Wilde's Addreſs, p. 393. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 85. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 26.

6 and

and to reinſtate that body in its functions, in oppoſition to the odious meaſure of the *cours plenieres* [t]. His next exertion was to relieve the embarraſſments occaſioned by the diſtreſs of the treaſury, which, at the time of his return to office, contained no more than 500,000 livres (21,875*l.*) [u]. This he effected by perſuading the different public bodies to remit to him the money they had in hand; by prevailing on the receivers general, and other perſons employed in the finances, not to retain their ſalaries, which he promiſed to repay them in 1789, and by obtaining loans from the body of notaries of Paris, and the ſix mercantile companies [x]. Thus, to uſe his own expreſſion, "by ſailing with a ſide wind, "by uſing all poſſible circumſpection, and employ-"ing every exertion in a confined ſpace, he was "enabled to guide the feeble veſſel of ſtate, with-"out wreck or damage till the opening of the "ſtates-general [y]."

obtains ſupplies of money.

But a more difficult taſk awaited him, in the neceſſity of finding ſupplies for the capital, which occaſioned him the greateſt uneaſineſs. He gives himſelf credit for having ſaved Paris and the kingdom in general from the horrors of famine [z]. He obtained from all parts of the kingdom circumſtantial information of the quantity of the crops of the current year, and what remained on hand from preceding years. He made inquiries into the wants of other countries, and the reſources to be expected from them, and with all ſpeed obtained an order from the king in council prohibiting the exportation of grain. He offered a bounty for the importation, which procured conſiderable ſupplies from Great Britain and Ireland, till the exportation was pro-

His exertions to obtain a ſupply of grain.

7th Sept. 1788.

23d Nov.

[t] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 102. Rabaud, p. 55, &c.
[u] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 28.
[x] Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 202.
[y] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 29.
[z] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 31.

hibited,

hibted, from Italy, and the northern kingdoms, and from North America. As this ſcarcity continued almoſt during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, he was obliged to rely not only on the premiums offered in the name of government, but to uſe his own perſonal credit with ſome merchants, Hope of Amſterdam particularly; and he wrote a very preſſing letter in 1789, to Mr. Pitt, requeſting him to prevail on the king or the parliament to permit the exportation of a limited quantity of grain, but notwithſtanding the ſupport given to this requeſt by the French ambaſſador, it failed of ſucceſs [a].

Obſervation on them.

Such is his own account of his exertions, and the ſucceſs which attended them. The policy by which they were dictated is very doubtful. Necker has not eſcaped malevolent imputation of having ſhared with Orleans in his ſpeculation in grain, to participate with him in the profit and popularity reſulting from it. He has been accuſed of ſharing with foreign merchants the profits of their premiums, and of buying up grain himſelf, exporting, and relanding it in order to obtain money and popularity [b]; and a fact related by the marquis de Bouillé, if it does not prove, at leaſt ſtrongly ſupports theſe accuſations. The marquis ſays, "Having "at Metz, and in the province under my com- "mand, corn ſufficient to ſubſiſt the troops, "amounting to twenty thouſand men for eighteen "months, on being preſſed by the people, whoſe "proviſions were almoſt totally exhauſted, and ſtill "more by the adminiſtrative bodies, who could not "poſſibly ſupply them, I propoſed to the govern- "ment to diſtribute the half of this grain among "the towns and villages, on condition of again

[a] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 367. 373. 377. 380.
[b] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i, p. 187. Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 46.

"receiving

" receiving it the enſuing harveſt; which might " have been done without any inconvenience, yet " was rejected: notwithſtanding this refuſal of the " miniſtry, I reſolved, however, to execute my " project, and for this I was afterwards thanked by " M. Necker himſelf, though he at firſt refuſed his " conſent to the meaſure [c]." If we can acquit Necker of criminality in theſe tranſactions, his own account convicts him of the greateſt imprudence. The publicity given to the apprehenſion of dearth by the inquiries, and the *circumſtantial informations* obtained at home and in foreign countries, gave room to all the operations of ſpeculiſts, and facilitated the ſucceſs of their attempts to increaſe the public diſtreſs, and inflame the public mind. The premiums, freight, and other charges, which, according to his own account [d], amounted to upwards of ſeventy millions (3,062,500*l.*), were an enormous load on an exhauſted treaſury, and tended to keep up the price of the commodity at home, as the poſſeſſors of grain could hardly be expected to ſell it cheaper than the importers. It cannot be ſuppoſed he was entirely unacquainted with the ſchemes of the duke of Orleans; he has even been accuſed of abetting, but if that was not the caſe he certainly took a very improper courſe to counteract them [e]. His eſſay on the legiſlation of grain, which he wrote previous to his firſt adminiſtration, is very contemptuouſly ſpoken of; and his meaſures for the ſupply of France are much decried by perſons well qualified to judge, and of deſerved credit in commercial and agricultural affairs [f]. 1775.

All theſe efforts would have been inſufficient in times ſo critical to have kept alive the popular predi- Prepares to convene the ſtates-general.

[c] Bouillé's Memoirs, p 91.
[d] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 374.
[e] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 185. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 87.
[f] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 69. Arthur Young's Travels, p. 105.

lection,

lection, but he was known to be engaged in forwarding the national wish for assembling the states-general. His conduct in this particular has been more forcibly arraigned, and more strenuously defended than in any other; in fact no event so important has occurred, and the turn given to it by the force of his single decision renders him responsible for all its consequences on France and on Europe. The complaints against him on this subject may be reduced to four heads. 1. His having urged the assembling of the states-general at a period so stormy and critical: 2. His procuring a double representation for the *tiers etat*: 3. His leaving undecided the important question, whether the proceedings should be taken by orders or by poll: and 4. His neglecting to influence the elections so as to secure a majority, resolved to maintain the laws and constitution, and to exert themselves only in the reform of abuses.

Examination of his conduct.

On the first of these subjects, Necker excuses himself by observing, that the irritated state of the public mind could by no means be attributed to him; that he was not the author of those financial embarrassments which occasioned it; that the reform of internal abuses could only be expected from the states-general; that the inundation of political pamphlets which overwhelmed the public, owed its origin to an *arrêt* of his predecessor, and that the king, who had pledged himself to convene the states-general, was too religious an observer of his promise, to have endured a minister who advised a breach of it [z]. Without cavilling on the precise truth of each of these assertions, it is very obvious that they were insufficient to justify the measure they were intended to defend. Necker knew, that the promise of convening the states, was made under

[z] See Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 30. and the following. Sur l'Administration, &c. p. 33. and the following.

an

an idea that the finances were irretrievably embarraſſed, that ſuch an impreſſion was in a great meaſure derived from his writings, and from the reports of his friends and agents. He knew that at the time it was given, a raſh miniſter had, by an unpopular innovation, and unjuſtifiable and abſurd proceedings, created an irreparable breach between the conſtituted authorities, between the king and the parliament. He knew that his popularity and aſcendancy were ſufficient to have reſtored harmony, to have given energy to the government, and content to the well-diſpoſed part of the community. He knew, and has acknowledged, that the ſtate of the finances was not ſuch as to require any extraordinary intervention [h]. In fact this was a mere pretence to make himſelf of conſequence by alarming the king with falſe terrors, and inſinuating to the people unfounded hopes [i]. It is of little importance to whom the licentiouſneſs of the preſs was to be attributed, its exiſtence was a ſubject of univerſal aſtoniſhment [k]; its force was derived from an idea of public diſtreſs and exemptions of the privileged orders; the former Necker might have demonſtrated to be a mere phantom, the latter, poſſeſſing as he did the entire confidence of the court and nobility, he might eaſily have acquired the credit of modifying or abrogating, without injury to the conſtitution. But the king's promiſe!—This indeed was a terrible obſtacle. If the people had been convinced that their welfare was effectually ſecured without the intervention of an authority to the effects of which they were ſtrangers, they would have been very little ſolicitous about a ſtrict compliance with a promiſe from which they

[h] Sur l'Adminiſtration, p. 36.

[i] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 31.

[k] Necker himſelf is accuſed, and I believe juſtly, of having increaſed and favoured this licentiouſneſs in order to promote the ſucceſs of his own views. See Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 88. 126.

could

could have derived no advantage. I am far from being inclined to queſtion the ſtedfaſt virtue of the unfortunate Louis; but had prudent and vigorous meaſures been adopted, and a little delay interpoſed, the popular ardour would have cooled, and the ſtates-general have met for no other purpoſes than thanks and congratulatory addreſſes. It has been obſerved that Calonne convoked the notables, not to diſcuſs but to admire his plans [l]; the ſame may be ſaid of Necker with reſpect to the ſtates-general. He looked forward with confidence to their meeting [m], and anticipated the pleaſure of placing a line of forbearance between the power of the ſuperior, and encroachment of the inferior orders. A ſplendid viſion, fit to inflame the fancy of a young ſpeculiſt, but a ſhameful reſult of his age and experience.

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Second objection examined.

The ſame motives which induced him to effect the convocation of the ſtates-general, undoubtedly influenced him to promote the double repreſentation of the *tiers etat*. His perſeverance in this point is remarkable, and no propriety of intention can acquit him of the blame attached to the conſequences. Conſcious of this truth, Necker has defended himſelf with great warmth, and at much length, though without any great effect. His apology reſts principally on the uncertainty of the antient precedents; on the eagerneſs of public expectation; the diffuſion of light; and the unimportance of number, if the eſtates voted by order [n]. Every conſideration which could be drawn from

[l] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 25.

[m] In proof of this aſſertion, ſee Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 31, 32, 33, and the following pages, where this objection is diſcuſſed by himſelf. This work was publiſhed in 1791, and intended to be read in France. His book called "On the French Revolution" muſt be peruſed with more caution on this particular topic, as it was written five years later, when more horrible calamities had reſulted from his fatal error.

[n] On the Revolution, vol. i.

theſe

theſe principles, ought to have produced a deciſion in the mind of the miniſter contrary to that he adopted. The uncertainty which prevailed in times of darkneſs and ignorance could not be any ground of determination, and the deſire of diſtinction, the affectation of knowledge, and the ſolicitude to gratify public expectation, which were prevalent, ſhould have made him very cautious of truſting thoſe powers to a greater number than was abſolutely neceſſary. A great body of the *tiers etat* in 1614, had a great body been really collected, would have been of ſmall importance, eaſily overpowered by argument, eaſily diſperſed by force; but in 1789, a very ſmall body, ſupported by the public opinion, ſtrong in intelligence, and active in reſearch, could not have been reſtrained or diſperſed by any power poſſeſſed by government: had they only equalled either of the other orders, they would have been reſpectable and indiviſible, but the pride and impoſing aſpect of a large majority, or duplication, could not fail, as in fact it happened, to render them haughty, reſtleſs, turbulent, and overbearing; in ſhort, to occaſion the ſubjugation and deſtruction of the other two claſſes. Necker could not err through ignorance, as he had taken every poſſible means to obtain information; he certainly was not malicious enough to wiſh the overthrow of that prince who placed the moſt implicit confidence in him, and for whom he conſtantly profeſſes the ſincereſt affection; vanity alone muſt have influenced his determination, the wiſh to do good, and the fond expectation of making himſelf illuſtrious in the eyes of a numerous and enlightened aſſembly, perverted his judgment, and occaſioned this egregious error. Imperfectly acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of France, he appointed certain perſons to ſearch into hiſtorical regiſters, for the forms of convening the ſtates-general on preceding occaſions; but as their report, in all probability, contained

nothing in ſupport of his favourite plan, he never publiſhed it. The parliament of Paris paſſed a decree, to the ſurpriſe of moſt people, that the ſtates ſhould be convened in the ſame manner as in 1614; but this ſtep, in which they exceeded their authority, only expoſed them to unpopularity and contempt, and accelerated their annihilation, without altering the reſolution of the miniſter. He prevailed on the king to convene the ſame notables as had been aſſembled by Calonne; they were divided into ſix committees, the majority of all of which, except one, recommended the model of 1614; that one was the ſection of Monſieur, where, by the majority of a ſingle vote, the queſtion of a double repreſentation was carried in the affirmative. Yet the concurrence of all theſe opinions could not alter the determination of Necker[o]. The only reaſon he gives for this invincible obſtinacy is, that though it occaſioned him a great deal of pain to differ in opinion from the notables, yet this difference was inſurmountable, becauſe the impulſe of his conſcience, and the welfare of the ſtate, according to his ideas, (*ſelon mes lumières*,) impoſed on him as a rigorous duty to follow the line of conduct he adopted on that memorable occaſion[p].

Third objection examined.

Necker ſays in his own defence, that the great queſtion in 1789, and at all times, was not the reſpective number of the deputies of the three orders, but their manner of deliberating, by head or by bailiwick, with the orders conjoined or ſeparate[q]. If he was really impreſſed with the importance of this queſtion, and felt all the conſequences which muſt reſult from its deciſion, it is matter of great aſtoniſhment that he ſhould not fix

[o] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 106—113. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 157. Expoſition abrégé, par A. Dillon, p. 8. See alſo the Impartial Hiſtory, Rabaud, &c. &c.

[p] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 44.

[q] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 66.

it

it on ſome certain baſis, but leave it open to the determination of the parties themſelves, aſſembled and judging with aſperity of each other's views and encroachments. The notables declared their opinion in favour of a ſeparate conſultation, and of voting by orders, which left to the *tiers etat* their due ſhare in the deliberative adminiſtration. Necker, in affecting to leave this queſtion open, while he decided that of double repreſentation, betrays a ſhare of duplicity which derogates much from his moral character; he muſt have previouſly reſolved it in his own mind, for, in fact, the deciſion of the one queſtion virtually determines the other. It is mere affectation to ſay, that if the ſtates-general voted by orders, the numeration of the *tiers etat* was a matter of indifference. If the *tiers etat* equalled in number the other two eſtates collectively, it is manifeſt they could carry every point, without affecting the leaſt deference to them, if they voted by poll; or if they only equalled one of the other two, their body united, availing itſelf of cabal, clamour, and public opinion, would aſſuredly have been able, on moſt queſtions, to have ſecured a majority. A body compoſed of many members is more impoſing in its general appearance, and attaches to itſelf a greater ſhare of conſideration than would be beſtowed on one of half its magnitude; and it was obvious that ſhould the *tiers etat*, compoſed of a double number, by obſtinate clamour, by exciting the people, or through the neceſſities of the ſtate, ever ſucceed in obtaining a conſultation, or joint operation with the other orders, their victory would then be complete, and the clergy and nobility for ever chained to a dependence on them. To leave, therefore, the determination of this queſtion to the ſtates-general aſſembled, was, in fact, as Rabaud ſays [r], giving the victory to the ſtronger, and as he had already de-

[r] Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 65.

cided, on his own authority, to which party that epithet ſhould apply, he had reſolved to be anſwerable for all the conſequences of the determination of both theſe important queſtions [s].

Fourth objection examined.

At leaſt it might have been expected, that Necker having determined on an experiment ſo novel and hazardous as that of throwing ſo large a ſhare of power and conſequence into the hands of the *tiers etat*, would have endeavoured to prevent the abuſe of it, by influencing the elections, ſo as to procure the return of as many of the king's friends and men of moderate views as poſſible. The author of the eſſay on the importance of religious opinions could not be ignorant that, in France, religion was falling into contempt, and that the miniſters of it were regarded with jealouſy and hatred. He could not be uninformed of the bias given to the public opinion by the ſwarm of pamphlets daily iſſued; or of the efforts of the duke of Orleans and other perſons to give effect to this perverſion of judgment by influencing the elections, and procuring the *cahiers*, or intended inſtructions to the deputies to be written in a ſtyle correſponding with their dangerous views. It was then his duty, as a faithful ſervant of the crown, to have counteracted theſe attempts by an exertion of his popularity, and by the interpoſition of his influence. This, he ſays, his ſenſe of honour forbad, nor did he think it neceſſary, as it was of leſs importance that the king ſhould have friends in the ſtates-general than in the nation at large [t]. Weak and miſerable ſophiſtry! If every ſpeculative egotiſt was permitted to ſhare the popular ſuffrage, what portion could poſſibly be left for the monarch? And what could defend his rights and thoſe of the privileged orders, in the preſent ſtate of the popular mind, from invaſion

[s] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 104. Pagès Hiſtoire Secrete, vol. i. p. 80. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 52. See alſo the other hiſtories of the period. [t] On the Revolution, p. 89.

and

and deſtruction, but a due care to counteract thoſe who were openly forming a party againſt them, and whoſe influence over the public opinion threatened the moſt alarming conſequences. But though his ſenſe of honour prevented his influencing any returns favourable to the ſuperior orders, he did not feel the ſame delicacy with reſpect to the *tiers etat*, for whom, beſides their advantage of double repreſentation, he contrived to procure ſuch a preponderance in the clerical body, as was alone ſufficient to inſure ſucceſs to any attack they might chooſe to make on the privileged orders. This was effected by overpowering the ſuffrages of the beneficiaries, dignitaries, and great proprietors of church lands, by admitting the ſalaried curates, who, in every reſpect, relating to the purpoſes of their convocation, belonged to the *tiers etat*, to a numerical equality of vote. On the other hand, the canons and monks, who were attached to the higher order of the clergy, were deprived of their counterpoiſe by a regulation which reſtricted their ſending more than one in ten of their number to the electoral aſſemblies. Hence the great diſproportion between the *curés* and the higher clergy in the aſſembly of the ſtates [u]. In like manner to overwhelm the

[u] Expoſition abrégé, par Arthur Dillon, p. 12. M. de Bouillé ſays: "The ſtates-general conſiſted of men very proper for the exe-"cution of Necker's purpoſes. The eccleſiaſtical members were "principally choſen from among the inferior clergy, without livings "or property, oppoſed to thoſe of the higher order, who were fewer "in number. Among the repreſentatives of the nobility were many "of thoſe ſubtle, daring, enterpriſing men, who had introduced "themſelves with a view to corrupt and divide that order: laſtly, the "third eſtate were allowed a double repreſentation. This aſſembly "was open to that deſcription of men, ſo numerous and dangerous in "France, who lived by their talents, their literary abilities, and their "induſtry, deriving their importance from the weakneſs and credu-"lity of mankind—lawyers, principally of the loweſt claſs, phyſi-"cians, artiſts, writers of little or no eminence, and men without "either rank or property." The author adds in a note, "Of three "hundred members which repreſented the clergy, two hundred and "eight were poſſeſſed of no eccleſiaſtical dignity: of ſix hundred "members who repreſented the *tiers etat*, three hundred and ſeventy-"four were profeſſors of the law." Memoirs, p. 88.

influence of landed proprietors, he procured ſpecial decrees of council, forbidding the country electors from interfering or voting in elections for towns and cities, but permitting the inhabitants of theſe to vote in the country bailliages, by which means a great number of provincial lawyers and needy ſpeculiſts were returned, to the excluſion of the more reſpectable caſt of candidates [x]. He alſo ſhewed his decided preference of the *tiers etat* by ſuſpending, by order of council, all judicial proceedings commenced in Britanny, on account of the popular inſurrections [y].

Report to council. Dec. 1788.

In theſe obſervations I have, in ſome meaſure, anticipated events; but to reſume the courſe of narration: ſoon after the diſſolution of the notables, the miniſter made a report to the king in council, which was afterwards publiſhed, wherein he diſplayed a ſhallowneſs, egotiſm, and vanity, entitled to commiſeration; he traverſed, with a ſophiſtry unworthy a miniſter, the deciſions of the notables, and giving as a motive the *impoſing minority* of the notables, and what he calls *le bruit ſourd de l'Europe*, decided the moſt important queſtions which had engaged their attention, in a manner entirely different from them. He determined that the *tiers etat* ſhould have a double repreſentation, but *adviſed* them not to inſiſt on voting by poll, but always in different orders; he flattered their vanity and elevated their inſolence, by attributing to them all the knowledge and reſpectability which remained in the kingdom; he inſulted the crown by an affectedly philoſophical declamation on the advantages of an abridged juriſdiction; and to ſhew that the probable miſchiefs of his meaſures were not out of his contemplation, that they might probably produce the diſorganization of all authority, the influx of

[x] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 14.
[y] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 159.

all

all licentiouſneſs, he *modeſtly* aſſures the king, as a recompence for what he might ſuffer, that he would ſtill retain the power *of diſmiſſing the miniſter who had influenced his deliberations* [z].

Obſervations on his conduct.

Necker's conduct in the whole of this buſineſs appears ſo remote from wiſdom and ſo perverſe, that his motives are not eaſily defined. I do not believe he was influenced by avarice; his fortune was already made; and againſt the charges of gratifying religious pride by the abaſement of the clergy, and of indulging his natural prejudice in favour of democracy, by the debaſement of the ſuperior orders, he has ably defended himſelf [a]. He avows, indeed, that one of his motives was the hope of retaining his ſituation, in ſpite of the will of the ſovereign [b], but even that deſire, and all the reſt of his conduct may be referred to the impulſe of vanity, which in him prevailed as a paſſion, and ſubdued reaſon. Flattered by the popularity conferred on him by circumſtances, raiſed by the corrupting influence of unvaried ſucceſs to a peculiar complacency of ſelf-contemplation, it is not wonderful that he was ſo far the dupe of his own confidence, as to believe that when once he had advanced his popularity to the higheſt pitch, by gaining for the people, in oppoſition to the notables and the privileged orders, what they ſo ardently deſired, he ſhould be able to mould their repreſentatives to his will, and, by exerting his influence between them and the king, be enabled to bring

[z] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 113 to 120. Expoſition, &c. par Arthur Dillon, p. 20. Wilde's Addreſs, p. 392.

[a] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 313. See alſo Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 177.

[b] "J'avois connu mieux que perſonne, combien étoit inſtable & paſſager le bien que l'on pouvoit faire ſous un gouvernement où les principes d'adminiſtration changent au gré des miniſtres, & les miniſtres au gré de l'intrigue. J'avoiso bſervé que dans le cours paſſager de l'adminiſtration des hommes publics, aucune idée générale n'avoit le tems de s'etablir, aucun bienfait ne pouvoit ſe conſolider." Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 36.

about ſuch reforms, both in the government and finances, as he thought neceſſary.

His popularity and influence.

At this period Necker's popularity was unbounded, and the court placed implicit reliance on the integrity of his motives and the efficacy of his endeavours; for though the princes of the blood, except Orleans, had united in preſenting to the crown a memorial reſpecting the inflamed ſtate of the public mind, and the danger of a revolution in the opinion of the people reſpecting the neceſſary form of government, Necker's opinion was adopted by the council, and, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of ſome of their more anxious and clear-ſighted friends, recommended by the queen, and ſanctioned by the king [c].

This confidence ought to have been repaid by a moſt zealous attention to the happineſs and welfare of the royal family, but that was not the caſe; for though it is notorious, that during the whole of Necker's adminiſtration, the moſt ſhameful libels on them and on the whole court were profuſely circulated, and produced the moſt baleful effect, he did not take the ſlighteſt ſtep towards preventing or even diſcouraging them; and though irritable, and even vindictive at the moſt trifling ſarcaſm againſt himſelf, he ſuffered thoſe againſt every other perſon to go unpuniſhed [d].

1788-9. Severity of the winter.

His report was publiſhed at a very critical period, when the people were diſtreſſed by the rigour of an exceſſively cold winter, alarmed by the fear of want, and ſupported only by the charitable donations of the rich. Necker had exhibited conſiderable affectation of philanthropy on this point. I have already mentioned his exertions with reſpect to grain, and in addition to theſe he made a public experiment

[c] Hiſtorical Sketches, p. 81. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 159 and 161. Wilde's Addreſs, p. 392.

[d] See Young's Travels, p. 104. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 153.

reſpecting

reſpecting butchers' meat. He ſent to St. Germain for an ox, had it weighed, killed, and weighed again, deducting the ſkin, horns, hoofs, &c. He demonſtrated that the butchers ſold at a profit of fifty *per cent.* but the information was the only advantage which reſulted to the public, as no attempt was made to reduce the price of proviſions [e]. Yet theſe trifles augmented the popularity of the miniſter, and he was deſirous of deriving every advantage from it, by procuring the aſſembly to be held at Paris. This he has ſince acknowledged to be an error, and acquieſces in the propriety of their judgment who over-ruled his, and made Verſailles the place of ſitting. But had the operation of circumſtances, and the known intrigues of perſons in the capital been duly adverted to, the place of ſitting ſhould have been ſtill farther removed from that peſtilential atmoſphere [f].

5th May 1789. Aſſembly of the ſtates-general.

At length the ſtates-general were opened at Verſailles. The day commenced with an act of religion: the deputies attended the king to the church of St. Louis, where a ſermon was preached by the biſhop of Nancy, on the importance of religion to the well-being of a ſtate. From church they went to the hall appointed for the ſtates. The king was ſeated on a throne, the queen on one at his ſide, but not ſo high; the princes of the blood (except Orleans) were ſeated around; the clergy and nobleſſe at oppoſite ſides of the hall; and the *tiers etat* at the lower end. The king made a ſpeech, in which he complimented the ſtates on their meeting, adverted to the condition of the revenue, and pointed out many objects of public importance to their attention. He was followed by M. Barretin, keeper of the ſeals, who ſaid his majeſty had complied with the wiſhes of his ſubjects in granting a double

[e] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 96.
[f] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 68. Rabaud, p. 67. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 61. 63. Wilde's Addreſs, p. 490.

repreſentation

repreſentation to the *tiers etat;* but left to the three orders to adjuſt amongſt themſelves the point of voting by orders or by poll. This ſpeech was little attended to; but Necker's, which laſted three hours, was complimented by the moſt profound and uninterrupted attention. The oration however gave but little ſatisfaction; he was not beloved by the nobility or clergy, and the *tiers etat*, influenced by faction, and bent on extenſive plans of reform, received his moderate ideas with contempt and anger, and liſtened with impatience to his financial calculations. Many ſtrictures on his ſpeech were publiſhed; and from them he might have learnt more properly to appreciate his own talents and popularity [g]. It is aſſerted, that he paid more attention to the ſtyle and delivery than to the matter of the harangue. The following character of, and anecdote reſpecting it, are ſupplied by Arthur Young [h].

—"The worſt thing I know of Necker is his ſpeech "to the ſtates on their aſſembling; a great oppor- "tunity, but loſt: no great leading or maſterly "views; no deciſion on circumſtances in which the "people ought to be relieved, and new principles "of government adopted. It is the ſpeech you "would expect from a banker's clerk of ſome abi- "lity. Concerning it there is an anecdote worth "inſerting: he knew his voice would not enable "him to go through the whole of it in ſo large a "room, and to ſo numerous an aſſembly; and "therefore he had ſpoken to Monſ. de Brouſſonet, "of the academy of ſciences, and ſecretary to the "royal ſociety of agriculture, to be in readineſs to

[g] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 73. Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 74, 75. See Obſervations on the place of ſitting and manner of debating, Young's Travels, vol. i. p. 110. Amongſt the moſt ſevere cenſors of Necker was Mirabeau, whoſe journal was ſuppreſſed by an order of council obtained at Necker's requeſt. Young's Travels, p. 113. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 201. See alſo Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 116. A. Dillon's Expoſition abrégé, p. 16, 17.

[h] Travels, p. 109.

"read

" read it for him. He had been preſent at an an-
" nual general meeting of that ſociety, when Monſ.
" Brouſſonet had made a diſcourſe with a powerful
" piercing voice, that was heard diſtinctly to the
" greateſt diſtance. This gentleman attended him
" ſeveral times to take his inſtructions, and be ſure
" of underſtanding the interlineations that were
" made ſoon after the ſpeech was finiſhed. M.
" Brouſſonet was with him in the evening before
" the aſſembly of the ſtates, at nine o'clock; and
" next day, when he came to read it in public, he
" found ſtill more corrections and alterations, which
" Necker had made after quitting him: they
" were chiefly in ſtyle, and ſhew how very ſo-
" licitous he was in regard to the form and decora-
" tion of his matter. The ideas, in my opinion,
" wanted this attention more than the ſtyle. M.
" Brouſſonet himſelf told me this little anecdote."

The ſtates-general were thus compoſed [1]:

The Clergy were repreſented by

Compoſition of the three orders.

48 Biſhops and archbiſhops;
35 Abbés, canons, or beneficed clergymen; and
208 Curés, or clergymen having livings with the cure of ſouls.

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[1] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 286. " The nobility and
" higher order of the clergy of Britanny had refuſed to name their
" deputies to the ſtates-general, upon the pretence that the form of
" their convocation was contrary to the cuſtoms and privileges of the
" province. The ten deputies that the higher clergy had named,
" were re-placed by ten curates who belonged to the order *du tiers*, at
" leaſt by birth; but the twenty-one deputies which the nobleſſe of
" Britanny ought to have ſent, were not replaced by the other pro-
" vinces; therefore the order of the nobility had, in the ſtates-gene-
" ral, twenty-one members leſs; and the order of the tiers had about
" ten members more than they ought." Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i.
p. 183.

The

The Nobility, by

18 Grand baillis, ſenechaux, or heads of diſtricts;
224 Gentlemen, or men of family; and
28 Magiſtrates of the ſuperior courts.

270

The Tiers Etat, by

2 Eccleſiaſtics, or beneficed clergymen;
12 Gentlemen of family;
16 Phyſicians;
18 Mayors, or heads of corporations;
162 Officers of bailliages, or inferior courts of juſtice;
176 Bourgeois, merchants, land-owners, and farmers; and
212 Lawyers.

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Impolicy of the proceedings with reſpect to dreſs, &c.

The latter order having ſo great a majority, and being ſo completely in poſſeſſion of the public predilection, it would have ſhewn wiſdom as well as moderation in the two ſuperior orders, and in the court, to have acquired a ſhare in the good opinion of the people, if poſſible, by treating them with apparent reſpect and diſtinction. This however was not done. On the day of their proceſſion to Verſailles, the dreſs was arranged by an order from the court: that of the clergy and nobility was pompous and impoſing, and the wealth and taſte of many of the wearers enabled them to render it brilliant and dazzling: that of the *tiers etat* conſiſted merely of a little black ſtuff cloak, ſuch as was worn by ſome of the profeſſion of lawyers, and which, joined to any other dreſs than black, which many of the members did not wear, had a mean and ridiculous appearance. But the effect on the populace was

entirely different from what this ſpectacle might have been expected to produce. At the approach of every individual of the ſuperior orders, (except Orleans,) ſilence, or clamorous reproach intermingled with threats, prevailed; while the humbly-clad members of the favourite order were hailed with ſhouts of *Vive le tiers etat*; and many of them friends of Orleans congratulated by name. In like manner their reception in the hall of aſſembly inſpired diſguſt: to the clergy and nobility, both the folding doors were thrown open; to the *tiers etat*, only one. The diſtinction may be maintained by precedent; but ſo much of eſtabliſhed uſage had been already foregone, and the people were diſpoſed to demand a relinquiſhment of ſo much more, that ſound policy would have dictated a little flexibility on the occaſion; for the temper of the people, notwithſtanding the new lights they had gained from philoſophy, was not ſufficiently philoſophical to look on theſe trifles with unconcern, or even without conſiderable rancour [k].

Obſtinacy of the tiers etat.

The *tiers etat*, obedient to the injunctions of the party who procured the return of the majority, and heated by the applauſes and inſtigations of the pamphleteers, loſt no time to avail themſelves of the advantage which their ſuperiority in number gave them over the other two claſſes. They reſiſted every ſtep which tended to eſtabliſh a precedent of their ſitting in different chambers, or voting by orders; they would not even proceed to a verification of their powers, unleſs the other two orders would meet with them in the common hall. The nobility and clergy, ſenſible that they were contending for their exiſtence, oppoſed this meaſure with great obſtinacy for ſeveral weeks, the majority of each refuſing to take a ſtep which had an obvious

[k] Pagès, vol. i. p. 98. and Moore's View, vol. i. p. 146. et ſeq.

tendency

tendency to their political deſtruction. Public buſineſs was at a ſtand; the people became clamorous; the king propoſed a conciliatory meaſure in vain; the *tiers etat* reſolutely rejected every plan but an unconditional aſſociation of all the orders, and a community of debate and operation. Encouraged at length by the partiality of the people, and anxious to do ſomething in their new character, the deputies, after ſending repeated meſſages inviting the clergy and nobility to join them, proceeded to a verification of their powers. They were at this time joined only by three curés: theſe men, diſguſted at their want of importance amongſt the dignitaries of the church, threw themſelves into the arms of the *tiers etat*, who received them with tranſport, looking on the event as a prelude to a complete victory on their part. They proceeded to buſineſs without loſs of time; and having, after a debate of much length, and in which great affectation of verbal preciſion was diſplayed, adopted the name of THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ſet about reforming the ſtate, with an eagerneſs which promiſed diſpatch. They declared the total illegality of all the exiſting taxes, permitting them, however, to be proviſionally collected for the preſent, and till their further order, or diſſolution, from what cauſe ſoever. They further declared, that they would take into conſideration the national debt; but that for the preſent the creditors of the ſtate were under the ſafeguard of the honour of the French nation. The majority of the clergy, after a long diſcuſſion in what manner they ſhould verify their powers, reſolved to join the national aſſembly [1].

17th July 1789.

Necker propoſes a royal ſitting.

Meantime the miniſter, whoſe vanity had led him to ſuppoſe that he could reſtrain the diſorderly motions of the aſſembly whenever he thought proper; whoſe equivocal declarations at

[1] Impartial Hiſtory. Rabaud. Conjuration de d'Orleans, &c.

their

their firſt meeting, and whoſe conduct ſince, had produced and inflamed much of the acrimonious ſpirit they betrayed; alarmed at the importance of the ſteps already taken, adviſed the king to proclaim a royal ſitting without delay, and there to deliver a ſpeech, containing a plan of government or declaration of rights, which he had compoſed, and which he expected would tend much to conciliate the minds of the *tiers etat*. The confidence of the king was not in the leaſt abated, and he reſolved to follow this advice without delay. Accordingly, on the day the clergy had appointed to join the national aſſembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal ſitting for the 22d; and that, in conſequence of the preparations which muſt neceſſarily be made in the halls of the three orders, a ſuſpenſion of the ſittings muſt take place till after that day. This produced the famous oath of the tennis-court, and the ſubſequent reſolutions and tranſactions [m]. 20th June.

Necker's plan of government altered in council.

During this interval, while the king was at Marli, and the plan of his declaration or ſpeech at the royal ſeſſion was under diſcuſſion in the council, he was induced to make ſome alterations in the words or form of it. Necker, who had been uſed to ſee his dictates implicitly followed, ſeems to have reſented this proceeding. Some writers have aſſerted that the alterations were very immaterial, a mere change of words [n]: Necker aſſerts that his plan was altered in many important particulars, and ſpecifies ſome, but does not give the whole in its perfect ſtate, alleging that it was burnt by a friend to whom he had lent it [o]. Bertrand, however, has pointed out many of the variations, which ſeem very reaſonable, and nothing more than the temperate efforts of the king's relatives and counſellors to prevent the royal authority and the privileges of the

[m] See BAILLY. [n] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 232.
[o] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 172, 173.

ſuperior

ſuperior orders from being unconditionally laid at the feet of the *tiers etat*[p]. I ſhall reſume the diſcuſſion of Necker's conduct; but firſt relate the tranſactions of the day, only premiſing, that Necker's intended reſignation was generally circulated and credited.

23d June. Royal ſitting.

In the midſt of jealouſies, alarms, and evil impreſſions, the royal ſitting was held. The ſtreets of Verſailles were lined with guards, the hall of the ſtates was ſurrounded, and none but deputies admitted[q]. While the nobility and clergy were taking their places, the *tiers etat* were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in an out-houſe from the rain, and when admitted, were not accommodated with ſeats. Theſe were moſt injudicious meaſures, and tended to increaſe the prevailing jealouſy, and add to the diſcontents of the day. The king arrived ſoon after the deputies were placed, attended by a pompous retinue, the princes of the blood, the dukes and peers: four heralds and their king at arms were placed about the throne and in the middle of the hall; before the throne was a table, at which the miniſters were ſeated, except Necker, who did not attend. This circumſtance, which ſeemed to indicate a diſapprobation of the meaſures in agitation, increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the members; and their gloom received a ſtill deeper ſhade from the accident of M. Paporet, one of the king's ſecretaries, falling down in an apoplectic fit, and expiring in the hall.

The king's ſpeech.

Thus ſurrounded by diſguſt, prejudice, and diſſatisfaction, diveſted of the only perſon whoſe countenance would have reſtored to him, in any degree, the good opinion of the ſmall portion among thoſe ſubjects who remained untainted by the contagion of diſloyalty, he opened the ſeſſion by an introduc-

[p] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 162.
[q] Arthur Young's Travels, p. 118.

tory

tory diſcourſe, after which the plan was read. It annulled the proceedings of the national aſſembly; recommended the liberty of the preſs, ſubject to certain reſtrictions; and the abolition of *lettres-de-cachet*, if it could be done conſiſtently with the well-being of individuals and of the public. The king was reſtrained from impoſing any new tax without the conſent of the national repreſentatives, and all exemptions from the payment of taxes were done away: the *corvées* were aboliſhed: the diſtinction of orders was to be preſerved, allowing, however, the three eſtates to meet and debate in common, with the king's approbation. Many other reforms were propoſed, and the whole plan evinced a diſpoſition to conſult the real good, and anticipate many wiſhes of the people, which was certainly entitled to the greateſt gratitude from their repreſentatives. It was received with a profound ſilence, rather indicative of diſcontent than approbation; and the king, having ordered the aſſembly to ſeparate and meet him there the next day, retired, attended by the nobility and part of the clergy.

Proceedings of the aſſembly.

The aſſembly, notwithſtanding this order, delivered by the king in perſon, and enforced by a meſſage delivered by M. de Brézé, grand-maſter of the ceremonies, commenced an active debate, or rather a ſeries of vituperative proteſts againſt the proceedings of the day, which Camus called by the contemptuous and unpopular name of *a bed of juſtice*. They entered into reſolutions declaratory of their adherence to their former decrees, that the perſons of the deputies of the people were inviolable, and denounced penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould moleſt them. They ſeemed to contemn the bounties offered ſo freely by the king, which, if they did not amount to all that ſanguine and intereſted ſpeculiſts could deſire, formed however a baſis on which might have been erected a permanent temple of national felicity. The demagogues of the aſſembly

bly ſeemed jealous leſt the purity and benevolence of the king's intentions ſhould be impartially conſidered by the people, and to have ſeized with malignant avidity the opportunity offered by the appearance of the marquis de Brézé, to ſanction an act of audacious rebellion, and openly conteſt the palm of public favour with the king [r].

Obſervations on Necker's conduct.

The whole conduct of Necker on this occaſion was ſo extraordinary, and ſo remote from propriety, as to juſtify the reproaches with which the royaliſt writers have aſſailed him, and to give ſtrong ſuſpicions of his caballing with the Orleans faction to maintain his power. The oſtenſible pretence for his abſence was his attendance on a ſick ſiſter-in-law; but whatever may be ſaid of the feelings of humanity and conſanguinity, the man who undertook, in times ſo replete with trouble and peril, to manage the affairs of a great kingdom, was bound to ſuſpend for a time their dictates, in order to perform duties more important. Necker well knew that much of the clamour raiſed on the falſe report of an intended diſſolution of the aſſembly, was the work of a party, and had been at the pains to contradict it in writing; yet he did not poſſeſs firmneſs of character or ſelf-denial enough to riſk the loſs of any of that popularity of which he was ſo fooliſhly enamoured, by appearing to ſupport a meaſure againſt which he had ſome reaſon to think an outcry would be raiſed. The *illneſs of a ſiſter-in-law* was but a weak excuſe for evading the duties of his ſtation, knowing as he did that, but a few days before, the king had been *forced* to receive a deputation of the aſſembly, and give his attention to buſineſs, although afflicted by the recent *death of a ſon*. Necker has been at great pains to juſtify himſelf in his two apologetical publications. In that publiſhed

[r] For the narrative of this day's proceedings and remarks on it, according to their different principles, ſee Rabaud, Moore's View, Pagès, Bertrand, &c. &c.

in

in 1797, and addreſſed to the world at large, who had ſeen with aſtoniſhment the reſult of his meaſures, he uſes arguments and aſſertions to the following purport: he ſays that, from the material alterations which had been made in his plan, he was determined to retire from adminiſtration, but would not give in his formal reſignation before the ſeſſion, which was to be held the next day. For this he gives no reaſon, but ſays, "The delay was not "long; and without attaching an *indiſcreet import-* "*ance* to myſelf and my actions, I thought this a "*proper forbearance.* I did not however attend at "this ſolemn aſſembly: it was not right for me to "do ſo; for, if I had, the public would have con- "ſidered my reſignation as a reſolution decided by "the want of ſucceſs of a meaſure which I had ad- "viſed. It was too much alſo, I confeſs, that *thoſe* "*who carried it againſt me ſhould oblige me to quit* "*the miniſtry, and at the ſame time force me to ruin* "*myſelf in the public opinion, by oſtenſibly concurring* "*in a ſtep abſolutely contrary to my views and coun-* "*ſels*[a]." This ſentence is remarkable for vanity and treachery. If Necker really intended to quit the miniſtry, (which I do not believe to have been the fact,) to whom was this *proper forbearance* ſhewn?—Not to the king or the court; for to the court he does not heſitate at this diſtance of time to expreſs his malevolence; not to the king, for he would not aſſiſt him even with his preſence, but by his abſence made his repugnance to his plan the more ſtriking and obvious. His forbearance was ſelfiſh: he ſaw that a diviſion was likely to ariſe between the king and his ſubjects; he reſolved, inſtead of carrying the weight of popular opinion which he then poſſeſſed to the ſide of royalty, to contribute all in his power to the ſucceſs of the oppoſing faction: in a word, he reſolved to be the

[a] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 202.

miniſter of the aſſembly, and not of the king. Though he had not announced his intended reſignation to the king, it had been ſpread aſſiduouſly enough among the people, and was, by the arts of his party, univerſally deprecated [s]. He had been for ſome time in fear that the party in the cabinet adverſarious to his views would gain the aſcendancy; and therefore reſolved, by a marked oppoſition to them, to ruin them in the public opinion, regardleſs of the conſequences to the king, if his own authority was ſecured. In this view of the ſubject, it is not too much to ſuppoſe that, by a refinement of treachery, he propoſed the royal ſitting, a novel, and, as he himſelf confeſſes, a very bold and delicate meaſure [t]; and then, availing himſelf of the differences in council, refuſed to ſanction the proſecution of it, but left the court to contend with the diſgrace in which he had involved them. At leaſt this is certain, that the meaſure, to have been efficacious, ſhould have been ſuggeſted much ſooner: it ſhould alſo have been preceded by conciliatory declarations, and announced as an inſtance of royal benevolence. Inſtead of this, Necker permitted it to be whiſpered about with all the myſterioufneſs which begets diſtruſt, to be announced with an air of authority already grown odious to the populace: he permitted the line of ſeparation to be drawn between the ſentiments of the court and thoſe of the public; and inſtead of any attempt to harmoniſe them, aggravated the ſlighteſt ſhades of diſtinction, and eagerly attached himſelf to the popular ſide.

Thus far I have examined Necker's defence as held out in his laſt publication, but in his preceding apology, written in 1791, he appears not to have ſo well digeſted his ſpleen, or prepared his ſtory; in that he ſhews more anger, and exhibits his reſo-

[s] See Arthur Young's Travels, p. 108. 114 to 118.

[t] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 185. 293. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 110.

lution

lution to be popular with leſs reſerve[y]. He there accuſes the council of having perverted his plan from its original meaning, and ſays, "that, by de-
"grees, though they appeared to retain *part of his*
"*project, they reſcinded all that conſtituted its eſſence,*
"*all that could render it agreeable to the commons.*"
He obſerves, with the mean inſidiouſneſs of a man who wiſhes to return to office, in ſpite of the king, who at the time he wrote was ſtill king, "It was
"a remarkable ſingularity, that the court ſhould
"think the ſtyle, rather firm and lofty, which was
"proper when the king enjoined the two ſuperior
"orders to unite themſelves with the commons,
"*in their labours for the public good*, was equally
"applicable to a ſtep, *the ſenſe of which was ab-*
"*ſolutely different.*" In the following page he ſays,
"I defended my ideas and combated the innova-
"tions with the greateſt ſtrength; I courageouſly
"reſiſted the opinions of the princes called in to
"this diſcuſſion, and after preſerving, to the laſt
"moment, my hope of effecting the triumph of
"reaſon, I conſidered what line of conduct I
"ought to adopt, as to myſelf individually, and
"after a deliberate examination, and many internal
"ſtruggles, occaſioned by the difficulty of the
"conjuncture, I thought that I could not, in ho-
"nour, attend the ſitting of the 23d of June, or
"retain my place in the miniſtry; and if I did not
"make the king acquainted with my final de-
"termination, it was for fear of receiving a poſitive
"order, which it would have been impoſſible for
"me to obey."

Much of the agitation of this memorable day is, doubtleſs, to be attributed to the faction of Orleans, as his friends and privy-counſellors were moſt active in promoting it[z], but Necker, if he be ac-

23d June. Further events and conduct of Necker.

[y] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 109 to 112.
[z] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 297, et ſeq. See alſo Young's Travels, p. 117. See ORLEANS.

quitted of being the accomplice, claims his full ſhare in all the events by which it was diſtinguiſhed. His popularity was ſo great, that the king was apprehenſive of the conſequences of his rumoured reſignation, and in the evening ſent for him to the palace, and both he and the queen preſſed him to retain his ſituation. This was exactly what he had expected and wiſhed, the humiliation of the court, and his own exaltation, were complete. As he went to this interview, and while he was there, an immenſe mob followed him, and ruſhed into the court of the palace, ſhouting, "*Vive Necker! No reſigna-*" *tion!*" but there was no cry of *Vive le Roi*[y]! The indecency of this diſtinction alone ought to have induced the miniſter to recede from the applauſes of the populace, and return by the inner paſſage from the palace to the comptroller-general's hotel. But this coarſe incenſe was ſuited to his taſte; he did a thing quite unuſual to miniſters, and which he himſelf had never done before, he returned to his own apartment on foot acroſs the court where the populace were aſſembled, enjoying their acclamations, affecting to yield paternally to their ſolicitations that he would remain in office, and permitting himſelf to be hoiſted on their ſhoulders and diſplayed in triumph[z]. But though he gained a temporary increaſe of popularity, it is probable that he loſt more than proportionately the real means of popularity, for he counteracted by remaining in adminiſtration the views of the friends of Orleans, a deputation from whom had waited on him, and intreated him, almoſt on their knees, to reſign, for the ſake of embarraſſing the queen's party[a].

[y] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 248. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 167.

[z] Moore's View. Bertrand's Memoirs, ubi ſupra. Young's Travels, p. 121. See alſo the different hiſtories.

[a] Young's Travels, p. 120. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 115.

The

The nobility, and thoſe of the clergy who had not yet joined the *tiers etat*, were in the utmoſt conſternation at the aſpect of affairs. The king, diſtracted by contrary councils, and biaſſed by his declared reſolution not to permit the ſhedding of blood in his quarrel, recommended, and finally inſiſted on, the junction of the two ſuperior orders with the lower, which accordingly, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the duke of Luxembourg, took effect, though without dignity or advantage, as near fifty of the nobility, headed by the duke of Orleans, had taken the ſame ſtep two days before.

The nobility join the tiers etat.

27th June.

Mean time the duke of Orleans and his party, by their intrigues with the guards, by their ſeditious meetings and harangues in the *palais royal*, by their criminal ſpeculation in grain, and by the various other methods detailed in the life of that conſpirator, were accelerating the exploſion which was to place him at the ſummit of his wiſhes. Theſe events becoming known to the court and the friends of the king, induced him to call in the foreign troops, and to give the command to M. Broglio. The conduct of Necker gave riſe to much uneaſineſs, his wiſdom or his loyalty muſt be impeachable; every meaſure he had recommended to the king had increaſed his embarraſſments, while it added freſh laurels to the brow of the miniſter. Orders for money on the treaſury ſigned with his name, and afterwards diſavowed by him; orders ſent into the provinces, ſigned with his name, forbidding the holders of corn to ſend it to the capital, were brought forward, yet with a ſupineneſs hardly credible in his ſituation, he took no pains to detect and puniſh the authors. He was undoubtedly apprized of the turbulent meetings at the *palais royal*, and the ſeduction of the military, yet took no care to prevent, and cautiouſly avoided ſanctioning with his name, any of the meaſures taken to counteract them. Theſe circumſtances, joined to a deſponding

Progreſs of events.

report he made to the committee of provisions in the national assembly, gave occasion to some persons near the throne, who were pressing for the formation of an entire new ministry, to represent him as a monopolizer of grain, a report which the mercantile occupations of his life rendered not incredible. They added, that he was devoted to the faction which agitated the capital, and his conduct was not sufficiently unequivocal to belie the assertion [b].

11th July. Necker's dismission.

Urged by these representations, the king sent him an order to quit the kingdom in four-and-twenty hours. He acknowledges himself to have been astonished at this event, and almost incredulous of its reality [c], but the manner of his obedience is highly creditable to him; he was at dinner when the order was brought, and, without the least appearance of concern, said to the count de la Luzerne, the person who brought it, "We shall meet "at the council." After dinner he pretended a headach, and having quitted the company who had been dining with him, without the least intimation of what had happened, prevailed on his lady to accompany him in his carriage, as if for an airing, and then first communicating to her his dismission, drove to St. Ouen, his country seat, where he slept that night; and the next morning, notwithstanding the indisposition of madame Necker, proceeded on his journey towards the frontier with the celerity of an express [d].

Observations on it.

The banishment of Necker was, under all circumstances, the most imprudent measure which the court could possibly have taken. They knew the fermentation at Paris; they knew they could not

[b] See the Historians of the time, particularly Pagès, vol. i. p. 222. 255. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 284.

[c] Sur l'Administration, &c. p. 117. On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 214.

[d] Sur l'Administration, &c. p. 119. See also the Histories.

depend

depend on the fidelity of the troops, and they knew that these agitations and defections were produced by the ambition of the first prince of the blood. If the king had retained the minister, the explosion then meditated would have wanted at least one pretext, and if he had any attachment to the king, his credit with the people might possibly have been resorted to with advantage. If, on the other hand, he was inclined to the opposite party, his presence would have been a very trifling sanction to their proceedings, and the view of a king, beset by traitors, ruined by duplicity, and betrayed and abandoned by the minister in whom he confided, would have presented to his subjects a spectacle so interesting as to have caused many to rally around his standard, whom contrary sensations drove into the arms of the insurgents. Necker's conduct appears to have been founded on this principle; he thought his own popularity perfectly established, and his confidence in himself led him to believe he could avert all the miseries of France, if his views were not thwarted by those whom ambition led to desire his place; whom interest led to oppose his economy; or whom the pride of unquestioned authority led to reject his conciliatory plans, or resent the freedom with which they were proposed, and the earnestness with which they were recommended. He saw in opposition to these a strong party, headed by a weak, profligate and uncertain character, and apprehended that when success should have enabled them to humble those who formed the obstacle to his views, he could by means of his popularity guide and restrain the party whom he meant to use only as his tools, and when used throw them by. Alas! he did not see that he was the tool, that his popularity was fictitious, and that the same hands which placed the laurel on his brow could, in spite of his talents or merits, snatch it away

away for ever[e]. His baniſhment, at the preſent moment, afforded a pretext to the faction of Orleans to accelerate their plans for ſubverting the government. The perſon who brought the news from Verſailles to Paris was conſidered a liar or a lunatic, and was with difficulty preſerved from the fury of the mob; but when the report was fully confirmed, and many falſehoods added reſpecting the intended diſſolution of the aſſembly, the burning of Paris, and the murder of the inhabitants, they burſt into acts of the moſt furious violence. They carried the buſt of the miniſter, covered with crape, about the ſtreets, together with that of the duke of Orleans, and made them a rallying point for the diſaffected. The national aſſembly believed, or pretended to believe, that in the diſmiſſion of Necker their own ruin was involved; they made haſte to ſtrike terror into the new miniſtry, by decreeing them reſponſible for all the events which ſhould take place in conſequence of the public fermentation; and that Necker had carried with him the confidence of the nation.

12th July.

His recal. Shortly after the events of the 14th July, the aſſembly were induced, by the interference of the municipality of Paris, to addreſs the king to remove his preſent miniſtry, and recal Necker. The effect of this indecent interference in the province of the executive power is incalculable, had it been reſiſted; but the miniſtry, of their own accord, reſigned their ſituations the day the addreſs was voted; and the king diſpatched a meſſage to Necker the ſame day, inviting his return. He had, before the receipt of this letter, gained intelligence of the revolution from the

[e] He became afterwards fully ſenſible of this truth, and acknowledges, that, but for the ardent eloquence of M. Lally, he ſhould have ſunk gently into oblivion after the 11th of July. Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 423.

ducheſs

ducheſs de Polignac [f], who, flying from the popular fury in a leſs circuitous direction than the ex-miniſter, had overtaken him at Baſil, and apprized him of the recent events. Had he poſſeſſed a great mind, he would have rejected the proffered return to power, obviouſly procured for him by force; and by neglecting his extorted commands, have ſhewn, in the moſt unequivocal manner, his compliance with the *wiſhes* of the king. Had he poſſeſſed only a moderate portion of genuine philoſophy, and felt the pure affection which a virtuous mind entertains for a high reputation, inſtead of the appetite, which fools and knaves often poſſeſs in common with wiſe and honeſt men, for popular acclamation, he would have followed his plan of retirement, poſſeſſing the regrets and good wiſhes of a mighty nation, and the reſpect of a very great portion of Europe [g].

Necker, however, decided otherwiſe. He wrote to the king and to the national aſſembly, accepting their invitation. To the king he uſes a very chilling phraſe; "I return to receive your orders, and "aſcertain on the ſpot, whether my indefatigable "zeal and entire devotedneſs can yet be of any "ſervice to your majeſty. *I am convinced that this "is your wiſh, ſince you deign to aſſure me of it.*" To the aſſembly he ſays; "Worthily to reply to "*that ennobling mark of your regard* far exceeds my "feeble powers: but at leaſt, gentlemen, I may be "allowed to offer you the homage of my reſpectful "gratitude [h]." When Necker had reſolved to re- 23d July. Determines to return.

[f] Memoires de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, par la Comteſſe Diane de Polignac, p. 37. Hiſtories.

[g] Subſequent events, which have thrown light on the cauſes and combinations which produced thoſe acts which preceded M. Necker's diſmiſſion, and his own conduct and writings, have contributed to weaken thoſe ſentiments; but if they had not been ſo brilliant at that moment, they would have been more general and permanent.

[h] See the Letters and Anſwers in Necker on the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 225. That to the king is in the ſtyle of a perſon ſullenly conferring a favour: that to the aſſembly, in the ſtyle of a man highly honoured and proportionately grateful.

turn,

turn, there was one eſſential ſervice to be rendered to the king, which, had he been honeſtly deſirous of it, might have tended to tranquillize the country, and give permanence to the throne. I owe the ſuggeſtion to Bertrand, and tranſcribe his own words: "To have rendered his zeal uſeful to the king and "the ſtate at that period, he had but one line of "conduct to adopt, which was, to have immediately "preſented himſelf to the aſſembly, and after hav- "ing thanked them for the concern with which "they had honoured him, to have candidly an- "nounced to them, that he was the author of the "declaration of the 23d of June, as it had been "read in the aſſembly, except ſome expreſſions "which had been altered, which by no means al- "tered the ſenſe of it; that he ſolemnly perſiſted in "the opinion, that the form of government eſta- "bliſhed by that law, according to the wiſhes ex- "preſſed in the majority of the inſtructions, was "the only one proper for France; therefore his "conſcience, his honor, and his zeal, made it his "duty not to return into adminiſtration till the "aſſembly had declared their adherence to the "declaration of the 23d of June. The general "confidence and vaſt credit which M. Necker en- "joyed at that moment enabled him to give the "people whatever impreſſion he pleaſed, and to "have made it impoſſible for the aſſembly to "have rejected his propoſitions. It was in his "power at this period to have had many abuſes "corrected, the monarchy wiſely limited and pre- "ſerved, and by ſo important a ſervice he would "have ſecured to himſelf as long a miniſterial ca- "reer as his ambition could have deſired[1]." A mode of conduct formed on this outline would have rendered him reſpectable, and procured him a numerous body of friends.

[1] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 70.

His

His progreſs through the country was, in its trueſt ſenſe, a triumph. Acclamations of multitudes, an eſcort of troops, reſpect and veneration, attended him the whole way [k]. His interpoſition effected what the king's influence could not have done, in ſaving the life of the baron de Bezenval. His return was celebrated at Paris with all the demonſtrations of joy which a haſty, ſanguine, and capricious people could give. He was introduced in great pomp to the national aſſembly, where he was complimented by the preſident in an elegant ſpeech, which was ordered to be printed, that all France might atteſt and approve the homage paid by their repreſentatives. His reply was brief, and contained nothing remarkable. He went the next day to Paris, accompanied by his colleague, M. de St. Prieſt; they were met at the barrier by an immenſe multitude, who took the horſes from the carriage, and drew it themſelves to the *Hotel-de-ville*. Here he was received by the commune, and complimented by Bailly, the mayor. The mob without inſiſted on ſeeing him, and he ſhewed himſelf in the balcony, accompanied by his wife and daughter. On his return to the *commune*, he took occaſion to mention the ſituation of Bezenval, and to advert to the ſcenes which had lately diſgraced the capital. The liberation of the baron, and a general amneſty, were inſtantly decreed by acclamation; and the miniſter, happy in the ſucceſs of his efforts, retired. Intoxicated with homage and applauſe, he was incapable of ſeeing that his popularity had reached its height, and that its decline was to be dated from that moment. The diſtricts of Paris were excited to proteſt againſt the acts of the *commune*; and the aſſembly, on the motion of

His journey and arrival at Paris.

29th July.

[k] See the Hiſtories, and Arthur Young's Travels, p. 143.

Mirabeau,

Mirabeau, reverſed them[l]. In ſhort, he had riſen to as great an eminence in the public opinion as the faction of the *palais royal* judged it expedient to permit; and while his return was celebrated by illuminations and fire-works, his diſgrace was reſolved on[m].

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Propoſes loans.

Little cabal, very ſmall efforts of intrigue, were neceſſary in the preſent circumſtances to render the decline of the miniſter's popularity certain. The payment of taxes was refuſed in many provinces, and the power of paying them was taken from many perſons by the burning their houſes and plundering of their eſtates by mobs. Necker repreſented to the aſſembly, in a long ſpeech, the diſtreſſed ſtate of the revenue; that the treaſury contained only four hundred thouſand livres (17,500*l.*), chiefly in notes of the *caiſſe d'eſcompte*, then in a ſtate of bankruptcy:

7th Aug.

[l] The BARON DE BEZENVAL was commandant of the Swiſs guards at the æra of the revolution. He was ſaid to have encouraged de Launay to defend the Baſtille, and to have promiſed him a reinforcement; this ſuggeſtion rendering his ſtay in Paris unſafe after the 14th July, he ſolicited and obtained from the king leave to return to Switzerland, his own country. In his way thither he was arreſted at Villenaux by the national militia, juſt as Necker was paſſing. He immediately wrote to the municipal officers, requeſting his liberation, which they declined granting till they ſhould receive an order to that effect from the permanent committee at the Hotel-de-ville. Necker ſolicited and obtained it; but the aſſembly decreed that the baron ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody near the place where he was arreſted, till he could be tried; he being, in the mean time, under the protection of the law. He was conducted to Brie-Comte-Robert, and committed to the caſtle. It was fortunate for him the meſſenger diſpatched with the decree of the aſſembly uſed expedition enough to prevent his return to Paris with thoſe diſpatched by the diſtricts, as a mob of thirty thouſand people were waiting for him at the Grève, with a gallows and rope, ready to have executed judgment on him in their ſummary way. When the court of the Chatelet was erected into a tribunal for the trial of crimes of *leze nation*, he was arraigned before them; and it appearing that he had, in the whole of his conduct, merely acted in obedience to the commands of his ſuperiors, he was acquitted. The baron ſurvived his acquittal but a ſhort time. He died at Paris.

[m] See the various hiſtories. Necker himſelf ſpeaks with great feeling and anger of the reſolution entered into to unpopulariſe him (*dépopulariſer*). Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 132. 409.

and

and after describing the causes of the difference between the receipt and expenditure, proposed a loan of thirty millions (1,312,500 *l.*), to answer the current expences for two months, in which time he hoped the constitution might be nearly, if not entirely finished. The contractors were to have five *per cent.* and a certain *bonus:* but the restoration of public credit would have fixed the minister and the royal authority too firmly to suit the views of the faction; they therefore diminished the advantages of the proposal, and reduced the interest to four and an half *per cent.:* the consequence was the utter failure of the scheme, as three weeks elapsed after the decree, and not a tenth part of the money was subscribed. Another loan of eighty millions (3,500,000 *l.*) was then proposed on the minister's original plan; but the public confidence was departed, and it met with no success [n]. 27th Aug.

In September, the public mind was agitated by the question, what share of the legislative power should be confided in the crown; and whether the king was to have a prohibitory control over the acts of the assembly? This debate was carried on with singular acrimony and violence for a fortnight. One party maintained, that the decrees of the assembly should have the force of laws, without the royal sanction: the other, that the king should have an absolute negative on all decrees. This question produced many others; such as, those of the king's inviolability, and the descent of the crown; but the main point was still undecided. Necker presented a *memoire* proposing a middle measure, namely, that the decrees of the assembly should be presented to the king for his sanction, which if he withheld during the sittings of two assemblies, both agreeing in the expediency of them, they should become laws without his consent. This was termed 1st Sept. Debates on the veto. Necker's opinion.

[n] Debates. Histories.

a sus-

a ſuſpenſive veto. The plan contains very little wiſdom; the dread of committing to the crown an uncontrolled power of refuſing a ſanction to laws apparently unjuſt and inefficacious, muſt have originated from malignant jealouſy and reſolute miſapprehenſion; and the project of protracting the conſent between the executive and legiſlative powers, during the continuance of two aſſemblies, was a monſter of weakneſs and deformity. The aſſembly, under a pretended terror of miniſterial influence, refuſed to read the *memoire* of their late idol. He publiſhed it; and at length, wearied with a conteſt on the other alternatives of an abſolute *veto*, or none at all, wherein perſonal acrimony increaſed, without making any proſelytes, the aſſembly adopted the plan of the miniſter; but without any compliment to him, direct or implied.

Patriotic donations.

Still the derangement of the finances appeared irreparable. Patriotiſm, or a love of diſtinction, had impelled many perſons to make voluntary donations of their plate, jewels, and ornaments, which were denominated patriotic gifts. The king, in commiſeration of the public diſtreſs for ſpecie, had ſent his ſuperb ſervices of plate to the mint; but theſe ſupplies were impermanent and inſufficient.

24th Sept. 1st Oct.

Necker again attended the aſſembly, and after drawing an alarming and juſt picture of the ſtate of the revenue, and expreſſing his hopes of being able by economy and the equalization of taxes, to reſtore public credit, propoſed that a contribution ſhould be levied on every individual, equivalent to one fourth of his annual income, to be paid in fifteen months. This violent meaſure, which did not require all the depth of financial knowledge the miniſter was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, was, after ſome debate, ſanctioned by the aſſembly, to the ſurpriſe of many; Mirabeau, Necker's inveterate opponent, ſupported it, and propoſed placing in him an unlimited confidence. This ſurpriſe was abated by

Necker propoſes a contribution of one fourth of the revenue of each individual.

Mirabeau's ſubſequent conduct, for when it was objected that the aſſembly could not, conſiſtently with their inſtructions, vote any new tax till the king ſhould have ſanctioned the articles of the conſtitution then under his conſideration, Mirabeau tacked the decree for the new impoſt, to the requeſt of the aſſembly that the king would no longer delay to ſanction the decrees relating to the conſtitution, and thoſe of the 4th of Auguſt. This fineſſe, which a democratic writer in England has honoured with the title of a "happy combination of the "different views on the ſubject[o]," is neither more nor leſs than what was formerly practiſed in the houſe of commons of this country, tacking to a money-bill another which might be ſuppoſed leſs palatable to the ſuperior orders of the conſtitution, a practice which they have long ſince diſcontinued, and againſt the legality of which many reſolutions have been entered into by the lords[p].

Conduct of Necker reſpecting the 5th of October.

This extraordinary coalition, combined with the events then in agitation, and which ſo fatally broke out a few days after, have led to a ſuſpicion that the miniſter was willing to make a compromiſe for his perſonal ſafety, or for a remnant of popularity, by conniving at, if not abetting the projects of the conſpirators. Without ſuch connivance, or an ignorance of public affairs, and the tranſactions of the capital, almoſt as culpable, it is thought impoſſible that ſo mighty an enterpriſe ſhould have been formed and conducted in ſuch a manner that the leaſt intimation of it did not reach the court. It is conſidered almoſt impoſſible that, on the morning of the 5th of October, the king ſhould have been ſuffered to go to Meudon to take the diverſion of hunting, without receiving the leaſt hint of the proceedings at Paris, or ſhould never be apprized

[o] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 223.
[p] Debates. Hiſtories. See MIRABEAU.

of them till the hall of the assembly was filled with poissardes. Had the minister no friend, no spy in Paris, who could apprize him of the dangers with which the life of the monarch and those of his family were threatened? Such a deficiency of information is unpardonable, if credible; but if Necker knew of these events and neglected to apprize the court of them, in what light must the honest men of this day, in what light must posterity view his conduct?

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6th Nov. Proposes to establish a national bank.

The opinion of his having connected himself actively with the Orleans' faction, is believed by some authors, but the antipathy between him and Mirabeau which prevented a treaty with the king, would have frustrated an union of the kind. Necker had not what the conspirators term *energy* enough to serve their latent purposes or retain their patronage. He returned to his duties as a financier, and presented to the assembly a plan for establishing a national bank, to be raised on the remains of the *caisse d'Escompte*, and supplied by the sale of crown and church lands. This project first gave rise to the emission of *assignats*, which were notes or transferable acknowledgments of the receipt of monies to be refunded by the sale of those domains. This, like other innovations, or novel expedients, was very much approved at first. The people were anxious to shew their zeal by contributing largely to the patriotic donations, which were by this new plan to be funded, to answer extraordinary emergencies. But the reputation of Necker had declined, his presence gave no pleasure, he was not looked up to as the saviour of the country, but merely as a minister of some talents, and a necessary drudge in the mysterious and laborious business of finance.

24th Nov.

Decline of his popularity.

This indifference was soon converted into disgust. The committee of the assembly employed in carrying into execution his econnomical plans, required a regiſter

a regiſter of the expenditures, penſions, and donations of the public money by the court for the laſt twenty years, called the *red book*. The king expreſſed an unwillingneſs to comply with this requeſt, as it would expoſe the profuſion of his grandfather. Some of the expences of his own reign might alſo excite ſenſations of repugnance in the preſent ſtate of the public mind. Camus, however, as preſident of the committee, preſſed for the peruſal of the book, alledging that it was not to be publiſhed or its contents divulged to gratify idle curioſity, but was to be made uſe of merely to form the baſis of a report, which the committee could not draw up without it. Necker on this, with a too ready credulity perhaps, but without any apparent ill-intention, prevailed on the king to let the book be ſent to the committee. To the great ſurpriſe of all honeſt and feeling men, the book was immediately ſent to the preſs and publiſhed. The miniſter remonſtrated with Camus in ſuch a ſtyle as brought on a quarrel between them. The public took part with the treacherous preſident of the committee, and the preſs teemed with ſcandalous pamphlets, againſt the upſtart, ariſtocrat financier [q]. Every incident of his public life, eſpecially ſince his laſt recal, was converted into matter of reproach, and truth and fiction were exhauſted in ſearch of ſcandalous anecdotes of his private life [r]. Thus was the man who had been exalted to a degree exceeding all reaſonable hope for acts of equivocal virtue, or ſmall importance, degraded in the public mind to the ſtate of a criminal, for a mode of conduct which all good men muſt have reſpected. He accelerated the downfal of his popularity by a treatiſe in defence of nobility, a crime in the ſtate of opinions then prevailing in France, utterly unpardonable [s], and the unfortunate affair of Nancy,

15th Mar. 1790.

[q] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 131.
[r] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 132. 409. 424.
[s] See Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 286.

which involved all the miniſters in blame, completed his debaſement.

To an ear long ſoothed by the acclamations of popular applauſe, to an eye long accuſtomed to ſee every beholder bending with veneration, or animated with hope, nothing can be more irkſome and inſupportable than the privation of thoſe gratifications, and the ſubſtitution of contempt and reproach for reverence and admiration. The man whoſe virtuous labours are directed to the public good, and to the faithful diſcharge of the dictates of his conſcience alone, can ſurvey with indifference the fluctuations of public opinion, and perſiſt in his duty, though expoſed to all the ſtorms of popular outrage, but he who fixes his affections on the unſtable and injudicious applauſe of the multitude, and ſacrifices to it, in the ſlighteſt degree, his integrity and honour, once deprived of it, feels that dreary inconſoleableneſs which reſults from diſappointment in an illicit object of the tendereſt ſolicitude, and for which no internal principles, or conſciouſneſs of irreproachable conduct is left to make amends.

Demands leave to retire.

Notwithſtanding all the external ſymptoms of this decaying popularity and influence, Necker could hardly believe the reality. The concurrence of circumſtances, and the flatteries of his wife and friends, had led him into notions ſo extravagant, that he ſuppoſed, if he were ſo inclined, he could eſtabliſh a new religion in France, inſtead of Chriſtianity. But he was at length undeceived and alarmed for his perſonal ſafety by an inſurrection which the Jacobins raiſed for the purpoſe [t], he wrote to the aſſembly demanding leave to retire, aſſigning as a cauſe, his ill ſtate of health, and proffering to leave the money due to him from government, which has been already ſtated to amount to 96,250 *l.* ſterling, together with his hotel and

4th Sept. 1790.

[t] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 424. Bertrand's Memoirs, p. 274.

furniture

furniture as pledges for the integrity of his adminiſtration. No part of this letter was deemed important enough to claim any attention, and they paſſed to the order of the day. Some of the ſections of Paris, on the news of his intended departure, aſſembled to deliberate whether it ſhould be permitted, and whether the ſum he had propoſed to leave was ſufficient to indemnify the public for what he had robbed them of, and there is no doubt that if they had been urged to it by any of thoſe perſons who were then in the habit of directing their motions, the mob would have prevented his departure and placed him in priſon. But Necker's opponents required only his abſence, and therefore diſcouraged any violent proceedings [u].

This indifference was a thunder-ſtroke to Necker, it was utterly unexpected, he felt it with the greateſt ſenſibility, and acknowledges that the aſſembly, by one ſingle expreſſion of kindneſs might have retained him [x]. The whole of his book on his own adminiſtration is replete with expreſſions of the injury which his pride and honour had ſuſtained from the unkindneſs of the aſſembly. He had ſtill, however, ſome hopes of returning kindneſs, and notwithſtanding his pretended ill-health, meanly waited eight days at Paris, in expectation that ſome change of affairs would occaſion his reſtoration to office, or, as he expreſſes himſelf, he had the weakneſs to await from ſome quarter a ſentiment of juſtice or of goodneſs [y].

The journey of this degraded miniſter through France, ſo different from his triumphant entry the year before, is narrated by himſelf in ſuch pathetic terms, that I ſhould fail in doing juſtice to the ſubject if I were to relate it in any but his own

Quits Paris;

[u] The facts contained in the preceding narrative are taken from Moore's View, Bertrand's Memoirs, and the various hiſtories; which reſpectively contain different, but not repugnant narratives.

[x] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 436. [y] Idem, p. 426.

words, the facts are corroborated by all the hiſtorians. "At length I ſet out, and I alone, indulging a long ſeries of recollections, I alone know my ſtruggles and my heartfelt pain; I ſet out, and already was I preceded by thoſe dreadful letters, thoſe fatal correſpondences which impart to the provinces ſentiments of hatred, injuſtice, and perſecution. Rapid in their effects as the wand of Medea, they appeaſe the furies, or excite them at pleaſure. I ſpeedily experienced their malign influence; I was taking a few moments repoſe, free from miſtruſt, at the poſt-houſe in the little town of Arcis-ſur-Aube, forty leagues from Paris, when I was ſurpriſed by the appearance of a great crowd of the people, and ſeveral armed men, who entered my chamber. They began by demanding my paſſports; I had three of them, and a ſpecial letter from the king. I ſhewed them; the municipality, the directory of the diſtrict agreed that they were perfectly regular, but ſome hot-headed individuals perſuaded the national guard to think otherwiſe, and violence was triumphant. They conducted us, madame Necker and myſelf, between two ranks of fuſileers, to an inn which they appointed for us, and where at firſt they talked of keeping us apart from our ſervants; but they at length contented themſelves with giving a watch-word at the inn-door, and prohibiting all communication with us; they multiplied poſts of ſentinels, and to fulfil all the dictates of prudence, placed a *corps-de-garde* in the rooms below. I wiſhed to write to the national aſſembly; permiſſion was granted; but with a reſervation that none of my ſervants ſhould carry the letter; it was intruſted to two citizens of Arcis, who, when they reached Paris, entered into conſultation with thoſe members of the aſſembly who were moſt inimical to me: they fixed a day

Is arreſted at Arcis-ſur-Aube;

Writes to the aſſembly;

"and

" and hour for the tranſmiſſion of my letter to the
" national aſſembly, and after a debate which pro-
" duced ſome perfidious but impotent attacks, it
" was agreed that I ſhould at leaſt enjoy *the rights*
" *of man*, and they forbad all further impediment to
" the continuation of my journey; but they care-
" fully abſtained from expreſſing any diſapprobation
" of the national guard at Arcis. They were,
" however, afraid that the preſident [2], who was a
" worthy man, ſhould in his anſwer adopt a ſtyle
" reſembling that of gratitude; and as one or two
" members, in a moment of extraordinary boldneſs,
" had hinted ſomething of thanks for my ſervices,
" the preſident was required to communicate his
" letter before he diſpatched it, and he was obliged,
" contrary perhaps to his own private wiſhes, to
" confine himſelf rigidly to the terms dictated to
" him."

Proceeds on his journey;

After ſome dolorous reflections on this injuſtice of the aſſembly, and a comparative view of the facility with which they voted thanks on ſome occaſions, and their extreme jealouſy of granting them on the preſent, he thus continues:—" I quitted
" Arcis-ſur-Aube, that town which perhaps at this
" day regrets its conduct towards me; and rein-
" forced with a fourth paſſport, that of the na-
" tional aſſembly, continued my route. But, on
" my arrival at Veſoul, I was detained by the people:
" they ſtopped my carriage, cut the traces, held the
" moſt threatening language, and I had great dif-
" ficulty in eſcaping from their undiſcerning fury.
" At night the ſervants who were following me in-
" curred a ſtill greater danger; they were tumult-
" uouſly ſeized, the trunks which were in their
" carriage were opened, the padlocks broke, their
" contents were induſtriouſly examined; and from
" the inſide of the houſe where theſe iniquities were

Stopped at Veſoul.

His ſervants arretted and his trunks broke open.

[2] Bureau de Puzy.

" tranſacting, they cried to the mob without,— " *Stay, ſtay, we will give you notice when we find any* " *thing.* They only wanted therefore a pretence to " commit the greateſt violences; fortunately they " found none; the papers were a collection of the " principal letters of thanks and kindneſs which I " had received for ſome time paſt: the manuſcript " books contained the accounts of my domeſtic ex- " pences: they were therefore obliged to let my " ſervants depart, who for near five hours conſi- " dered themſelves between life and death, and in " their danger bound themſelves by vows, which " after their deliverance they immediately ful- " filled [a]."

Arrives at Copet.

Thus, after a journey replete with diſgrace, inſult, and danger, he arrived at his eſtate at Copet, where he ſtill reſides [b]. The oblivion from which he was reſcued by M. Lally, and which he appears ſo much to have dreaded, now ſo completely enſhrouds him, that all the abuſe of his adverſaries, who are to be found in all parties, and three works of conſiderable ſize, beſides ſmaller ones, which he has publiſhed ſince his retreat, are inſufficient, amongſt thoſe who are not immediate ſufferers by the revolution, to make him perſonally the topic of a moment's converſation. The popular indignation was carried to ſuch

[a] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 426.

[b] Gibbon thus deſcribes his miſery after his retreat: " I paſſed four " days at the caſtle of Copet with Necker; and could have wiſhed to " have ſhewn him, as a warning to any aſpiring youth poſſeſſed with " the dæmon of ambition, With all the means of private happineſs " in his power, he is the moſt miſerable of human beings: the paſt, " the preſent, and the future, are equally odious to him. When I " ſuggeſted ſome domeſtic amuſements of books, building, &c. he " anſwered with a deep tone of deſpair, ' *Dans l'état où je ſuis, je ne puis* " *ſentir que le coup de vent qui m'a abbatu.*' How different from the care- " leſs cheerfulneſs with which our poor friend lord North ſupported " his fall! Madame Necker maintains more external compoſure, " *mais le diable n'y perd rien.* It is true that Necker wiſhed to be carried " into the cloſet, like old Pitt, on the ſhoulders of the people; and " that he had been ruined by that democracy which he had raiſed." Gibbon's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 213.

extremes

extremes at the period of the 10th of Auguſt 1792, that his buſts and ſtatues were aſſiduouſly ſought out, and deſtroyed with all the marks of ignominy and hatred ſhewn to thoſe of kings [c].

His character.

The conduct of Necker on every occaſion has been ſo amply diſcuſſed in the preceding pages, that it is unneceſſary to ſpeak of it otherwiſe than in general terms. That he was a principal cauſe of the French revolution is admitted by writers of every deſcription, by perſons whoſe principles and ſtyles are oppoſite as thoſe of Bertrand and Pagès: yet it is his fate to have no defenders; the royaliſt writers load him with execration, as a monſter, the ſtigma of the human race; while the republicans deſpiſe him as a ſhallow egotiſt, with views narrow and contracted, and an underſtanding too limited to form a grand univerſal ſcheme of government [d]. He indirectly confeſſes that the revolution was his work, when he ſays, that "the precipitation with which "the ſtates-general were promiſed, and the impa- "tience with which the execution of this engage-

[c] Peltier relates a curious anecdote of a buſt of Necker, which may ſhew the inſtability of popular favour. A ſculptor of the name of Houdon, had been ordered to make a buſt of this miniſter ſoon after the 14th of July. "The artiſt, confined in his work- "ſhop, had no idea that, in the ſhort time which elapſed from his "receiving the order till his finiſhing the buſt, the people could "poſſibly have expelled from their temple the idol they before wor- "ſhipped. Houdon therefore having exerted himſelf to complete it, "comes all covered with ſweat and duſt, bringing the precious "marble, carefully wrapt up in matting a few days after the ex- "pedition to Nancy. What an unfortunate circumſtance! The "blood of the brethren and friends of Chateauvieux had been ſhed: "Necker was one of the king's privy council: not a member of the "common council dared to expreſs his approbation of the buſt: it "was rejected with contempt; and the artiſt thought himſelf very "lucky in being ſuffered to take it home, with the hope of ſelling it "at ſome future day, as an hiſtorical monument of popular ingrati- "tude." Late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 110.

[d] See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 177. Pagès Hiſtoire Secrete, vol. i. p. 267. 319. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 67. Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 185. Arthur Young's Example of France, &c. p. 47. 83. Alſo an admirable delineation of his character in Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 516.

"ment

"ment was hurried on, produced baneful conſe-
"quences[e]." Now no perſon hurried on the performance of the king's promiſe ſo much as himſelf, as he owns with ſome ſelf-gratulation in his publication in 1791[f]. In defence of his general conduct he very frequently recurs to the force of public opinion; but this is a mere cant word; the public opinion is not the law of a wiſe man or a great ſtateſman, it is a powerful machine which he ought to direct, but never ſuffer himſelf to be drawn in by its impetuoſity, or cruſhed by its weight. It is well ſaid by Mallet du Pan, that Necker fell a victim to public opinion, after having offered incenſe to it as an idol, inſtead of governing it as the ſlave of experience and genius[g]. His vanity, which was in ſome degree defenſible, conſidering how much it was inflamed by the public and every one about him, occaſioned moſt of his errors; but his deſire of retaining his place led him to adopt meaſures and form coalitions to which a virtuous and conſiſtent man, whatever might have been his ultimate views, would not have condeſcended. His political integrity is much applauded; I think it has ſome ſhades; but admitting it to be unſullied, it affords but a feeble excuſe for the evils he has occaſioned. In private life, an honeſt motive extenuates erroneous conduct, but a miniſter is juſt as culpable for the effects which are derived from want of ſkill, as for thoſe which reſult from evil intentions. Necker is acknowledged even by his enemies to have been humane, juſt, and benevolent; a good huſband, father, and friend. His vanity made him deſirous to monopoliſe admiration, which wiſh the partiality of his family might conſiderably augment; and it was accompanied with a jealouſy of others, and a

[e] On the Revolution, &c. vol. i. p. 199.
[f] Sur l'Adminiſtration, &c. p. 31.
[g] Mercure François, Hiſtorique & Politique, vol. du 25 Avril juſqu'au 22 Juin 1791, p. 238.

vindictive

vindictiveneſs when attacked, which derogates much from his character as a philoſopher [h].

It remains only to ſpeak of him as an author. I cannot even give a complete liſt of his works. Thoſe which have fallen under my obſervation diſplay marks of aſſiduous reſearch and copious information, but are written in a ſtyle ſo laboriouſly poliſhed as to incur the charge of affectation. Bertrand juſtly places him amongſt the diſtinguiſhed writers of the age. The works of Necker which I have read are the following: his *Compte rendu*, and *De l'Adminiſtration des Finances*, both of which contain ſtriking facts, ingenious calculations, and deductions for the moſt part ſanctioned by reaſon; his treatiſe *De l'Importance des Opinions Religieuſes* is preferable to all his other writings: I have quoted many paſſages of his book intitled *Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker par lui même:* it appears from the exordium, that he retired to Copet in a fit of dogged ſullenneſs, and thought that his incenſed pride would be beſt appeaſed by a ſtately ſilence; this however approached too much to a ſtate of nullity, and ſeemed to accelerate his journey to the ſhades of oblivion, he therefore adopted the exceſs of egotiſm. Mallet du Pan, ſpeaking of this book, ſays, it proves that he was led away by events to which he knew not how to oppoſe either the force of action or the *vis inertiæ* [i]. He next publiſhed an eſſay *Du Pouvoir Executif*, which contains many maxims of the higheſt importance, and which, if duly attended to, would have ſpared the country to which it was addreſſed many woes and much diſgrace. The writers of the literary part of the *Mercure François*, men of different opinions from

and writings.

[h] See his character in moſt of the authorities before quoted, particularly Dr. Moore and Bertrand. See alſo remarkable inſtances of his vindictiveneſs in Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 153. and la Baſtille devoilée 7me livraiſon, p. 108.

[i] Mercure François, vol. ſupra.

Mallet du Pan, affected to defend the conſtitution againſt his attacks [k]; and Peltier acknowledges, that the work is ſubject to no reproach but the name of the author [l]. His laſt publication, *On the French Revolution*, has been diſcuſſed in many particulars where the author defends his own conduct. The information it contains is not ſo extenſive as might have been expected, but the facts diſcloſed in it are related with force and effect, and many of the obſervations on events poſterior to his retreat, particularly on the preſent conſtitution, are worthy of peculiar attention. Thoſe parts of the work which apply to himſelf are not to be implicitly relied on; the diſpoſition to place too much confidence in them will be conſiderably checked by an attentive compariſon of them with the correſponding parts of *L'Adminiſtration de M. Necker*. He commenced his literary career with his eſſay on the *Legiſlation of Grain*, which Playfair and Arthur Young, as has already been ſaid, ſpeak of with diſreſpect. I am not acquainted with that, or his writings concerning the *Eaſt India Company*. In 1773, he wrote the *Eulogium of Colbert*, which gained him the crown at the French Academy; and in which, with great fineſſe, he decried the adminiſtration of Terrai, while praiſing his illuſtrious predeceſſor [m]. He alſo wrote, while the king's trial was depending, a defence of him, under the title of *Reflections addreſſed to the French Nation*, &c. which Peltier calls the Funeral oration of Louis XVI. [n] It may however have afforded Necker ſome pleaſure to know, that this production met the eye of the unfortunate ſovereign in whoſe behalf it was compoſed [o]; and Gibbon mentions it with approbation [p].

[k] Mercure François Literaire, du 31 Août 1792, p. 77.
[l] Late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 117.
[m] Anecdotes, &c. vol. v. p. 161.
[n] Late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 396. 402.
[o] Journal de Clery, p. 138.
[p] Gibbon's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. i.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE-JOSEPH DUC D'ORLEANS.

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THE conſpiracy entered into by the duke of Orleans, ſo undefined in its tendency, ſo baleful in its effects, contributed more perhaps than any other cauſe to give that extraordinary violence and ferocity to the French revolution, by which it was diſgraced even in its earlieſt ſtages [q].

[q] The hiſtory of this conſpiracy, including the whole public and private life of the duke, has been detailed by Montjoye, in a work in three volumes octavo, intitled *Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joſeph d'Orleans*, from which, where no other authority is cited, I have derived my information. I ſhould not, however, aſcribe events of ſuch magnitude and importance as thoſe which are deduced from this conſpiracy to ſuch a cauſe, if I did not entertain the firmeſt conviction of the author's *general* correctneſs. This conviction ariſes, 1ſt, From the obvious coincidence of hiſtorical truth with the circumſtances ſtated by Montjoye. 2d, From the concurrent teſtimony of moſt authors who have written, and moſt orators who have ſpoken on the ſubject of the revolution, as well royaliſts as republicans, in ſupport of moſt of the facts detailed by Montjoye; evidence of which I ſhall often avail myſelf to ſupport the aſſertions I feel authoriſed to make. 3d, Beſides the foregoing reaſons, I am induced to give the more credit to Montjoye, from his having already received that homage from men of the greateſt diſcernment and moſt eſtabliſhed fame, as well as thoſe who, from their attachment to republicaniſm, would be more anxious to ſuppreſs or diſavow every narrative from the pen of a ſtrenuous royaliſt. Among the former may be mentioned profeſſor Robiſon, the abbé Barruel, and the author of an Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Conqueſts and Ambition of France. Among the latter, the hiſtorian and circumnavigator Pagès. In mentioning Montjoye's *general* correctneſs, I wiſh it to be underſtood that I am perfectly ſenſible that a few hiſtorical, biographical, and chronological miſtakes are found in his work; but the grand outline is drawn with truth, moſt of the principal figures correctly deſigned, and the whole piece (notwithſtanding occaſional blemiſhes of no great importance) a correct though ſhocking picture of the times.

Louis-

23th Apr. 1747. Birth. Louis-Philippe-Joſeph, firſt prince of the blood, duke of Orleans, Chartres, Nemours, Montpenſier, and Etampes, count of Beaujolois, Vermandois, and Soiſſons, was born at St. Cloud. The notorious impurity of his mother, Louiſa-Henrietta de Bourbon-Conti, was ſuch as to have inſpired his grandfather the regent with doubts of his legitimacy, which he retained till the hour of his death, though the arguments of his confeſſor induced the regent on his death-bed verbally to alter his judgment.

Perſon. Orleans was above the middle ſize, ſtrong, and robuſt; his appearance was dignified in a very remarkable degree, when he choſe to infuſe into it that elevation which his rank demanded, though it was generally debaſed by vulgar affectation. His face poſſeſſed in his youth a conſiderable ſhare of ſweetneſs and beauty; the delicacy of his ſkin, before his debaucheries had incruſted it with pimples, and the ſoftneſs of his blue eyes, gave him rather an effeminate appearance; but his youth, quality, and good-nature inſpired the moſt favourable prepoſſeſſion. During the life of his father, he was known as duc de Chartres. He was ſo little diſpoſed to improve his mind by the ordinary means, that, as ſoon as he was emancipated from his tutor, he bade adieu to every kind of ſtudy, or if he occaſionally began any, his hatred of mental fatigue occaſioned a ſpeedy dereliction. This diſinclination to literature confined the reſources of his mind, and by limiting his means of communication, prevented at a later period the diſcovery of his political intrigues, by preventing him from leaving permanent traces of his conduct. Where a man of abilities would have made an harangue, he gave a hint; and not having the faculty of ſpeaking or writing well, indirect inſinuations, meſſages bearing no ſtamp of authenticity, and bribes which the receivers would be anxious to diſavow, were his only engines.

Diſinclination to ſtudy.

He

He passed his youth in gross, open debauchery, which at once astonished and corrupted the city of Paris. His wealth afforded means of unbounded gratification, and his birth made his excesses the *ton*, and gave an air of superior consequence to those who frequented his society, many of whom injured their fortunes, their health, and even lost their lives, by the pernicious influence of his example. In his debauchery there was none of that courtly elegance, which, making the pursuit of pleasure the object of refined minds, produces, with the evils attendant on licentiousness, those finished manners which improve the age, and those spirited effusions which delight posterity: his was of that coarse description where gratification alone is considered; the established systems of morality, and the sprightly efforts of exuberant fancy, are equally disregarded. Amongst the victims of his example is to be enumerated the prince de Lamballe, son of the duc de Penthiévre, high admiral of France, who was carried off at a very early age [r]. This event opened a new view to the avarice and ambition of Chartres; he formed a matrimonial alliance with the only surviving sister of his deceased friend, that he might secure the greater part of the family estate to himself. Dissipation.

The object which most flattered his ambition was the hope of attaining the exalted and lucrative post of high admiral. It was held by his father-in-law, the duc de Penthiévre, but Chartres expected a grant of the reversion. To qualify himself for this situation according to the rules of the French navy, he went on board the fleet commanded by d'Orvilliers, and was successively promoted from the rank of midshipman to those of lieutenant, captain, 1778. Serves in the navy.

[r] I state this fact after Montjoye and Peltier (Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 17.) in the mildest terms. Playfair says, that Chartres killed the prince de Lamballe by leading him, on purpose, where he was to contract a mortal disorder. History of Jacobinism. p. 81. n. See also Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme, vol. ii. p. 462.

commodore,

commodore, and finally vice-admiral. In all probability he would have attained the object of his wiſhes, but in the action with Keppel off Uſhant he betrayed ſuch ridiculous emotions of fear as drew on him the deſerved contempt of the navy, and of the city of Paris. The king would not grant him the reverſion he deſired; but to gratify his ambition in ſome degree, made him colonel-general of huſſars, a rank created for the expreſs purpoſe. Chartres bore the ſarcaſms and ridicule of the Pariſians with that ſtoiciſm which is ſupplied by an indifference to public opinion; but the cenſure implied in the preferment given by the court, which, inſtead of encouraging his pretenſions to naval promotion, indirectly ſeemed to diſmiſs him from the fleet, rankled in his mind, and firſt produced that hatred of the royal family which ſo materially influenced his ſubſequent conduct[a]. Through life he was diſtinguiſhed by an implacability of diſpoſition; he was not moroſe, on the contrary, remarkably mild, acceſſible, and beneficent to his ſervants and dependants, but he could not forgive.

Continues diſſipated.

After leaving the fleet his time was divided between the purſuits of ſenſuality, the ſports of the field, and the employments of the gaming-table. He occaſionally travelled in a deſultory manner, without ſyſtem, or apparent view of improvement. He frequently viſited England, and contracted that taſte for the dreſs, manners, and diverſions, particularly horſe-racing, which afterwards extended itſelf amongſt his countrymen, and was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Anglo-manie*. He affected the appearance of an Engliſh jockey, though he was never ſlovenly, but rather in the contrary extreme.

Becomes a free-maſon.

It was probably in England that he firſt became a free-maſon. That ſociety had long been eſtabliſhed in France, though greatly corrupted and

[a] Bouillé's Memoires, p. 323.

diſfigured

disfigured. On the death of the comte de Clermont, late grand-master, Chartres aspired to succeed him. As the situation imparted a degree of authority and importance of which mere English freemasons can have no comprehension, the attainment required an exertion of great address, and a profusion of promises and bribes. The candidate was not sparing of these, and finally succeeded [t]. Having attained this object, he used all his efforts to render free-masonry general in France, and succeded so well, that in three or four years after his election, he was at the head of two hundred and sixty-six new lodges of masons, distinguished by various appellations, but all emanating from the same focus [u]. As they acquired extension and celebrity the freemasons began to adopt new fancies, to *improve*, as they termed it, their original institution, and assume imaginary dignities derived from antiquity. Chartres was a zealous patron of these innovations. He visited and encouraged the new lodges, heard with complacency their introductory harangues, already tinctured with atheism, and the doctrines of liberty and equality [x]. The *loge des Chevaliers bienfaisans* was formed at Lyons, as a superior lodge to the rest, and the members pretended to revive in their own persons the order of Knights Templars. Chartres, among others, had so much complaisance for this absurdity as to submit to the clerical tonsure. Several of the most distinguished characters in the French revolution, as Espremenil, Bailly, Syeyes, Fauchet, Lequinio, Maury, Mounier, were members of this society, but there is no trace of any formal conspiracy at this early period, although in their discourses they made vigorous attacks on the principles of religion and government [y].

1781. Grand-master.

1784. Patronises innovations.

[t] Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 381.
[u] Idem, p. 49. 101. 381. [x] Idem, p. 41.
[y] Idem, p. 49. See also Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme, par Barruel, vol. ii. p. 461.

Aſcends in a balloon.

His character was not in the mean time improving. He made himſelf additionally ridiculous on the ſcore of cowardice, by aſcending in an air-balloon from St. Cloud, with two adventurers of the name of Robert. Such a frolic, in a prince of the blood, was contemptible at beſt, but he was ſo much terrified at the appearance of danger in a new form, that he loſt all preſence of mind, and tore the taffeta to facilitate the deſcent of the machine by the evaſion of the gas. The ſtep was what wiſdom and courage would have dictated, but he was known to poſſeſs ſo little of either, that the Pariſians laughed at him without reſerve, and ſaid he had exhibited his cowardice in three of the four elements.

1785. His avarice

After the death of his father, he injured himſelf more effectually in the minds of the people by an act founded only in inſatiable avarice. Anxious to increaſe an already overgrown fortune, and careleſs of the convenience or opinion of others, he entered into a ſpeculation to ſurround the gardens of the *palais royal* with buildings. Thoſe who occupied the houſes already erected, who had embelliſhed, furniſhed, and paid for them, according to the apparent beauty and pleaſantneſs of the ſituation, found themſelves on the point of being ſhut out from a charming proſpect, and reduced to inhabit a narrow ſtreet. They remonſtrated, the duke was obſtinate. They commenced a lawſuit, and were caſt. They again attended the duke, and pointed out to him how his conduct would excite the ill opinion of the people; "I would not give a ſingle "half-crown for their good opinion," was his anſwer. This act of diſhonourable ſelfiſhneſs was ſucceeded by another, ſo unjuſt and meanly rapacious as to be worthy only of the baſeſt ſharper. He let ſome ſhops and houſes in the *palais royal* on leaſes, for which he exacted premiums from the tenants, and immediately afterwards ſold the premiſes.

and injuſtice.

miſes. A ſale, by the rules of the civil code, then prevalent in France, annulled a leaſe, or other temporary demiſe [z].

When M. de Calonne aſſembled the notables, Orleans, as prince of the blood, was appointed preſident of one committee. His reputation was ſo odious, and his conduct ſo mean, that his committee was diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Comité des Ladres*, or committee of *ſkin-flints*. This aroſe from the parſimony of Orleans, who did not, like the other princes, keep a table at Verſailles, but returned every night to Paris. An anecdote, however, is recorded of his conduct in this aſſembly, which does him great honour. He attended his committee one day, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "Gentlemen, you are about to read a memorial "on certain ſeignorial rights. If you ſanction it, "I ſhall loſe four hundred thouſand livres (17,500*l.*) "a-year. I could not ſubmit to this loſs with a "good grace, and might perhaps make ſome un- "guarded remarks. I think it moſt prudent, and "moſt delicate for me to retire, and give no opi- "nion on the ſubject. I have obtained leave of "abſence for a few days, of which I ſhall imme- "diately avail myſelf." The committee requeſted that he would forbear delivering his opinion, if he thought proper, but that he would continue to preſide; he perſevered, however, in his refuſal, from a dread of conſtraining the voters [a].

1787. Conduct in the firſt notables.

After the diſſolution of this aſſembly, Orleans, as uſual, lived in a ſtate of luxurious ſenſuality, ſurrounded by a court of his own, formed of perſons whoſe ſimilarity of character prevented reflection or reproach. He retained a gloomy hatred againſt the king and queen, on account of his not having obtained the reverſion of the place

Oppoſition to the court.

[z] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 81. n.
[a] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 77. 84.

of high-admiral. His firſt diſplay of ſyſtematic oppoſition was during the unpopular adminiſtration of the archbiſhop of Sens. The *palais royal* had long been the refuge of a herd of malecontents, who took advantage of the ſtate of finances to excite the public diſcontent, by inflammatory and ſeditious writings, and every other means in their power. A regular council, compoſed partly of theſe, partly of ſome diſaffected members of the parliament, anxious for innovation, was held nightly, at which the ſteps to be taken in the debates of the ſubſequent day, were arranged and regulated. The duke's purſe was profuſely opened to pay the writers and orators who clamoured for a convocation of the ſtates-general, and his influence on the parliament was ſuch as to produce that line of conduct which occaſioned their baniſhment to Troyes [b]. This act of ſeverity, however, exceeded the wiſhes of his highneſs, he feared that at ſuch a diſtance from the fermentation of the capital, and the vortex of his influence, they might abate the fervour of their attachment, and diſcontinue their oppoſition. Beſides, he was not deſirous to ſee them inveſted with too great a ſhare of popularity, as their eſtimation was not a primary object, but ſubordinate to the views which he now began to entertain. He therefore induced them to make that conceſſion which produced their recall, and diminiſhed their reputation with the public.

Forms connexion with Mirabeau.

While affairs were in this ſtate, and the public mind extremely agitated, Mirabeau returned to Paris from Berlin, where he had been on a viſit to his friend Mauvillon. Mirabeau had been diſappointed by Calonne of the ſecretaryſhip of the notables, and the archbiſhop of Sens had not encouraged him according to his own eſtimate of his pretenſions. He ſaw that he had nothing to expect from the

[b] See DE BRIENNE.

court,

court, and was therefore rejoiced to ſee an oppoſition party riſing in the kingdom. He conſidered Orleans a fit man to be the oſtenſible head of ſuch a party, as birth, wealth, and independence were in him united. The impreſſion made by his paſt conduct might be effaced by a few popular acts; and his want of talents, his ambition, and his rancour were circumſtances rather favourable than detrimental to the views of Mirabeau. In the exiſting ſtate of the public mind, it was greatly advantageous to Orleans that he had never received money from the treaſury, and his wealth, by whatever means augmented, was contemplated with leſs malignity than that of any nobleman or prince who was attached to the court [c].

Becomes an Illuminatus.

Mirabeau ſaw the great advantages and influence which might be derived from the ſocieties of free-maſons, of which Orleans was grand-maſter, he therefore readily acceded to the overtures made by the duke, and imparted to him the myſteries of illuminiſm. From this period the ſyſtematic perverſion of the maſonic lodges in France began [d].

Oppoſes loan.

In conformity with the plans of his new coadjutors, Orleans diſtinguiſhed himſelf by reſiſting de Brienne's propoſal for a loan of four hundred and twenty millions (18,375,000*l.*). In this inſtance he diſplayed conſummate addreſs, and, for the only time in his life, courage and conſiſtency. The archbiſhop, apprehenſive that his project would meet with ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſounded the members of the parliament. All the friends of Orleans promiſed their hearty co-operation, while, in fact, they meditated the moſt determined oppoſition. The miniſter, deceived by theſe promiſes, prevailed on the king to hold a royal ſitting, for the purpoſe of regiſtering that and other decrees. The oppo-

[c] Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 54.
[d] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 385.

fition reſolved to hinder the regiſtration, and, as the conſtitution of a royal ſitting permitted it, to cauſe the queſtion to be argued and put to the vote.

7th Nov. The ſitting was opened; Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, declared his majeſty's pleaſure to be, that every member of the parliament ſhould deliver his ſentiments without reſerve. A debate of nine hours took place, in which ſeveral agents of the duke ſpoke in a ſtrain neither agreeable to the king or relevant to the queſtion. Tired at length of a debate ſo protracted and unuſual, his majeſty roſe, and commanded the regiſtration of the decrees. The members, not prepared for an oppoſition to the king's expreſs orders, ſat ſilent, the clerk was preparing to fulfil his office, when Orleans aroſe, and caſting a glance of expreſſive indignation at his faction, aſked the king in an abrupt and haughty tone, if the preſent was a royal ſitting or a bed of juſtice? "A royal ſitting," anſwered the king. "Then, Sire," replied the duke, "permit me to "lay at your feet, and to depoſit in the boſom of "this court, my proteſt, that I conſider the re-"quired regiſtration illegal, and that it will be "neceſſary, for the exculpation of thoſe who may "otherwiſe be thought to have ſanctioned it, to "declare, that it is done by the expreſs command "of the king." Had the firmneſs diſplayed on this occaſion formed part of the general character of Orleans, he might have aſpired to the moſt exalted ſituations in conſequence of the ſubſequent diſturbances, and even have changed the ſucceſſion of the crown, but avarice rather than ambition influenced his conduct even in this inſtance. He held a million of a former loan, which would have been materially depreciated by the ſanction of that which was then in agitation.

The king anſwered the duke by ſaying, in a laconic manner, that he had directed nothing but what was perfectly regular, and having perſiſted in his

his commands, retired with his miniſters. As ſoon as he was in his carriage, Orleans returned to the hall, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, his brother-in-law. His faction repreſented the late tranſaction as illegal in the moſt flagrant degree, and they finally prevailed on the parliament to proteſt againſt any participation which might be imputed to them in the regiſtration of the king's edict, a ſtep which was ſure to render the propoſed loan illuſory.

The king retiring to his palace, complained, not of the duke's proteſt, which in itſelf was ſufficiently extraordinary, but of the harſh, objurgatory tone in which it was delivered, and of the inſolent conduct of ſeveral members of the parliament, and was finally prevailed on to baniſh Orleans to his eſtate at Villiers-Cotteret; and two of his faction, Sabbatier and Freteau de St. Juſt, to different parts of the country [e]. This meaſure was far from politic: advantage was taken of the notorious bad character of the parties puniſhed; but when any individual can aſſume the appearance of a victim in the popular cauſe, compaſſion and admiration ſpeedily follow; the public grants an amneſty of all paſt errors, and the danger of ſpeaking againſt the idol of the day procures general forbearance. Not only the parliament of Paris, but thoſe of Thoulouſe and ſeveral other provinces, took up the cauſe of the exiled members, and in numerous addreſſes ſolicited their recall, mixing with their petitions remonſtrances in the true revolutionary ſtyle; but without effect.

Orleans baniſhed.

Petitions in his favour.

This baniſhment, inflaming the vindictive temper of Orleans, gave an energy to his conduct, which in him could only be derived from revenge and hatred. It gave him, for the firſt time, a taſte of

His rage,

[e] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 28. Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 48. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 66.

the intoxicating draught of popularity, and a knowledge of the advantages he might obtain from having a ſtrong hold on the public mind. To ſecure this popularity, he bought to his intereſt ſeveral journaliſts of Paris, who joining their voice to that of the parliaments, attached an importance to his name of which it had never before been thought ſuſceptible [f]. His deſire of vengeance ſtimulated him to adopt every meaſure which could be deviſed to embarraſs the monarch, and excite diſcontent. Amongſt theſe was a monopoly of grain, by which an artificial famine might at any time be produced; and by affording or denying to the public the means of ſubſiſtence, a violent clamour produced, and tranquillity as ſuddenly reſtored [g]. To effect this, he laid his plans, and appointed his private agents, while at Villiers-Cotteret; but conſcious that Paris muſt be the centre of action, and yet unwilling to compromiſe his hatred to the king by condeſcending to perſonal ſolicitation, he employed his ducheſs, whoſe excellent character made her as much beloved and reſpected at court as he was deſpiſed, to requeſt his recall, in which ſhe eaſily ſucceeded.

and projects.

His recall.

1788. His reſentment,

On his return to the *palais royal*, Orleans proſecuted his ſchemes of vengeance and aggrandizement with greater earneſtneſs than ever. In addition to

[f] See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 71.

[g] This attempt has been doubted by many; and by ſome critics of Montjoye's work treated with unmerited ridicule. The argument drawn from the impoſſibility is extremely futile, conſidering the vaſt fortune and unlimited credit poſſeſſed by Orleans; and that the tranſaction ſhould in juſtice be viewed as a profitable ſpeculation, rather than a diſadvantageous expenditure. I think it impoſſible, on a candid conſideration of the events of the 5th and 6th of October 1789. and the immediate facility of ſupply which took place when Orleans was driven from France by la Fayette, to doubt the reality of this part of the duke's conſpiracy. It may receive ſome additional confirmation from its being poſitively charged in a report made by St. Juſt, April 15th, 1794, when intereſt had totally ceaſed to influence the queſtion, when the means of knowledge remained among the accomplices, but Orleans was executed and forgotten.

the

the journaliſts in his daily pay, he eſtabliſhed a regular committee to diſcuſs his affairs, ſuggeſt plans, and direct his operations. His partiſans formed a club, called *les enragés*, which was of great importance in extending his influence, and one of the roots of the Jacobin ſociety [h]. From theſe meetings and clubs moſt of the parties who afterwards directed the affairs, and divided the public mind in France, derived their origin. The money and patronage of Orleans drew them from poverty and obſcurity, and enabled them to acquire that popularity which they afterwards turned againſt his intereſt, his life, and his fame [i]. It is not eaſy to define the exact views of the conſpirators, or the preciſe tendency of the hopes of Orleans: it is probable, that though oſtenſibly the head, he was in fact the mere inſtrument of a cabal [k]. His partiſans would, to gratify their own ambition, have elevated him to any dignity, or they would have conſpired with equal alacrity againſt him. They flattered his vanity and ambition alternately with hopes of poſſeſſing the throne or regency, according to the fluctuations of public affairs [l]. Avarice might have reſtrained him, had ambition alone directed his purſuit, but revenge gave a ſtronger impulſe; and that paſſion, his dependents, long practiſed

Efforts,

and views,

[h] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 80. See alſo Notice ſur la Vie de Syeyes.

[i] The exiſtence of an Orleans' faction from the very beginning of the revolution, can hardly now require proof. However, for the perfect ſatisfaction of the reader's mind, he is referred to the following works: Bertrand's Memoirs; Bouillé's Memoirs; Garat's Memoirs; Life of Dumouriez; Moore's View; Hiſtoire Secrete, par Pagès; Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution; Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, and Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, paſſim; Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 15.; Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulines, p. 8.; Louvet's Narrative, p. 9. et paſſim; Roland's Appeal, vol i. p. 45. 59.; Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 80. et paſſim. I could cite many more authorities, but think it unneceſſary; more eſpecially as I frequently adduce their teſtimonies in ſupport of the various facts contained in the ſubſequent part of the narrative.

[k] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 235.

[l] See Robiſon's Proofs, p. 391. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 375.

tiſed in the arts of libelling and invective, and prepared to give effect to every deſperate ſuggeſtion, were beſt able to gratify.

Diſcontent of the army.

Meantime the imprudence of the miniſter opened to him another ſource of ſeduction which could not fail to produce the moſt deſtructive effects. The *cours plenieres* were about to be eſtabliſhed; and as a ſerious oppoſition was expected in all parts of the country, ſoldiers were to be ſent into all the cities and towns in France, to enforce obedience to the will of the ſovereign when promulgated. This was but an ungracious taſk at a time when the government of France was ſo enfeebled, that an oppoſition to its meaſures was decidedly and triumphantly diſplayed, and carried with it the good wiſhes of a majority of the nation. The officers, many of whom, as well as the privates, had been admitted to the clubs of corrupted maſonry, were diſſatisfied with their duty, and a few inſinuations from the duke and his agents ſo completed their diſguſt, that they commanded with reluctance, and a relaxation of diſcipline and inattention to the will of the officers was introduced among the ſoldiery, which, reinforced by bribes and other allurements, in the end completely diſorganized them, and ſubverted the government.

13th July. Hurricane.

The hurricane which occurred in this year, by increaſing the diſtreſſes of the country, and putting the ſubſiſtence of the poor more immediately in the power of Orleans, facilitated all his ſchemes, and rendered their execution certain. Hail-ſtones of prodigious ſize deſolated the country, and deſtroyed the hopes of the farmer. The decree which permitted the exportation of grain, one of the greateſt follies of De Brienne's adminiſtration, gave credibility to the report induſtriouſly circulated by the duke's partiſans, that the court had cauſed the greater part of the ſcanty harveſt to be exported to England, to ſtarve the people of France.

At

At length the unpopular miniſter, tired of a ſituation for which he had demonſtrated himſelf every way unfit, retired, and Necker, the only man ſuppoſed capable of effecting the ſalvation of France, aſſumed his place. Necker, to perpetuate his popularity, patronized with all his influence the convocation of the ſtates-general. The expectation of this grand event, acting upon the ſanguine temper of Frenchmen, inflamed by the numerous ſeditious pamphlets which daily iſſued from the preſs, produced repeated acts of riot and diſorder. The parliament of Paris, ſenſible, from the ſtyle in which the new ſyſtems, every where profuſely diſtributed, were written, that their importance, and even their exiſtence, were as much endangered by the propoſed convocation as by the eſtabliſhment of the *cour pleniere*, exerted their declining influence to maintain order, check the riotous diſpoſition of the mob, and puniſh the more atrocious of the libellers; but their exertions came too late. The inclination to tumult had got too firm poſſeſſion of the populace; the numerous and well-paid band of libellers had too much at ſtake to deſiſt from their practices, and the parliament only expoſed itſelf to contempt and hatred. Necker's adminiſtration.

Orleans ſaw with pleaſure the tide of public favour flowing from the parliament; he wanted engines of greater power to effect his plans, and therefore, during the convocation of the *notables* which preceded the aſſembling of the ſtates-general, ſeldom attended their meetings, and never preſided [m]. He courted the *tiers etat* by all the means of blandiſhment which his wealth and influence afforded; nor did he omit, while extending his own popularity, proportionately to vilify the reigning branch of the family. His libellers were indefatigable and audacious in a degree without example: writings and Notables. Seditious meetings at the palais royal.

[m] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 46. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 110.

ſpeeches

ſpeeches were induſtriouſly circulated, in which the king and queen were accuſed of occaſioning all the miſeries of the people. Theſe events had a conſiderable effect in relaxing the vigilance and diſcipline of the police. Coffee-houſes were open day and night in the precincts of the *palais royal*, where ſeditious perſons were conſtantly haranguing againſt the government, and, mounted on tables and ſtools, attracted the attention of the mob in the gardens to their abuſe of the royal family, from which, however, the duke of Orleans was conſtantly excepted, as a worthy deſcendant of Henry IV. Many of theſe coffee-houſe and field orators, who before had neither bread or ſhoes, were now well clothed and ſupplied with money, without the exerciſe of any other induſtry than their trade of defamation, without any other reſource than the duke's coffers. Nor was his encouragement of theſe incendiaries confined to ſecret benefit or tacit approbation. It was become a practice, from the affected way in which the virtues of Henry IV. were held out to admiration, particularly from the pointed alluſion conſtantly made to his benevolent wiſh that every peaſant in the kingdom ſhould have his fowl in the pot every Sunday, for large groups of the neceſſitous and idle to aſſemble every day near his ſtatue on the *pont-neuf*, and force all who paſſed by to do homage to the figure. This fact was public, and could not be unknown to the duke; he took advantage of it to raiſe his popularity: he went in his carriage to the *pont-neuf*, and performed his obeiſance to the ſtatue, accompanying it with the moſt encouraging demeanour and condeſcending familiarity to thoſe who exacted the ceremony.

Hard winter. In this memorable year every thing conſpired to promote the plans of Orleans. The preſumption and weakneſs of the archbiſhop of Sens, the imprudent meaſures of his adminiſtration, and the effects of the hurricane, were ſources of great embarraſſment and perplexity,

perplexity. The winter was one of the moſt ſevere ever known in France; the poor were totally unable to procure ſubſiſtence; the price of bread would have been raiſed in a very diſtreſſing manner in conſequence of the hurricane alone, but the additional ſcarcity produced by monopoly filled the duke's coffers with ready money, threw the poor upon the benevolence of the opulent, and enabled him to ſecure great popularity. The nobility in general exerted themſelves to relieve the diſtreſſes of the needy; ſome had fires conſtantly in their halls, where meat was dreſſed, and bread diſtributed. Many prelates and nobles incurred debts to a very great amount by their acts of charity. Orleans too diſtributed his alms, but the papers being all in his pay, magnified his donations to an extent infinitely exceeding the truth, and though he never gave in proportion to his fortune, the conſtant recurrence of their applauſes made it appear that he was almoſt the only benefactor of the poor[n]. He adopted a meaſure exceedingly oſtentatious, to increaſe this opinion: he did not make his diſtributions in the manner followed by others, but hired ſome coach-houſes in the ſuburbs of St. Germain, where fires were kept all day, and victuals delivered in his name. He promiſed in the papers large pecuniary contributions, but his performance of that promiſe was limited to a paltry gift of three thouſand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*). Theſe acts, however, increaſed the predilection of the public. The people, ever ready to aſſign ſome oſtenſible cauſe for their miſeries, attributed the ſcarcity to the court, and contraſting that idea with the oſtentatious munificence of the duke, expreſſed a reliance on him as their only friend and only hope.

Diſtreſs of the poor.

Donations of Orleans.

The inefficient voice of public opinion was not all he aimed to acquire, more was neceſſary to the

1789. Efforts in forming a party.

[n] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 96.

execution

execution of his plans: he was desirous to obtain a band of ruffians, who should be ready at all times to rise in open insurrection and execute his schemes. Such a band would want an ostensible leader, inferior to himself in dignity, yet capable of giving weight to his commands, but not of importance enough to be dangerous at any future period. To gain such a person, he first tried Reveillon *, and afterwards

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* REVEILLON was a paper-manufacturer in the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine. On the 27th of April 1789, a mob was collected, who got a figure representing Reveillon, and drew it about the street in a most tumultuous manner, asserting, that he intended to reduce the wages of his journeymen; and that he had asserted that wheat bread was too good for the populace, but potatoe flour would do well enough. They proceeded to the *Grève*, where they hung this effigy, and afterwards burnt it. The military made an attempt to disperse the mob, but failed. Reveillon, who was an elector of the *tiers etat*, applied to the *lieutenant de police*, and the colonel of the *gardes Françoises*, for a military force to protect his house, which they readily granted: they sent so many soldiers as occupied all the apartments of his mansion, and filled the avenues, before which barriers were placed to prevent the mob from breaking in. The populace assembled the next day in vast numbers, consisting of men and women; they repaired to Reveillon's house, and attempted to force the passage, loading the soldiers all the while with the most opprobrious language, and pelting them with large stones and bricks. The military maintained their station a long time, but at length the mob succeeded in getting past the barriers, and into the house, which they immediately pillaged, destroyed the furniture, burnt the books, and rushing into the cellars, drank every kind of wine and spirit there. The military were at length reinforced by a considerable body of Swiss guards, with two pieces of artillery; they required the populace to disperse, which they refused; the officers then ordered the soldiers to fire over their heads, which instead of intimidating, increased their insolence. They charged the military with such arms as they had; old swords, muskets, bludgeons shod with iron, staves with knife-blades, sword-blades, or spikes at the end, and a volley of stones. The officers, finding their moderation produced no good effect, ordered the men to fire, and take possession of the house. Their passage was disputed, foot by foot, by the people within, which occasioned a very great carnage; two hundred of the mob are supposed to have been killed, and many hundreds wounded. A few soldiers were killed, and about four-score wounded. At length they succeeded in clearing the house, which was almost demolished, and in dispersing the rioters. The scene which presented itself in the cellars was shocking beyond description: many had drunk themselves dead with brandy and wines, and many were poisoned by having mistaken casks of vitriolic composition, used by Reveillon in his business, for common spirits, and drunk them with the same avidity. The faction who had excited this riot, endeavoured, according to their custom, to throw the blame on the court; and their account

afterwards Henriot[P], but they being both independent in their circumſtances, reſiſted his advances,

count has been copied by many hiſtorians. They ſay that the court did it to be juſtified in drawing ſo great a body of troops round the capital as would overawe the proceedings of the ſtates-general. This account is improbable for the following reaſons: 1ſt, The popular Necker was miniſter at the time; and the ſums known and acknowledged by the democratic writers to have been diſtributed to influence the mob, could not have iſſued from the beggared treaſury without his knowledge. 2d, The court never knew the art of employing a mob on any occaſion; they had a horror of a meeting of the populace, and had no notion at that time of giving any detailed reaſons for the manner in which his majeſty choſe to employ his troops; nor could they, after the burning in effigy of the ex-miniſter De Brienne; the daily meetings at the *palais royal*, the known relaxation of the police, and tumultuous ſtate of the city in general, need a ſpecific act to juſtify ſuch a meaſure. 3d, Three perſons were taken up as ring-leaders, two of whom were executed; the third, a woman, pleaded her belly; none of theſe applied for a pardon, or made any diſcovery tending to criminate any perſon belonging to the court. 4th, In all the ſubſequent diſtreſſes and diſgraces of the royal family and their adherents, when the moſt frivolous reports were collected with the moſt culpable aſſiduity, no perſon was found hardy enough, though ſure of eaſy credit and ample reward, to involve any of them in ſuch an accuſation, otherwiſe than had been done by venal orators, and in lying journals. An attempt was made to impute this tranſaction to the comte d'Artois, through an abbé le Roy, a reputed dependent of his, againſt whom Reveillon had a ſuit depending. This abbé, both before and after the tranſaction, was ſo involved in poverty and diſtreſs, that though, after the improbable report was circulated of his being the promoter of the riot, and diſtributor of the money, he preſented himſelf to await the ſtroke of juſtice, his former proſecutor declined all proceeding againſt him, and even waved that he had already engaged in, on account of his abject miſery, which extended even to a want of the moſt common neceſſaries; a ſituation hardly to be fallen into ſo ſoon by a man employed to ſubſidize the rabble of one of the ſuburbs of Paris. It could not be the ſpontaneous movement of the populace, becauſe the fact of money having been diſtributed, is inconteſtibly proved by the averments of writers on both the royaliſt and republican ſides; but there is no room to doubt that it was a premeditated effort of the Orleans' party to intimidate the court, to give audacity to their faction in the ſtates-general, and, by the ruin of Reveillon and Henriot, who had refuſed to combine with them, to increaſe the influence of their vile aſſociate, Santerre. Reveillon was, for a ſhort time, a voluntary priſoner in the Baſtille, conſidering that as the only ſhelter from the malice and inveteracy of his purſuers.

P HENRIOT was a ſaltpetre-manufacturer in the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine. His houſe was plundered and deſtroyed at the ſame time with Reveillon's. He had the prudence not to expoſe himſelf to further vengeance by making any complaint; and his loſs being inconſiderable in compariſon with that of Reveillon, has been ſeldom mentioned in hiſtory.

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and were instantly devoted to destruction. Not so Santerre, a brewer of the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine, where the other two also resided. He, distressed in his finances, proud of notice, and anxious to distinguish himself, accepted the commission, and trained the rabble of the suburbs to an implicit obedience. He was immediately received into the warm patronage and intimacy of his employer, his debts were paid, and he became a prosperous and rich man[q]. A committee, amongst whom were Mirabeau, Sillery, Syeyes, Laclos, and Latouche Treville, were indefatigable in promoting the views of Orleans both by instructions and writings. Those which related to the measures to be adopted on the convocation of the states-general, contained many plans which have since been executed, and were printed and distributed with great profusion. The instructions to the duke's *bailliages* recommended a particular and marked attention to the *tiers etat*[r]. He had besides, a disciplined and vociferous band of coffee-house and garden orators, amongst whom were Grammont, Camille Desmoulins, St. Huruge, and Fournier. They were constantly and indefatigably laborious in their vocation of exalting him, and degrading the rest of the royal family. He had likewise succeeded in seducing many principal officers of the army in the provinces, and amongst those reckoned most in his interests were generals Dumouriez, Valence, and Biron. He had been so successful in his exertions, that several months before the meeting of the states-general, the corruption of the army might be deemed complete[s]. He had even arranged a private mode of conveying instructions to his band of suburb mutineers without oral or written communication, by means of the fountains at the *palais royal*. To

q Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 152.
r See Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 108.
s Wilde's Address, p. 491. See also Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 130.

augment

augment ſtill more his popularity, he performed ſeveral acts of ſelf-denial, and made ſome ſacrifices at that time peculiar. He releaſed his ſeignorial rights in many of his *bailliages*, and inveſted his tenants with the liberty of purſuing game on their own lands; he founded hoſpitals and ſchools in various parts of the country, and his friends the journaliſts trumpeted forth his liberality with exaggerations. Amongſt others he gave at Orleans, in honour of *Jeanne d'Arc*, the patroneſs of the city, the ſum of fifteen hundred livres (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*), to be delivered annually to ſome young maiden by the *curé*, as a marriage portion, in reward of virtuous conduct and exemplary modeſty [r].

His great popularity.

Theſe acts, many of which were really brilliant and meritorious in themſelves, though performed from ſiniſter motives, raiſed the popular predilection to a pitch of unexampled enthuſiaſm. When he appeared in the theatre, dramatic repreſentations were ſuſpended by the clamorous plaudits of the audience; when he viſited the public walks, the throng about him was prodigious, every tongue ejaculated applauſes and bleſſings on him, many perſons incurred the danger of their lives to obtain the gratification of touching him or kiſſing his garments. Pity that ſuch a diſplay of public ſenſibility ſhould have been the meed of intrigue and diſſimulation; pity that it could not ſoften a vicious heart, or bend an inflexible diſpoſition to a ſincere aſſumption of thoſe virtues by which alone it can be truly merited.

May. Meeting of the ſtates-general.

The eſtates poſſeſſed by Orleans, ſcattered in ſo many provinces, gave him great means of influence in the return of members to the ſtates-general, and this was much increaſed by the exertions of the lodges of maſons [s]. He was returned by two

[r] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1790.
[s] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 100.

places, but preferred ſitting for Villiers Cotteret, meaning perhaps to perpetuate the memory, and excite reſentment for his baniſhment. His influence with the electors of Paris was irreſiſtible, and procured a return of perſons entirely devoted to him in the three orders. At the meeting of the ſtates-general, he obſerved an oſtentatious humility. He did not walk in proceſſion with the princes of the blood, but with the deputies from the *bailliage* for which he was returned [x]. At the entry of the hall of aſſembly, one of his brother deputies, a *curé*, offered him the *pas*, which he declined, alleging that the precedence of clergy to nobility ought to be invariably maintained. The mob behaved with marked diſrepect to other princes of the blood, but received him with their wonted acclamations, and the aſſembly itſelf hailed him with applauſe. The king expreſſed ſurpriſe when he ſaw the duke ſitting at a diſtance from all the princes, and ſpoke to Orleans on the ſubject, who anſwered, that he could rank with his couſins any day, but on that day he thought it his duty to ſit with his co-deputies, and reſumed his ſeat.

Diſpleaſure of the royal family.

This marked ſeceſſion from the court could not but excite indignation; the whole royal family expreſſed their diſapprobation of his conduct, and the count d'Artois cauſed the Swiſs guard which uſed to mount at the *palais royal* to be taken away. This meaſure, though it did not injure him in the minds of the people, inflamed his deſire of vengeance. His reſentment had alſo, before the meeting of the ſtates-general, received additional force from a new motive. A marriage had been in agitation between his daughter and the eldeſt ſon of the comte d'Artois. Had this marriage taken place, it might have prevented moſt of the tragical events of the revolution. The king had but two

Project of marriage.

[x] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 133.

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ſons, the eldeſt was dying, and the other was not conſidered a healthy child. The comte de Provence (now Louis XVIII.) had no children. The comte d'Artois and his ſons ſtood next in ſucceſſion, and whoever married his eldeſt ſon, was then ſuppoſed to have a fair proſpect of becoming queen. It is credibly reported the queen broke off this match, with the intention of giving the princeſs royal to the ſon of the comte d'Artois, and thus enſuring a crown to her daughter by marriage, which the Salic law forbad her to claim by inheritance [y]. Fruſtrated.

In the *tiers etat*, the adherents of Orleans were the moſt violent in oppoſition to the court, and moſt clamorous for the union of the three orders, a meaſure which was known to be highly agreeable to his views. Two days after the celebrated ſcene in the tennis-court, Orleans dined with duke de Liancourt, he wore the ſmile of ſatisfaction while topics were under diſcuſſion which were extremely embarraſſing to the court, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a flippancy of converſation, and a continual titter [z]. Seeing, by the junction of the clergy with the *tiers etat*, that the nobility muſt finally be defeated, he made haſte to acquire the earlieſt tribute of popularity, by preſenting himſelf at the head of forty-ſeven other ſeceders from their own claſs, to join with the commons [a]. To prepare the way for this junction, a mob had been hired by the duke and his partiſans, who ran about the ſtreets of Verſailles, threatening, inſulting, breaking the windows, and perſonally aſſaulting thoſe of the clergy and nobility who were ſtrenuous for preſerving the diſtinction of orders [b]. At length, the nobility, ſenſible of the impoſſibility of effectual reſiſtance, and yielding to the expreſs commands of the king, Conduct in the aſſembly. 22d June. 25th. 27th.

[y] Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 78. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 323. n.
[z] Arthur Young's Travels, p. 117.
[a] Hiſtories.
[b] Arthur Young's Travels, p. 122.

reluctantly joined the inferior order. Orleans conſidered this as a real triumph. Paris was illuminated, and fire-works diſtributed in every ſtreet. Shops were opened where as many ſquibs and ſerpents were ſold for twelve ſous (ſixpence), as would at other times have coſt five livres (4ſ. 4½d.) and there was no doubt that the duke paid the difference [c]. The clergy before their junction had propoſed the formation of a committee to inquire into the cauſes of the ſcarcity of corn, and ſuggeſt meaſures for the relief of the poor. This propoſal, had it been faithfully executed, muſt have developed the intrigues of Orleans, but when it was renewed, he had the addreſs to get a committee appointed, chiefly compoſed of individuals devoted to his intereſts, among whom there was not a ſingle member of the clergy. Orleans was elected preſident, an office which he declined, but his having been, at ſo early a period, elected to it, demonſtrates his great influence.

3d July.

Exertions in Paris.

Meanwhile the duke's agents in Paris were no leſs ſtrenuous in their exertions than his friends in the aſſembly. Libels more atrocious than ever were iſſued againſt all the royal family. The orators in the gardens and coffee-houſes were conſtantly buſy, and even devoted to deſtruction certain perſons by name as the enemies of the people. Amongſt theſe were the count d'Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and ſeveral others; the liſt increaſed daily, and was known to all Paris [d]. A regular plan of inſurrection was afterwards digeſted, the object of which was to obtain for Orleans, the appointment of lieutenant-general, or regent of the kingdom, and to ſecure him in that ſituation by the deſtruction of all who were ſuppoſed adver-

[c] Arthur Young's Travels, p. 125.

[d] Memoires de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, p. 29. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 283. See alſo Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 128.

ſarious

ſarious to him. To accelerate the criſis, the ſcarcity of bread became daily more diſtreſſing, and the mob were exerciſed, from time to time, in predatory and riotous exploits.

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To repel theſe efforts, the king was induced to order a conſiderable body of troops under marſhal Broglio to aſſemble round the capital, but the precaution was adopted too late; Orleans had already been ſucceſsful in ſeducing moſt of the ſoldiery from their allegiance. His party encouraged them in acts of inſubordination, reſcued them when impriſoned, and even made a party in their behalf in the national aſſembly [e]. The *gardes Françoiſes* were laſt ſeduced; they were aſſailed by every engine in the power of the duke and his agents. One of their officers, Validi, was baſe enough to teach them the duty of non-ſubmiſſion. In fine, money, treats, favours, the careſſes of the proſtitutes who lived in the *palais royal*, aided by the blandiſhments of women more elevated in life, and the harangues they daily heard, ſhook their loyality ſo much, that they added to their oath, to defend the king againſt all his enemies, another, that they would not oppoſe Frenchmen [f]. This infection extended all over the provinces, and reached even to ſome of the *gardes du corps*. Every thing announced the immediate approach of ſome dreadful exploſion; the plans of the conſpirators were arranged, the troops under Broglio partook of the general diſaffection, the coffee-houſe orators had made up their liſt of victims, and the day of their execution was fixed for the 13th of July; accident produced the exploſion two days earlier with leſs effect, and an omiſſion of many parts of the ſcheme.

Efforts to ſeduce the army.

Previouſly, however, to its arrival, to make ſure of the military, a grand public dinner was given,

10th. The ſoldiers feaſted.

[e] See Moore's View, vol. i. p. 286.

[f] See Pagès, vol. i. p. 126. 128. Lettre d'un François à un Anglois ſur les Moyens qui ont Opéré la Revolution, p. 3.

The ſoldiers had been ordered to keep in their barracks, but to a man diſobeyed the command. They were feaſted till night, when ſerjeants were ſent to require their return. The ſerjeants, unable to reſiſt the diſplay of feſtivity, and the intreaties of their comrades and the courteſans, ſat down with them, and encouraged the defection from diſcipline. Hand-bills were thruſt under the doors of the *Bourgeoiſie*, inviting them to aſſemble and arm themſelves, and not truſt their defence to mercenaries. The duke of Orleans was named in the gardens of the *palais royal*, as a proper perſon to be exalted to the regency of the kingdom, and the whole city diſplayed a general and ſurpriſing fermentation.

11th. Alarm on Necker's diſmiſſion.

This agitation was greatly increaſed by a report induſtriouſly ſpread, that there would not be bread in Paris for another day's conſumption, that Necker was diſmiſſed and baniſhed, the life of Orleans in danger, the members of the aſſembly doomed to death, and the capital devoted to pillage and deſtruction. An immenſe mob aroſe, but, at firſt, deſtitute of a leader, contented themſelves with ſome ſlight outrages.

12th. Outrages of the mob.

The next day an innumerable party from the *palais royal*, inſtigated by Camille Deſmoulins and the other orators, collecting ſtrength in their paſſage through the city, went with lighted torches, to ſet fire to the barriers. The only oppoſition they found was from the prince de Lambeſe, who, at the head of a german regiment, exerted himſelf to prevent the incendiaries from accompliſhing their purpoſes, and for a time ſucceeded. The people, though joined by the *gardes Françoiſes*, for want of a leader, attempted nothing deciſive. They wandered here and there in a ſtate of agitation and irreſolution. Where then was Orleans? Had he poſſeſſed that courage and preſence of mind, without which no man ſhould preſume to act a conſpicuous part in conſpiracies, that day might have placed

placed the crown on his brow. His feeble mind was incapable of ſuſtaining the tumult excited by his own intrigues; frightened at the exploſion of his own artillery, he remained hovering between Verſailles and Paris, terror-ſtruck, and incapable of encouraging or heading in perſon an inſurrection which promiſed him all he deſired, and which could not be effectually oppoſed; yet he could not diſcover that his want of courage muſt, in every important criſis, prevent his ſucceſs.

Tired at length of waiting in vain for a living chief, the populace were ſupplied with the ſemblance of thoſe they deſired. Two wax buſts of Orleans and Necker were procured, and carried about the ſtreets. One, Necker, being in the hands of a perſon of genteel appearance, the other of a hawker named Pepin, the mob all the while vociferating, "Hats off! Necker for ever! Orleans for ever!" In the courſe of their progreſs, a perſon handſomely dreſſed, with a ſword by his ſide, took the buſt of the duke from Pepin, and reſpectfully inſiſted on carrying it himſelf. The buſts were then covered with crape, and paraded round the *Boulevard*, the *palais royal*, to the Place de Louis XV. and to the Tuilleries. Here the proceſſion was met by a part of the regiment of the prince de Lambeſe. An inconcievable tumult enſued; the young gentleman who carried the buſt of the duke, threw it down and made his eſcape; the hawker, who was ſtill at his ſide, immediately took it up, the riot increaſed, ſtones were thrown at the ſoldiery, and the mob, confident in the aſſiſtance of the *gardes Françoiſes*, ſeemed reſolved to commence an attack. The prince de Lambeſe's troop were commanded to advance, and deſtroy the buſts, which appeared the ſtandards of inſurrection. In executing theſe orders, they wounded Pepin dangerouſly. Some ſhots were fired by both parties, and the German regiment finally obliged to retreat. The hawker

was conveyed to the garden of the *palais royal*, where his wounds had the greateſt effect in exciting and confirming ſeditious emotions. *To arms! to arms!* reſounded in every quarter. An attempt was made to put a firelock in the hands of Pepin that he might be employed in recruiting, but being incapable of exertion, he was ſent to the hoſpital. On this occaſion a cockade was propoſed for the inſurgents, green was the colour firſt fixed on, but it was afterwards changed to the colours now called national, namely, blue, red, and white, the two former are the colours of Orleans, the latter was added after their adoption [g]. The whole of this dreadful day and night was deformed by terror and confuſion. The *gardes Françoiſes* renounced the government of their officers, and ſet fire to their barracks. The coffee houſes at the *palais royal* were full of agitators during the whole time, now iſſuing ſanguinary injunctions, now inflammatory and ſlanderous proclamations. The relaxation of the police permitted unbridled plunder. The banditti of the metropolis committed their depredations without reſtraint or reſpect [h].

The faction in the duke's intereſt paſſed this eventful night in extreme agitation. The fears and alarms which haunt the boſoms of conſpirators, how well ſo ever their plans may have been arranged, permitted no repoſe. They diſcuſſed a thouſand ſchemes, they revolved a thouſand projects depending on the reſult of the inſurrection. Incapable of eſtimating the extreme baſeneſs of the duke's character, they ſent him to Paris, that he might ſhew himſelf to the inſurgents, in hopes that his appearance would produce a favourable and deciſive exertion. He did ſhew himſelf indeed, but not in a

[g] See DESMOULINS. Alſo Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 145.

[h] Among other inſtances of depredation may be given the robbery of the charitable houſe of St. Lazare.

manner

manner calculated to inſpire confidence or encourage zeal; he alighted in the court-yard of the *palais royal*, and then, terrified at the immenſe multitude, inſtead of aſſuming the hero, and ſhewing himſelf qualified for the part he wiſhed to act, he ſpoke a few incoherent words to thoſe who accoſted him, then ſlunk into a private apartment, and kept himſelf ſtudiouſly concealed, till his departure for Verſailles in the morning.

13th. Formation of the national guard.

On the enſuing day the national guard was formed, by inrolments in the various diſtricts of the city. The electors took poſſeſſion of the *Hotel-de-ville*, ſuſpended all the regular authorities, ſent orders to individuals to deliver up their fire-arms and powder, uſurped the receipt of tolls and the poſſeſſion of public monies; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, were generally obeyed. They ſoon inrolled a force of ſixty thouſand men, but they were without arms and without a leader. It was expected and wiſhed that Orleans would offer himſelf. Such an act, putting him at once at the head of ſo large a body, with the means of increaſing it, would have enabled him to ſeize the lieutenancy of the kingdom, or even the ſceptre; but the exertion was above him. After much delay, to afford time for the tardy duke to declare his reſolution, the command was given to an obſcure individual, the count de la Salle d'Offemond. Arms were ſtill wanting, notwithſtanding the acceſſion of the *gardes Françoiſes*, with all their ammunition, and ſome pieces of cannon, and the quantity ſupplied by ranſacking the houſes of individuals and the ſhops of the armourers. At length it was ſuggeſted to the people, that they might be obtained at the *Hotel des invalides*. There, after ſome faint reſiſtance, they found thirty thouſand muſkets and twenty pieces of cannon. They were equally ſucceſsful at the *garde meuble de la couronne*.

Thus

14th. Capture of the Baſtille

Thus provided with arms, and fluſhed with ſucceſs, the inſurgents proceeded to attack the Baſtille, an attempt ſo deſperate, that there is reaſon to believe that treachery and neglect combined to give it ſucceſs. Suppoſing, however, the favourable iſſue of the enterpriſe to have been due to valour alone, the Pariſians are diſgraced by their ſubſequent barbarities, by the inhuman murder of de Launay the governor, together with ſeveral of his officers and privates, and of M. Fleſſelles the *prevôt des marchands*.

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Cowardice of Orleans.

While theſe things were tranſacting at Paris, while the armed force, increaſed by the liberated priſoners from the *Force* and *Chatelet*, and diſciplined and aſſiſted by the *gardes Françoiſes*, bore down all reſiſtance, Orleans at Verſailles was acting a part worthy of his extreme puſillanimity. Mirabeau and others of his party repreſented to him, that now was the time to take advantage of his own popularity and the diſtreſs of the court, to preſs on the king the meaſure of appointing him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and conſtituting him mediator between himſelf and the people. The council was about to ſit, and a ſpeech was prepared for the duke, which he had ſtudied and went prepared to deliver. When he arrived at the palace, his native littleneſs of mind prevailed. The ſcene of confuſion before him occaſioned by news at which he ought to have rejoiced, the ladies of the court running diſtractedly about imploring ſuccour from every one they met, the royal family in tears, the general-officers in deſpair, and the miniſters confounded; theſe circumſtances, which tended to promote the ſucceſs of his attempt, did not inſpire him with courage, but communicated contagious impreſſions. Inſtead of entering boldly with the members of the council, he loitered in the antichamber, hoping that he ſhould feel leſs timid when the

the buſineſs of the ſitting was commenced, and the members perſonally engaged. He ſtrove to rally his ſpirits in vain, he could not aſſume ſufficient reſolution to enter the room, but waited in the anti-chamber till the riſing of the council. At length the door opened, and the members retired. Compelled to do ſomething, he accoſted the king ſtammering, and ſaid, "Sire, I come to entreat your "majeſty's permiſſion, in caſe the aſpect of affairs "ſhould become more perplexing, to go to Eng-"land." The king ſurveyed him with aſtoniſhment, and quitted him without ſpeaking a word [j].

From this period the ſucceſſes of Orleans declined; he continued the part of a diſtinguiſhed conſpirator, but never could place his affairs in ſuch a ſituation as to render the point of his ambition attainable. His party, convinced of his meanneſs, would in all probability have renounced him immediately, but his purſe, and his influence among the lower order of people, made them continue under his banner, though they deſpiſed him [k]. The ſituation of commandant of the national guard having been for ſeveral days kept open by his partiſans, in hopes that he would aſſume it, was at length taken from la Salle and given to la Fayette, who, though ſufficiently imbued with revolutionary principles, was not agreeable to Orleans, and afterwards became one of his moſt decided opponents.

Falls into contempt.

16th.

The plan of inſurrection had been ſo well concerted, that it took effect almoſt in all parts of the kingdom; the ſoldiers were every where in a ſtate of inſubordination. Diſpatches had been ſent to all the provinces on the ſame day, with inſtructions to inſtigate the peaſants to riſe, which were fatally complied with [l]. The nobility, gentry, and rich

Inſurrection in the provinces.

[j] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 40.

[k] Mirabeau intended to have renounced him and joined the court, but was, for a time, prevented. See MIRABEAU.

[l] Young's Travels, p. 194. Pagès, vol. i. p. 170.

of

of every deſcription were plundered and ſubjected to the moſt barbarous indignities; while, in the capital, the preſſes of the *palais royal* not only defended theſe proceedings, but encouraged them by the daily emiſſion of atrocious libels on all perſons of worth and rank in the kingdom; while the king was abuſed without diſguiſe, and the moſt infamous falſehoods were fabricated reſpecting the queen.

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Proceedings in the aſſembly.

Though the party of Orleans in the aſſembly had loſt in a great meaſure their confidence in him, and frequently urged meaſures of the utmoſt importance without conſulting him, yet, on the whole, his intereſts were ſtill prevalent there, and generally attended to. Thus, though, from the immenſity of his poſſeſſions, the decree for the abolition of privileges was injurious to him in one ſenſe, it did little miſchief, compared with that which it occaſioned to the reſt of the nobility. He could better afford the loſs of ſome privileges, and had anticipated that of others by voluntary renunciations, yet the ſtep was taken without his knowledge, and met with his hearty diſapprobation. In the debates on the ſucceſſion to the crown, and the regency in caſe of a minority, as well as on the ſhare of power to be allowed to the king in the exerciſe of his *veto*, his intereſt was always obviouſly conſidered. To the exertions of his party are alſo attributed many of the ſevereſt decrees againſt the clergy [m].

4th Aug.

Preparations for a new inſurrection.

The ſucceſs of the Orleans faction in exciting tumults in July, the deſire of confirming and extending their aſcendancy, and the hope that more favourable circumſtances might reſult from a new inſurrection, inſpired them with a project, in which all the benefits would not accrue to their daſtardly patron, and which no irreſolution or want of energy in him could totally defeat. Orleans, on due conſideration, might have been convinced that he was

[m] See Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, p. 17.

not

not calculated to assume the direction, and reap the fruits of a public commotion; but in his mind revenge was superior to ambition. He had effectual experience that, if he was not exalted, the king and queen, whom he hated with the most rancorous malignity, were degraded by his exertions, and he resolved to persevere. The emigration of the count d'Artois and his family, the ascendancy of the Orleans' faction in the assembly, the death of the king's eldest son, and frequent assurances that the surviving child and Monsieur could easily be prevented from impeding his schemes of advancement, acted as fresh stimulants, and a more desperate attempt was agreed on. Frequent private meetings of the duke's confidential agents were held at his country-seat at Mousseau, where the scheme was formed [n]; and the confidence and imprudence of the faction were so great, that they publicly announced that the duke would soon be lieutenant-general of the kingdom [o]. The duke's agents in Paris, kept in exercise by frequent acts of cruelty and violence, were prepared to execute any project which should be directed. The scarcity of bread was severe to extremity, though the harvest was just got in, and the conspirators did not scruple to assert that the calamity originated in the court alone. To give a spring, and furnish a plausible pretence for the projected insurrection, advantage was taken of the king's delay to sanction some decrees relative to the new constitution; and a report replete with calumny and falsehood was raised, respecting a treat given by the *gardes du corps* to the *regiment de Flandres*, on their arrival at Versailles. The following appears to be a correct representation of this transaction.

It was an established point of military etiquette, when a new regiment arrived where another was

1st Oct. Feast given by the gardes du corps.

[n] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 39.
[o] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 263.

already

already ſtationed, for the ſeniors to welcome the new comers by a military dinner. The national guard of Verſailles gave theirs without exciting the ſlighteſt obſervation. The ſame act of politeneſs was performed by the *gardes du corps* in the hall of the opera. A table in the form of a horſe-ſhoe was ſpread for the company, amongſt whom was the count d'Eſtaing, commandant of the national guard, and twenty officers of that corps. The ſcene repreſented a wood, the orcheſtra was filled with the regimental bands of muſic, who played the airs of ſeveral favourite operas. At the end of the firſt courſe, the healths of the king, queen, and dauphin were given, and drunk with the greateſt unanimity. The trumpets ſounded a flouriſh, and *vive le roi* reſounded from every part. The band played the favourite air of *O Richard, ô mon roi!* from the opera of *Cœur de lion*. The ſoldiers, who were placed in the pit, jumped on the ſtage, aſked for wine and glaſſes, drank the healths, and redoubled their applauſes. Towards the end of the ſecond courſe, the king, queen, dauphin, princeſs royal, princeſs Elizabeth, and ſeveral ladies of the court entered the hall, and appeared to enjoy with ſatisfaction the high ſpirits of the company. Their preſence renewed their demonſtrations of loyalty, the health of the royal party was drunk, and wiſhes for their welfare repeated with enthuſiaſm. The retreat of the royal ſpectators broke up the meeting, for every one preſſed to be near them till the laſt moment. The muſicians followed, and when they arrived in the marble court, played ſome lively tunes. The ſoldiers, with the characteriſtic gaiety of the nation, began dancing; no one thought of reſuming his ſeat at table; an undiſtinguiſhed mixture of troops of the line and national guards took place, and the hilarity was unbounded. The royal family again preſented themſelves at the windows to ſee the happy multitude: the ſoldiers, to amuſe their royal

ſpectators, made a ſort of mock attack on the palace, climbing up the colonades and ſcaling the balcony. This act of levity being performed, they reſumed their dance, and at an early hour ſeparated peaceably. Their riſing from table ſo early occaſioned four hundred bottles of wine to be left, which they agreed to drink out the next day but one, at a military breakfaſt, conſiſting of cold pies, hams, and cold joints ſerved on a table in the riding-houſe. No one ſat down, but each helped himſelf as he pleaſed. The breakfaſt was replete with gaiety; loyal and patriotic toaſts were given; the royal family, the national aſſembly, and the national guards, were complimented with this notice in turn. Some of the party drank too much, and broke the bottles and glaſſes, but nothing like a riot took place. The ſame day the officers gave a dinner to twenty ſoldiers who could not find room at the firſt; and clubbed two thouſand crowns, which they tranſmitted to the *curés* of Verſailles, to diſtribute in bread to ſuch of the poor as could produce proper certificates. 3d Oct.

This was the whole of that tranſaction which afforded a pretext for the moſt horrible enormities, and afterwards formed an article of accuſation againſt the king, queen, and princeſs Elizabeth. It is to be obſerved, that it did not coſt the officers ſo much as three half-crowns a-head; yet theſe moderate enjoyments were afterwards by a cant name denominated *orgies*. The moſt malicious calumnies were circulated, that the national aſſembly had been curſed, that counter-revolutionary oaths had been adminiſtered, the national cockade trampled under foot, and the black one (that of the emigrants) ſubſtituted [P]. It was every where affectedly obſerved, Calumnies and miſrepreſentations.

[P] The preceding accounts of the feaſt are taken from Montjoye, and are confirmed by the royaliſt journals and news-papers. The contrary ſtatements ſeem to have been fabricated principally by Lecointre of

obſerved, that the profuſion of the treat formed a ſtriking contraſt with the miſery of the Pariſians, whom the intrigues of the court deprived of bread. It was pretended, that the intention of bringing a regiment of troops of the line to Verſailles, was to overawe the national aſſembly, and carry off the royal family to Metz.

4th Oct. Preparations for tumult.

When the plan of the conſpirators was thoroughly prepared, it was announced in the *palais royal* in the evening, that there would be no bread in the capital in the morning, but that plenty would be found at St. Cloud; and it was ſuggeſted as a meaſure of propriety, to go to Verſailles, and bring the king to Paris [q].

5th. Mob aſſembled.

At day-break, an immenſe concourſe of the loweſt order of women from the moſt infamous parts of the city and ſuburbs, reinforced by a great number of men in women's clothes, aſſembled in a tu-

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of Verſailles, afterwards deputy to the national convention. This man, however, when called as a witneſs on the trial of the queen, did not depoſe half the facts which were currently believed at the time; and there is every reaſon to conſider his evidence as untrue. Two perſons whom he alluded to by name, as having been preſent, were called as witneſſes (Percival and d'Eſtaing). Percival flatly contradicted the aſſertions of Lecointre, who, in his explanation, equivocated and referred to hearſay; and d'Eſtaing was only ſlightly examined. No ſuch facts as curſing the aſſembly, trampling the national cockade under foot, or aſſuming any other cockade, was advanced. (See Proces des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 21. 64. 72. Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p 158. 171. 174.) Rabaud de St. Etienne, though a decided revolutioniſt, does not, in his hiſtory, pretend that theſe imputed enormities were tranſacted in ſuch a manner as to give a character to the entertainment; on the contrary, he allows that nothing could be apparently more innocent. He recapitulates the principal acts with which calumny branded the feaſt; but, in general, he aſcribes them only to individuals, and does not repreſent them as part of a conſiſtent general plan. (See Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 148.) One circumſtance tends very much to prove that the ſtatements made by the king's enemies were falſe. Theſe pretended orgies, to which all the inhabitants of Verſailles, as well as the military, were witneſſes, took place on the firſt of October; and it was not till the fifth, when the mob were in full march from Paris, that they were denounced to the aſſembly by the Orleaniſt Petion.

[q] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 91.

multuous

multuous manner. They forced every one of their own ſex whom they happened to meet, and even ſome whom they preſſed into the ſervice from ſhops and other houſes, to join them, and made a hideous proceſſion to the *Hotel-de-ville*, clamorouſly ſcreaming for bread and arms. The *commune*, owing to the earlineſs of the hour, were not yet aſſembled; and the *Hotel* being but feebly guarded, was eaſily forced by this band. They defeated a party of horſe ſent to oppoſe them, by ſhowers of ſtones, and took poſſeſſion of the hall; exclaiming that Bailly, la Fayette, and all the members of the *commune*, were ſcoundrels, and ſhould be hung up *à la lanterne*, a cruelty they actually attempted to practiſe on a baker, but he was reſcued by the military. Some of them forced the armoury, and got poſſeſſion of two pieces of cannon, and eight hundred muſkets. Thus armed, they propoſed to go to Verſailles, to aſk the king for bread, and to make the aſſembly give an account of their conduct. A man named Maillard, one of the conquerors of the Baſtille, and a known ruffian in the ſervice of Orleans, inſtructed on this occaſion for the purpoſe, offered to conduct the party to Verſailles. He took a drum to collect them, and appointed the *Champs Elyſées* for a general rendezvous, where they muſtered about eight thouſand, armed with guns, piſtols, broomſticks, pitchforks, pikes, ſcythes, and every other weapon of annoyance which the hurry of the occaſion permitted them to provide. Maillard encouraged them by an harangue, and they ſet out by beat of drum, eſcorted by an immenſe troop of armed men, and followed by a party of the national guards.

They depart for Verſailles.

There is reaſon to believe that this violent mob did not know exactly how they were to be employed. They had a confuſed notion that they were to murder the queen, but were ready to commit any further atrocity which might be ſuggeſted

Sanguinary intentions.

to them. In their way to Verſailles, they abuſed that ill-fated princeſs in terms outrageous to decency, and threatened her in a manner ſhocking to humanity. They hardly affected ſecrecy in their determinations: four perſons in the dreſs of women ſtopped to drink at a tavern at Seve, one was heard to ſay, "I cannot reſolve to kill the king, it is contrary to juſtice, but the queen, with all my heart:" to which another anſwered, "They muſt all take their chance, we ſhall know what we have to do when we get there[r]."

Proceedings in the aſſembly.

The duke's partiſans in the national aſſembly, Mirabeau in particular, appriſed of the intended attack, behaved with the moſt indecorous contumacy. In the midſt of a tumultuous debate, the avant-couriers of the inſurgents arrived. Information was ſent to the king, who returned immediately from hunting; and the troops, moſt of whom were diſaffected and corrupted, were drawn up in the court-yard[s].

Arrival and behaviour of the mob.

Theſe meaſures were ſcarcely taken, when the main body of the women from Paris arrived in two diviſions; one by the direct road, under Maillard; the other by St. Cloud. The former went immediately to the aſſembly, which was juſt about to riſe, when they required admiſſion, and threatened to force the doors. The preſident conſented to their introduction; Maillard was their ſpokeſman.—"This morning (he ſaid) there was no bread to "be had in Paris: I rang the tocſin, was arreſted, "and ſhould have been hanged but for the aſſiſt-"ance of theſe ladies who accompany me, and who "ſaved my life. We are all good patriots, come "to Verſailles to aſk for bread, and to puniſh thoſe "*gardes du corps* who have inſulted the patriotic "cockade. Thoſe who dare to inſult that cockade

[r] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 52.

[s] See Memoirs of the KING, &c. and MIRABEAU; and for other intermediate tranſactions ſee la FAYETTE.

"ſhall

" ſhall be ſerved thus—for it ſhall be worn by " every body." In concluding theſe words, he tore to pieces a black cockade, and trampled it under foot. This action exciting ſome murmurs, " What (he exclaimed in the genuine cant of vul- " gar ignorance) are we not all brothers?"— " Yes, (anſwered Mounier, the preſident,) all man- " kind are brothers; but they muſt not tear one " another to pieces for wearing cockades of a wrong " colour."—" The ariſtocrats (reſumed Maillard) " are deſirous to ſtarve us; to-day a note for two " hundred livres (8*l.* 15*s.*) was ſent to a miller, " with inſtructions to grind no more corn, and a " promiſe of the ſame ſum weekly."—" By " whom?" exclaimed the royaliſts. Maillard, after ſome heſitation, replied, " I was told it was by " the archbiſhop of Paris."—" Hold your tongue, " impoſtor, (reſumed they,) the archbiſhop is inca- " pable of ſuch an action." Maillard being thus ſilenced, his tumultuous attendants began with great clamour to demand an immediate ſupply of bread for the capital. The preſident informed them the aſſembly was about to deliberate on the moſt ſpeedy means of obtaining a ſupply, and that they might retire. Far from taking this hint, they ſeated themſelves on the forms with the members, and ſhewed their favour or averſion to particular ſpeakers, in a manner peculiar to themſelves. To ſome they ſaid, " Speak to 'em, deputy:" to others, " Hold your " tongue;" in a peremptory tone, accompanied with the groſſeſt denominations. In fine, it was agreed that the preſident, accompanied by ſix deputies, ſhould go to the king, and repreſent the ſtate of affairs; and after requeſting his unqualified acceptance of the decrees relative to the conſtitution, preſent the petition of the Pariſian women. After obſerving that they did not want laws, but bread, the *Poiſſardes* inſiſted that ſix of their number ſhould

Deputation to the king.

accompany the deputies; to which the assembly was obliged to consent.

Situation of the gardes du corps.

At the gates of the palace all was confusion and uproar. The martial order of the guards at first struck terror into the mob, but as they had received orders not to fire, (an order which they obeyed with a persevering magnanimity sufficient to have excited the admiration and respect of savages,) the populace losing their fear resumed their petulance, and after insulting them by every means in their power, endeavoured to break their ranks. Some attempted to frighten or enrage their horses, some to run between them; vollies of stones, and frequent discharges of muskets were employed against this unresisting body. In the midst of this terrible scene Mounier arrived, attended with his female co-deputies, who were now augmented to twelve, one having hold of each representative of the people by each arm. The guards at first refused them admittance, but when Mounier declared himself, they were immediately conducted to the king. The president made a long speech on the distresses of the poor. The king answered with that pathetic eloquence which is the offspring of feeling and integrity, in terms which affected his female auditors even to fainting. Separated from their abandoned companions, their senses no longer inflamed by hideous clamours, or inapplicable reproaches, they exerted their intellects, and animated with joy, ran out at the end of the audience, exclaiming "God "save the king! God save our good king! We "shall have bread to-morrow!" This warmth was soon checked by the mob, who exclaimed that these women had been bribed, and said, "If they "do not bring us an order under the king's hand, "we will have them every one hung up." One of them, in fact, was with difficulty rescued from the hands of the assassins. They were again introduced

troduced to the king, who gave them a written paper, which ſatisfied thoſe without, and the ſhouts of "God ſave the king!" were general. The guards ſheathed their ſwords, and tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored. This was, however, of ſhort duration, the guards being ordered to their quarters, broke up that firm poſition which had kept their aſſailants in awe, and they were aſſaulted, not only by the mob, but by the national guard of Verſailles. They rigidly adhered to the orders of not firing, and were alone expoſed to every hoſtile effort, the *regiment de Flandres* having been corrupted by the agents of Orleans [t].

The aſſembly having, by the ill-timed perſeverance of the deputation, obtained from the king an unqualified ſanction of the decrees which had been preſented, adjourned, but were ſoon recalled to their ſituation by the arrival of la Fayette and the national

Aſſembly adjourned.

[t] The difficulty of ſtating with exactneſs the cauſe of this attack on the *gardes du corps*, is well expreſſed by the author of an Hiſtorical Sketch, &c. (ſee p. 244). He ſays, "The confuſion was ſo great "that none of the hiſtorians have deſcribed it very clearly. The "*gardes du corps* are accuſed of provoking their enemies by ſome raſh "actions, which are either denied or juſtified by their friends. It "may be obſerved, once for all, that the indifference with which the "patriots had treated the murders committed at Paris, had convinced "the real or ſuppoſed ariſtocrats that they could hope for no protection "from the laws, and that force alone muſt repel brutal force. We "cannot therefore wonder if they are ſometimes liable to the imputation of beginning the attack, when they once heard their lives "threatened by the mob. But in this particular inſtance I do not "find any ſufficient proof that the guards had recourſe to illegal "violence. The *garde nationale* of Verſailles was rendered averſe to "them, and partly from the inſinuations of Lecointre, who was from "the firſt their enemy and accuſer. The regiment of Flanders "had been gained by the double ſeduction of women and money. "The king, convinced that their ſmall number could do him no real "ſervice, ſent them poſitive orders not to fire; and about ſix o'clock "ordered the greateſt part of them to leave the town, whilſt ſome few "ſtill remained to guard the interior part of the palace. Whether in "their retreat they fired raſhly upon ſome of the banditti who inſulted "them, or whether thoſe banditti fired purpoſely to throw on them "the odium, ſeems uncertain; but the *garde nationale* of Verſailles "took the pretence to fire on the guards, exclaiming firſt that ſome of "their men were wounded, and vengeance was denounced on the re"giment from all quarters."

guard, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſitions encouraged the mob and increaſed the danger. La Fayette having made ſuch arrangements with the royal family as he conſidered neceſſary, adviſed the aſſembly to adjourn, which they did, and the conſpirators, in various diſguiſes, mixed with the mob and with the ſoldiers, whom they inſtigated to freſh acts of violence.

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Conduct of Orleans. - It is not neceſſary here to repeat the tranſactions of this dreadful night, and of the enſuing morning, in the courſe of which the queen's life was imminently endangered, her defenders butchered, and the king and his family, compelled to leave their blood-ſtained palace, were dragged by their perſecutors to reſide, or rather to be impriſoned, in the capital. Every circumſtance tends to prove that this inſurrection was organiſed by Orleans: the ready obedience paid to Maillard, a ſelf-conſtituted leader, known to be in the pay of the duke, ſhews that many ſubordinate perſons muſt have been employed to influence their ſubmiſſion, and marſhal them in proper order. "The depoſitions at the "Chatelet prove in the moſt inconteſtible manner, "that during the horrors of theſe two days he was "repeatedly ſeen, and that whenever he was re"cognized by the crowd, he was huzzaed with "*Vive Orleans! Vive notre Roi Orleans!* &c. He "then withdrew, and was ſeen in other places. "While all about the unfortunate royal family "were in the utmoſt concern for their fate, he was "in gay humour, chatting on indifferent ſubjects. "His laſt appearance on the evening of the 5th "was about nine o'clock, converſing in a corner "with men diſguiſed in mean dreſs, and ſome in "women's clothes; among whom were Mirabeau, "Barnave, Dupont, and other deputies of the re"publican party, and theſe men were ſeen imme"diately after concealed among the lines of the "*regiment de Flandres*, the corruption of which

"they

" they had that day completed. He was ſeen again " next morning converſing with the ſame perſons " in women's dreſs. And when the inſulted ſove- " reign was dragged in triumph to Paris, Orleans " was again ſeen, ſkulking in a balcony behind his " children, to view the proceſſion of devils and " furies; anxiouſly hoping all the while that ſome " diſturbance would ariſe in which the king might " periſh. I ſhould have added, that he was ſeen " in the morning at the top of the ſtairs, pointing " the way with his hand to the mob, where they " ſhould go, while he went by another road to the " king, in ſhort he went about trembling like a " coward, waiting for the exploſion which might " render it ſafe for him to ſhew himſelf [u]."

But though theſe tranſactions occaſioned ſo much miſery to the royal family, Orleans did not derive from them the advantages he expected. Too wicked to be a good ſubject, too much miſguided to feel content in his exalted ſituation, too timid to aſſume a deciſive part, and ſupport and direct openly the ſedition he had privately fomented, yet too devoid of ſenſe to keep his agency an entire ſecret, he now not only ſaw the propoſed end of his plan fruſtrated, but a general ſuſpicion attach to himſelf. His party deſpiſed, and ſome began to deſert him, others, who thought themſelves ſullied by appearing as ſenators where he was allowed a ſeat, gave in their reſignation, and requeſted leave to retire. Theſe were about an hundred, and amongſt them Mounier, the preſident, but he did not quit his ſtation till he had performed what he judged his duty, by requiring an inveſtigation of the cauſes of the inſurrection, in a manner which demonſtrated that he had a well-founded ſuſpicion, or certain intelligence of the real author. But

Suſpicions excited.

[u] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 377. See the KING, &c. LA FAYETTE. MIRABEAU. Hiſtories; and particularly Mrs. Wolſtonecraft's Hiſtory, p. 430. 450. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 128.

popularity was not in itſelf an object of deſire to Orleans, his juvenile contempt of it ſtill continued, though he uſed it as a means of forwarding his other views. He would not deſiſt from the plans he had formed, nor could the ill ſucceſs of his exertions, produced ſolely by himſelf, open his eyes to the weakneſs of his own character. His paraſites, from intereſted motives, kept alive the deluſion, and he meditated freſh projects for attaining the end of his ambition.

Orleans projects a new conſpiracy.

It ſoon became neceſſary that Orleans ſhould make a vigorous effort to raiſe himſelf by the debaſement of the king, or relinquiſh all the projects he had ſo long entertained. The royal family had, ſince their arrival in Paris, performed an act of honourable charity, at the expreſs requeſt of the queen, which promiſed to efface every impreſſion made to her diſadvantage, and put her in poſſeſſion of the full love and eſteem of the nation. This was a voluntary donation from the privy purſe of money ſufficient to redeem from the hands of pawnbrokers all body linen, and neceſſary wearing apparel, pledged for any ſum not exceeding a *Louis-d'or*. To counteract the favourable impreſſions thus excited, the uſual means were reſorted to. The report of the king having intended to fly to Metz, and levy war againſt the aſſembly, the *orgies* of the *gardes du corps*, and all the ſcandals which owed their origin to the malignant ſpirits of the *palais royal*, were renewed, and circulated with increaſed diligence. The plenty which had ſuddenly gladdened the capital at the king's arrival, as ſuddenly diſappeared. New clamours were every where excited, and St. Huruge and the garden orators of the *palais royal*, were indefatigable in their efforts to excite ſedition. The bakers' ſhops were beſieged all night and every morning by a clamorous and ſtarving multitude, and many experienced a total want of the firſt neceſſary of life. The meeting of the

the national assembly at Paris, was with a ridiculous precipitancy fixed for the 19th, though no building was ready for their reception, and they were finally obliged to meet in the cathedral. Houses were marked with red, black, and white chalk, denoting respectively an intended murder, pillage, or burning, these were particularly applied to the dwellings of the members of the committee of subsistence, the principal officers of the national guard, and the farmers-general.

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All these indications of a projected insurrection could not escape the attention of la Fayette and Bailly, whom the late dreadful catastrophe had rendered more circumspect. They exerted themselves with uncommon vigour to cause a proper supply and regular distribution of bread, and la Fayette in particular obtained full proofs of the conspiracies, and insidious manœuvres of the duke. Thus furnished, he repaired to the Tuilleries, and entered into consultation with the king, who, on this occasion, displayed his usual good sense and moderation. Had the love of vengeance possessed a place in his breast, he could now have indulged it with perfect security, but he considered the general good of his subjects, and finding by the papers laid before him by the general, that Orleans alone could open the warehouses where grain was deposited, he resolved on the more moderate and prudent measures which were afterwards adopted. Montmorin, the minister, requested Orleans to call at his house at an early hour in the morning. The duke was prepared for the subject of the conversation, by an intimation purposely given by the duchess of Coigni, and attended at six o'clock. He answered the accusations brought against him by the minister with the readiness of a man resolved to make no confession injurious to himself, and with the haughty spirit of an innocent prince unjustly accused. He continued in this strain till la Fayette burst from a closet where he was concealed, and laying

Conduct of la Fayette.

laying open all his treacheries, asked what he had to offer against the proofs deposited in the hands of the king? Orleans, conscious that he had merited peculiar severity from the general, attempted to stammer out some incoherent accounts, but succeeded so ill, that la Fayette, giving way to indignation, attempted to strike him, but missed his aim by the duke retreating, and fainting away in an arm chair. When he came to himself he was directed to wait on the king, and to obey his orders as he valued his life [x]. His majesty, after some mild though pointed observations on his conduct, voluntarily forgave him, but exacted a solemn promise that he should without delay repair to England, and from thence issue orders for an immediate supply of corn for his country [y].

16th Oct. Orleans departs for England.

When Orleans communicated these events to his associates, together with his resolution to adhere to his promise, they were thunderstruck. They attempted to shake his determination by every suggestion and every argument in their power, but in vain. His passports were expedited, and his permission to depart obtained from the assembly, although Mirabeau observed that a mission of so secret a nature resembled a *lettre de cachet*, and made pointed allusions to the imperious deportment of la

[x] The circumstances here related are taken from Montjoye; they are not so circumstantially detailed by any other writer, though many authors agree that la Fayette compelled him to leave France; and hint that the methods employed were the reverse of gentleness and persuasion. See Moore's View, vol ii p. 64. Pagès, vol. i. p. 263, Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 98. Orleans himself states that he had an interview with la Fayette, in which the general told him, that his absence would be conducive to the welfare and tranquillity of France. Exposé de la Conduite de M. le duc d'Orleans, Rédigé par lui même, p. 19.

[y] This mode of proceeding is perfectly consistent with the king's character for clemency, and his rigid adherence to a given promise may contribute to account for the facility with which the exculpatory efforts of Orleans were afterwards received by the assembly, and the queen's refusal to give evidence when required by the commissioners of the Chatelet.

Fayette. Orleans reſiſted every propoſal of his friends to incite a popular tumult, or to enter a proteſt with the aſſembly, and left Paris three days before the intended exploſion. It it not impoſſible that the beams of virtue emanating from the king, might kindle ſome congenial ſentiment in the boſom of Orleans, but as la Fayette was conſtantly urging his departure, it is more probable that fear alone occaſioned his fidelity to his promiſe. His ſubſequent conduct affords no light on the ſubject, for though he performed the real object of his miſſion with ſo much exactneſs, that in leſs than a month after his departure bread was plentiful and cheap in Paris, yet, contrary to the uſual effects of compunction, he afterwards perſevered in the ſame meaſures as before. At Boulogne a ſlight attempt was made to ſtop his departure by an inſurrection of the people, but without effect: a deputation was ſent from Boulogne, and the preſident acting extra-officially, in the name of the aſſembly, confirmed the permiſſion given for the duke to depart. Dumouriez aſſerts that this miſſion to England was in conſequence of an intrigue of the miniſter, Montmorin, who wiſhed to induce Orleans to abſent himſelf from France, and to effect that purpoſe, inſpired him with a wiſh to become duke of Brabant [z]. But the authority of Dumouriez on the ſubject of Orleans is very queſtionable, and the ſcheme here imputed to him utterly improbable. He was never ſo much in habits of intimacy with Montmorin as to be open to his efforts of intrigue; and his plans reſpecting the French monarchy were too extenſive, and had involved him in a connection too complicated to admit of his forming a new engagement. If he had entertained ſuch views, England was almoſt the worſt ſpot on the face of globe he could have repaired to for countenance or

[z] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 100.

aſſiſtance,

assistance, in a plan to excite insurrection and dismember the empire [a].

His reception affords the best refutation of such a report. He was presented at court, but hardly, according to the best authenticated reports, honoured with any notice by the august and virtuous personages who fill the throne. Their known attachment to principles and modes of conduct diametrically opposite to his, their love of virtue, and constant practice of religion and morality, occasioned that coolness which prevented his frequent visits at St. James's. His debased manners, his taste for gross licentiousness and vulgar revelry, soon took away the respect his birth and fortune inspired. He was never easy within himself; the immense projects in which he was engaged rendered him restless, and he hurried through the various rounds of pleasure, snatching at every one with a greedy hand, yet incapable of relishing what he sought with so much avidity. The turf, the gaming-table, the bottle, and the brothel, engaged him by turns; at each of these scenes, where refinement is capable of diminishing the opprobium of pursuit, he, like a harpy, was greedy of all, and disgusted every body: Men of refinement shunned him, and losing that extensive adulation and public acclamation he had received in his own country, his time soon became irksome, and he was impatient to revisit those scenes in which his heart was so much engaged, and all his hopes concentered.

[a] On his own trial, Orleans gave such an account of this journey as renders it almost certain that it had no political object. He said he had letters for Mr. Pitt, which he delivered; and that as he was very intimate with the opposition-party, he was employed to preserve peace with England. Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 164. In his own "account of his conduct," Orleans states that he was intrusted with an important mission, but does not specify its nature or extent. See Exposé de la Conduite, &c. p. 26.

The

The duke's party in France were too much interested in his continuing the part of a conspirator, to permit him to relinquish it from despair of ultimate success. They did not abate their diligence, though their task was rendered much more difficult by his absence, and by other circumstances. The presence of a chief, however weak, vacillating, and uncertain he may be, is the soul of a conspiracy; so long as he can be resorted to, and personally give directions, there is an order, a method, a spirit in the proceedings, which in his absence they necessarily want. But, in the present case, the fears of the faction had a different source, they apprehended a reflux of the public opinion in favour of the royal family. They renewed their intrigues and calumnies, but they were not always attended with effect, for the people of Paris being relieved from the fear of famine, and not under the influence of accustomed instigation, did not so readily adopt the pernicious projects of the conspirators. La Fayette, actuated by vanity and imprudence, unintentionally assisted the Orleanists by his unnecessary cruelty to the royal prisoners, and by his jealous vigilance, and unmanly persecution of every one who seemed warmly attached to their cause.

1790. Exertions of his party.

At length the imprudence of la Fayette and Bailly led them to project the confederation. The scheme of assembling so many armed men from the provinces at Paris, afforded an opportunity the conspirators could not overlook of trying by means of insurrection to forward their plans. They lamented the absence of their chief, as an irreparable obstacle, and exerted all their manœuvres to accelerate his return. La Fayette, on the other hand, opposed it, but in that inconsiderate manner which marked most of his proceedings. Instead of applying directly to the king for his interference, he, by his own authority, sent an aid-de-camp who waited on the duke, requiring him to continue in

June. His return.

London.

London. This inexpert agent had the folly to commit theſe orders to writing and leave it in the duke's hands. He immediately wrote to his chancellor, who was a member of the aſſembly, to lay theſe facts, together with his deſire to take the civic oath, and be preſent at the intended ceremony before the legiſlative body, and move for his recall. The favourable reception of this motion was facilitated and increaſed by a pamphlet publiſhed at the time, and pretended to be written by himſelf, called "a Narrative of the Conduct of the Duke "of Orleans, during the French Revolution." La Fayette, detected in his ſhallow politics, had no oppoſition to make to the motion of the count de la Touche, he affected to explain away the miſſion of M. Boinville, his aid-de-camp, but the duke's recall was decreed. He arrived in Paris and took the civic oath, but the ſhortneſs of the time, the preſs of buſineſs, and the good diſpoſition of the *fédérés*, did not afford him an opportunity of trying the ſucceſs of any ſchemes. The confederation day paſſed, contrary to his wiſhes, and to the fears of many, without the ſmalleſt popular commotion. He gave a public dinner the next day in the hall of the *palais royal*, at which ſome attempts were made in his favour, but without ſucceſs.

11th July. Arrives in Paris.

25th.

Proceedings in the Chatelet.

During the abſence of Orleans, the aſſembly, under the influence of his faction, had referred Mounier's denunciation of the tranſactions of the 5th and 6th of October, to the Chatelet; hoping, by their ordinary means of bribery and terror, and by the agency of their friends, to prevent ſerious inquiry. To render the efforts of this court abortive, they limited their inſtructions to the night of the 5th of October, denying them the means of inquiring into the cauſes of the inſurrection in the morning, or any of the events of that day, prior to the arrival of la Fayette and the national guards at Verſailles. Their view appears to have been, either to involve

involve the whole tranſaction in impenetrable obſcurity, or to throw the odium of it on the general. The committee in the aſſembly furniſhed very few proofs, and thoſe of the moſt vague deſcription; and every engine was employed to induce the court to acquit the parties implicated. The judges of the Chatelet proceeded in the execution of their duty with great ſteadineſs, ſecrecy, and patience. They applied to the committee for more proofs; which being delayed, they exerted themſelves to make ſuch diſcoveries as ſhould enable them to form a true report. They were about to have reported on the ſubject, when the duke's party, having gained intelligence of the ſpirit of their proceedings, wrote to him in England for inſtructions; and, in conſequence of his anſwer, employed all means in their power to procure delay. They cauſed the municipality to preſent to the court ſeventy-five additional proofs; which protracted the inquiry till Orleans had obtained permiſſion to return to France. The 7th Aug.
court at length, in ſpite of menaces, intrigues, and ſlanders, preſented at the bar of the aſſembly a report of the evidence they had collected, accompanied with a declaration, that it involved in a charge of guilt two members of that body. The faction had the addreſs to get the report of the Chatelet referred to a committee, in which a perſon entirely devoted to them had the charge of abridging it for the uſe of the members; and he ſucceeded ſo well in falſifying the evidence preſented, in placing in a falſe light the facts advanced, and in recurring to the *orgies* of the *gardes du corps*, &c. that a decree was 2d Oct.
eaſily obtained, importing that there was no ground of accuſation againſt the parties. A ſpeech in favour of Orleans was pronounced in the tribune by the duc de Biron, who promiſed, in the name of his friend, a full explanation of his whole conduct. This promiſe he himſelf repeated the next day, profeſſing a wiſh to clear himſelf from every ſuſpicion; but he

performed his undertaking in a very imperfect manner, by an apology in the form of a *memoire à conſulter*, or caſe, to which was annexed the opinion of two obſcure advocates, Hom and Rozier [b]. It was anſwered by Malouet, and fell into deſerved diſregard.

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Exertions of Orleans

The proceedings of the Chatelet did not ſo much occupy the mind of Orleans, as to prevent his trying many plans to counteract the growing popularity of the king and queen, and to further the ultimate ſucceſs of his ambitious views. On his return from England, he ſoon found his party ſtronger than ever [c]; but la Fayette being commander of the national guard, and Bailly mayor of Paris, were inſurmountable obſtacles to the exertion of his two favourite means of ſucceſs, riot and famine. He laboured therefore with great aſſiduity to obtain their diſmiſſion [d] to bring undeſerved odium on every act of the royal priſoners, and to render their ſituation as irkſome as poſſible, in order to produce ſome act which might make them quit the kingdom, or expoſe them to the violence of the populace. In the provinces ſeveral inſurrections and diſturbances took place; and the inflammable mob of Paris were ready on every occaſion, when not reſtrained by fear, to riſe in arms and commit violence. They were furniſhed with pikes at the expence of Orleans, which were, for that reaſon, according to the punning genius of the French nation, denominated
Feb. 1791. *Philip-piques* [e]. Santerre diſciplined the mob of the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine, in hopes, by their means,

[b] It is tranſlated into Engliſh, and forms an octavo pamphlet of eighty-three pages, publiſhed by Stockdale, 1790.

[c] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 166. [d] Idem, p. 241. 270.

[e] Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Ambition and Conqueſts of France, p. 234. Montjoye alſo relates, that a caricature print was publiſhed, repreſenting the king and the duke of Orleans playing at piquet for the crown. This emblem of royalty was ſlipping from the king's head; and on a label which proceeded from his mouth were theſe words: "J'ai ecarté les cœurs; il a pour lui les piques, & j'ai perdu la "partie."

to

to wreſt from la Fayette the command of the national guard, and actually ventured to oppoſe himſelf to the general in the affair at Vincennes [f].

The king's unfortunate attempt to eſcape from the cuſtody of his perſecutors gave a great aſcendancy to the duke's party. At firſt it was ſuppoſed that, on the king's leaving the realm, a regency would be appointed; and as Monſieur had quitted the kingdom, the conſtitution pointed out Orleans as regent. That he might not appear deſirous of attaining this ſituation, he addreſſed a letter to all the journaliſts, in which he ſolemnly renounced the right given him by the conſtitution to expect the regency. This letter is written with conſiderable art, for while he makes this pretended renunciation, he alludes in pompous terms to his zeal for the public, and his ſacrifices in the cauſe of liberty [g]. The moderation thus diſplayed was merely affected, for if the aſſembly had decreed that he ſhould be regent, which, from the aſcendancy of his party, there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe, he could not have reſiſted their deciſion. On the king's return to Paris, Orleans was obſerved in a circle of deputies, a gay ſpectator of the melancholy ſcene [h]. During the king's ſuſpenſion, the queſtion of abdication and trial was preſſed in the aſſembly with all the zeal and power of his party. The aſſembly, to avoid the groſs term *dechéance*, forfeiture, uſed that of *deſtitution*, privation; but in the Jacobin club, then the ſenate of the Orleaniſts, the matter was treated without ceremony or circumlocution. At that period, the project of a republic was firſt openly avowed in France; but many who affected to ſupport it, were clandeſtinely promoting the advancement of their patron, by familiarizing the people to the expectation of dethroning the monarch. In all

June. Effect of the king's flight.

[f] See LA FAYETTE. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 299.
[g] See Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 236.
[h] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 368.

probability the views of the party would have been crowned with ſucceſs thus far;—the king would have been depoſed, and the duke conſtituted regent during the minority of the dauphin, but for the ſeceſſion of ſome principal leaders of his faction. Barnave unexpectedly aſſumed the defence of the king, and, aſſiſted by the royaliſts, prevailed on the aſſembly to decree the completion of the conſtitution in the form originally intended [i]. The party had made themſelves ſo ſure of a complete victory, that they had neglected their uſual precautions of packed tribunes and a hired mob. Robeſpierre was ſo aſtoniſhed and enraged at this unexpected event, that he ran about the ſtreets like a madman, exclaiming to the people, "My friends, all is loſt; the king is to be reſtored [k]."

Diſappointment of Orleans.

17th July. Meeting in the Champ de Mars.

Baffled in their expectations from the aſſembly, the faction endeavoured to carry their point by means of the populace. They prepared a petition that very night, to be ſigned on the altar of the confederation in the *Champ de Mars* the next morning. The mob aſſembled, and began by murdering a hair-dreſſer and an invalid, whoſe heads they ſtuck on pikes, and carried to the *palais royal*. The members, the Cordeliers, or *ſociété fraternelle*, inflamed the populace with declamations and hand-bills of the moſt atrocious deſcription. After ſeveral meſſages from la Fayette and Bailly, requiring the mob to diſperſe, military law was proclaimed and executed [l]. The conſtitution was reviſed and accepted by the king, and the aſſembly diſſolved.

29th Nov. Petion elected mayor.

According to the requiſition of the new conſtitution, la Fayette reſigned the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty of Paris. This revived the hopes of Orleans, that by procuring that office for a creature of his own, he ſhould

[i] See THE KING, &c.
[k] See ROBESPIERRE.
[l] See LA FAYETTE.

again

again be able, by a monopoly of grain, to influence the city, and, through it, the whole kingdom. Petion was elected; but the duke's views with reſpect to a monopoly were totally fruſtrated by Bailly, who cauſed the care of the proviſions of the capital to be veſted in the adminiſtrators of the department.

Sitting of the legiſlative aſſembly.

The new aſſembly, deſtitute of the experience and talents which had been the portion of their predeceſſors, were delivered up to a faction compoſed of editors of newſpapers, pamphleteers, and other labourers in the lower branches of literature, who had been ſupported by, and were ſtill in the pay of the duke. Amongſt theſe were the moſt rancorous enemies of the king, on whom they immediately commenced an attack; but the mildneſs of his temper, and the reſolution he had formed to abide by the conſtitution, which was the object of his daily ſtudy, rendered their meaſures abortive.

Orleans made admiral.

The peace of Europe was incompatible with the views of the new demagogues, who were reſolved to procure a declaration of war againſt the emperor. Orleans, through the influence of Thevenard, miniſter of marine, who hoped to conciliate the new aſſembly, had been promoted to the rank of admiral [m]. This promotion it was ſuppoſed would be the more acceptable, as he had before ſolicited a military command, without ſucceſs [n]. The inſubordination of the navy was ſuch, that moſt of the officers promoted at the ſame time reſigned; Orleans and d'Eſtaing alone retained the rank aſſigned to them [o].

His deſire of reconciliation with the king.

At this period, Orleans ſeems to have been ſenſible of the impolicy of his conduct: he ſaw the ſpirit of republicaniſm beginning to riſe, and would have been happy to compromiſe his hopes of aggrandiſement, for an honourable promotion and certain ſafety. His conduct on this occaſion is ſo

[m] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 229.
[n] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 236.
[o] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 310.

remarkable, that I ſhall not in the narrative alter a word from Bertrand [p], who gives it as a party immediately concerned, and as an eye-witneſs.—"The duke of Orleans was not ſatisfied with writ-"ing to me, that he had accepted the rank of ad-"miral; he likewiſe paid me a viſit, and amongſt "other matters, he aſſured me that he ſet the "higher value upon the favour which the king "had conferred on him, becauſe it gave him the "means of convincing his majeſty how much his "ſentiments had been calumniated. This decla-"ration was made with an air of openneſs and ſin-"cerity, and accompanied with the warmeſt pro-"teſtations of loyalty. I am very unfortunate, "(ſaid he,) without deſerving to be ſo; a thouſand "atrocities have been laid to my charge, of which "I am completely innocent. I have been ſuppoſed "guilty by many men, becauſe I have diſdained to "enter into any juſtification of myſelf from crimes "of which I have a real horror. You are the firſt "miniſter to whom I ever ſaid as much, becauſe "you are the only one whoſe character ever in-"ſpired me with confidence: you will ſoon have "an opportunity of judging whether my conduct "gives the lie to my words.—He pronounced theſe "laſt words with a voice and manner which con-"vinced me he meant them as an anſwer to the "air of incredulity with which I liſtened to him. "I anſwered him, that I was ſo much afraid of "weakening the force of his expreſſions in report-"ing them to the king, as he deſired I ſhould, that "I begged of him to deliver them himſelf to his "majeſty. He replied, that it was preciſely what "he wiſhed; and that if he could flatter himſelf "that the king would receive him, he would go to "the court the next day. I gave his majeſty an "account, the ſame evening at the council, of the

[p] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 310.

"viſit

" viſit I had received from the duke of Orleans,
" and all that had paſſed; adding, that I could not
" help being convinced of the ſincerity of his pro-
" feſſions. The king reſolved to receive him; and
" the following day had a converſation with him of
" more than half an hour, with which his majeſty
" appeared to be well ſatisfied.—I am of your opi-
" nion (ſaid he to me) that he returns to us with
" ſincerity; and that he will do all that depends
" on him to repair the miſchiefs which have been
" committed in his name, and in which very poſ-
" ſibly he has not had ſo great a ſhare as we have
" ſuſpected.—The following Sunday the duke of
" Orleans came to the king's levee, where he met
" with the moſt mortifying reception from the
" courtiers, who were ignorant of what had paſſed;
" and from the royaliſts, who uſually came on that
" day to pay their court to the royal family. They
" preſſed round him, treading deſignedly upon his
" toes, and puſhing him towards the door. When
" he went into the queen's apartment, where the
" cloth was already laid, as ſoon as he appeared they
" cried out on every ſide—Let nobody approach
" the diſhes!—inſinuating that he might throw
" poiſon into them. The inſulting murmurs which
" his preſence excited forced him to retire without
" ſeeing any of the royal family. He was purſued
" to the top of the ſtairs, and as he was going
" down, ſome ſpit over the ſtaircaſe upon him.
" He haſtened out, filled with rage and indignation,
" and convinced that the king and queen were the
" authors of theſe outrages; of which they were
" not only ignorant, but extremely concerned
" when they were informed of them. From that
" moment the duke of Orleans conceived impla-
" cable hatred, and vowed vengeance againſt the
" king and queen. He kept his oath but too
" well. I happened to be at court that day, and
" was an eye-witneſs to the ſcene I have juſt re-

" lated." Thus was the royal cauſe unintentionally injured by the royaliſts, whoſe conduct on this occaſion demonſtrates, that far from having ſecret cabals and conſpiracies, they did not even maintain that confidential intercourſe which was eſſential to their intereſt.

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Jacobin miniſtry.

The Orleaniſts and republicans in the aſſembly ſtill perſevered in their attacks; they forced on the king an adminiſtration compoſed of Jacobins, his moſt inveterate foes. They paſſed ſeveral decrees, by virtue of which he was required, with his own hand, to inflict the ſevereſt wounds on ſuch of his family as had left the kingdom; to force the conſcience of men for whom he had the ſincereſt reſpect; and to ſurround his own dwelling with a banditti of twenty thouſand murderers, at the devotion of the Jacobins. To theſe decrees he oppoſed the ſhield with which the conſtitution had provided him, the *veto*. They endeavoured to impel him to a freſh flight, by affected kindneſs in repreſenting his danger, and by alarming reports of the popular fury; but his reſolution to remain expoſed to all the fury of his enemies, deſtroyed the effect of their machinations.

20th June, 1792. Attack on the palace.

Fruſtrated in all theſe ſchemes, the Orleaniſts recurred to their accuſtomed meaſures of popular inſurrection. They took advantage of the exerciſe of the *veto*, and the diſmiſſion of the miniſters, to raiſe a furious mob, whoſe deſign to murder the king and his family was averted by the ſenſibility of a hired populace to the virtue and courage of thoſe they were paid to deſtroy. Orleans on this occaſion acted with that puſillanimity which was his characteriſtic, and which always prevented the ſucceſs of his ſchemes. Fearing to have his conduct again ſubmitted to the judges of a criminal court, he left Paris a few days before the intended aſſault of the caſtle, and went into the country, to conſult with the chiefs of the army in his intereſt, on the means

Timidity of Orleans.

means of ſecuring the fruits of his ſucceſs. The head of a faction, ſkulking about the country *incognito*, when a deciſive blow is about to be ſtruck in the capital, is one of thoſe novelties which the life of this weak and wicked conſpirator alone can afford. In the courſe of his excurſion he viſited Valenciennes. Dumouriez ſays, "The duke of "Orleans made his appearance at Valenciennes, "*without any one being able to diſcover the motive.* "Biron protected this deteſtable prince. Du- "mouriez had been intimate with Biron during "twenty years; and acquainted, though upon rather "cool terms, during the ſame period with the duke; "but *thenceforward he diſtinguiſhed his two ſons, who "were very unlike their unworthy father* [q]." Let it be recollected, that when this general publiſhed his memoirs, Orleans and Biron were no longer in exiſtence to contradict him; and that there is no cauſe aſſigned why he choſe that particular æra to diſtinguiſh his two ſons, and a proper eſtimate may be formed of the candour and veracity of the general, and the extent of the duke's intrigues. His journey and return were obſerved, and excited conjecture and ſuſpicion [r].

The twentieth of June not having produced all the effects expected by the conſpirators, a new inſurrection was organiſed, which ſucceeded to the utmoſt extent of their hopes. Though in the reſult of this conſpiracy the intereſts of Orleans were not conſidered, he was very inſtrumental in preparing and perfecting it [s]. It is even ſaid that the names, additions, and places of abode of thoſe who were active in this conſpiracy, were preciſely the ſame with thoſe who were employed on the fifth of October 1789 [t]. Orleans, however, kept as uſual

10th Aug. Depoſition of the king.

[q] Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 13.
[r] Mercure François, N° du 28 Juillet 1792, p. 277.
[s] Pagès, vol. i. p. 476.
[t] Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration du 10 Août, par M. Bigot de Ste. Croix.

far distant from the scene of action[u]; and his pusillanimity is said to have extended to his banditti, who fled at the first volley[x]. Though the vengeance of Orleans was abundantly gratified by the result of this day, his ambition was severely mortified. The king was reduced to the lowest political ebb, deprived of his guards, suspended, imprisoned; but the people, instead of shouting *Vive d'Orleans!* had learned to shout *Vive la liberté*[y]*!*

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Sept. Arrests and massacres.

In consequence of the king's suspension, a national convention was decreed; and the flatterers of Orleans, or those interested to prey on his folly, led him to expect that this measure would conduce to a full and speedy attainment of all his wishes. He spared neither money nor influence to procure those persons to be returned who were devoted to him, and to intimidate and destroy the friends of the monarch and of the existing constitution. La Fayette had fled, and the disorganised armies were entirely commanded by those whom Orleans supposed to be his creatures. He procured the arrestation of many persons of influence, who were presumed to possess an attachment to the king; and that he might effectually prevent their obstructing his projects, he directed, or at least sanctioned, the horrible massacres committed in the prisons[z]. In these transactions his avarice as well as his ambition found a gratification, by the murder of his accomplished relative the princesse de Lamballe, which he is said to have expressly commanded[a]. He procured himself to be returned a member to the new convention by the agency of Robespierre and Danton; and to prevent all prejudice which might arise

2d Sept.

Orleans changes his name.

[u] Pagès, vol. i. p. 478. [x] Louvet's Narrative, p. 17.

[y] Fennel's Review, p. 473.

[z] See in Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. a very interesting letter, describing the fate of several victims of these massacres, and ascribing the organization of them to Orleans.

[a] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 262. 382. 384. See MANUEL.

from

from his name exciting a recollection of his affinity to the royal family, he wrote to the *commune* of Paris, renouncing his family appellative, alleging the impurity of his mother's life in proof that he was not a deſcendant of the Bourbons, and declaring that he was the ſon of her coachman. He requeſted of the *commune* to aſſign him a new name, and they conferred what they termed *the beautiful name of* EGALITÉ [b].

Defection of his adherents.

But theſe very meaſures which he imagined would ſtrengthen his intereſt, and infallibly give ſucceſs to his projects, fruſtrated his views, and produced his ruin. With his uſual propenſity to low company, and the diſguſting familiarity of the refuſe of mankind, he laviſhed his favour on the moſt abandoned and worthleſs of his partiſans. To the utter diſguſt of the men of letters and ſuperior attainments in his party, he was always ſurrounded by ſuch wretches as Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Clootz, and Chabot. The maſſacres of September having been planned and executed by this claſs of his followers, and they alone enriched by them, ſome others of his needy partiſans became angry and diſguſted. The eagerneſs with which the people now received the abolition of royalty, ſuggeſted to ſome the hope of eſtabliſhing a federal republic, a chimera which they purſued with ardour. Thus aroſe a diviſion amongſt his friends, which, in the end, left him a ſolitary mark for the firſt intereſted uſurper to ſhoot at. Many of his agents, in fact, as ſoon as by his means they had obtained independence, and even luxury, elevated their views, they ſaw the ſolicitude of the rabble for the downfal of royalty, and affected to ſecond it, nay even in violation of known truth, pretended to have been always republicans. To the deſign of their adverſaries of forming a federal republic, they

[b] Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 419. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 604.

oppoſed

oppoſed that of a triumvirate or dictatorſhip, which, flattering their reſpective views and ambition, divorced them ſtill more effectually from the intereſts of their patron. The firſt ſtep taken by the convention was to decree the abolition of royalty; this was done on the motion of Collot d'Herbois, without oppoſition, all the members who were preſent vied in giving this proof of their being animated with the prevailing ſpirit.

Inſignificance in the convention.

At this period the unfortunate and worthleſs Egalité percieved the inextricable dilemma into which he was drawn. The king was depoſed, but royalty was aboliſhed, conſequently there was no probability that he could ever be regent. Amongſt other popular novelties, mention was made of an agrarian law, a ſyſtem which he had no longer ſufficient power to counteract, and to which his remaining property was a moſt inviting bait[c]. He ſaw that the Gironde, except a few individuals, who were ſecretly his friends, hated him, and that his own worthleſs confederates, the Mountain, defrauded and betrayed him. Their rapacity drove him to the moſt ſcandalous expedients to raiſe money, and inſtead of a throne he ſaw that he was barely purchaſing a precarious protection. His importance was reduced to nothing. In the convention, which, as he had bought it with his money, he expected to uſe as a property, he was the moſt inſignificant of all members. He generally attended for the ſpace of half an hour every

[c] With all his profuſion, Orleans was never generous; and though he appeared to make great pecuniary ſacrifices, he was always tremblingly alive to an attack on his property. He carried his cupidity to ſuch an exceſs, that he actually made a ridiculous application to the conſtituent aſſembly for four million one hundred and fifty eight thouſand eight hundred and fifty livres (181,949*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*), together with intereſt from the year 1721, as the dower promiſed to Louiſa-Elizabeth d'Orleans, queen of Spain, and by her aſſigned over to the anceſtors of the duke. This demand was referred to the next legiſlative body, but I do not find that it was ever renewed. See Debates, 13th June 1791.

day,

day, looked round him, and went out unnoticed [d]. In the army he ſtill hoped to maintain his influence by means of Dumouriez, who continued attached to him, and ardent in promoting his ſon: but even on this he could not depend, as he ſaw his beſt military friends diſgraced or led to the ſcaffold. The battle of Jemappe, which raiſed the ſpirits of the populace ſo high, and in the account of which Dumouriez praiſed Egalité's eldeſt ſon, gave him a tranſient gleam of ſunſhine, and emboldened him for the firſt time, to ſpeak in the convention in praiſe of the general; but this hope was of ſhort duration; Marat was buſy with his libels and poſting-bills, deſtroying the reputation, and throwing ſuſpicion on the character of this fortunate warrior; and Pache, the war miniſter, was crippling all his operations.

Conduct during the king's trial.

During the king's trial Orleans diſplayed, in a remarkable manner, the prevalence of revenge over ambition. He could not reaſonably entertain hopes that he ſhould ever be enabled to aſcend the throne after the formal abolition of royalty, and the declaration of ſome members, that they voted againſt Louis more for the crime of having been a king than for any other. Perhaps the approach of Dumouriez to the capital was in conſequence of a concerted plan, to gratify, under ſome form, the ambition of Orleans, and inſpired new hopes. There is no doubt that the Mountain uſed every effort of terror and conciliation to keep him firm to their intereſts, as they were apprehenſive that even a ſingle vote might determine the queſtion againſt them. By his means, during the *appel nominal*, the doors of the convention were ſurrounded by aſſaſſins, who frightened with clamour, and threatened with their daggers, all whom they ſuſpected of oppoſing their views [e].

[d] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 248.
[e] Journal de Clery, p. 198.

Whatever

1793. His votes.

Whatever were the wiſhes and hopes of Orleans, it might be expected that he would abſtain from voting on the queſtion which decided the fate of his unfortunate couſin, but he was reſerved to exhibit depravity in all its diſguſting nudity, without even the veil which fear or hypocriſy ſupply, when better motives are wanting. The manner in which his vote on the firſt queſtion, "Is Louis guilty?" was received, might have convinced him that honour, decency, and even his perſonal ſafety required that he ſhould abſtain from giving an opinion on the other two. As ſoon as the monoſyllable *Oui* eſcaped his lips, the convention, by loud murmurs, teſtified aſtoniſhment. On the ſecond queſtion, "of referring the puniſhment to the nation in pri-" mary aſſemblies," he voted with the Mountain againſt the reference, and the ſame murmurs teſtified the ſame feelings, He had an interval for reflection after theſe hints, before the third *appel nominal* came on. The queſtion was "What pu-" niſhment had Louis incurred?" On this point he renewed the ſurpriſe and horror of the aſſembly, and entailed on himſelf the execration of every feeling mind, by the memorable ſentence which he read from the tribune: "*Uniquement occupé de mon* " *devoir, convaincu que tous ceux qui ont attenté, ou* " *attenteroient par la ſuite, à la ſouveraineté du* " *peuple meritent la mort,* JE VOTE POUR LA MORT. " Influenced by no conſideration but that of per-" forming my duty, convinced that all who have " conſpired, or who ſhall hereafter conſpire, againſt " the ſovereignty of the people deſerve death, I " VOTE FOR DEATH." The horror excited by this trait of villany could hardly be ſuppreſſed; the aſſembly was in a general ferment; one member, ſtarting from his ſeat, and ſtriking his hands together, exclaimed, *Ah! le ſcelerat!* many repeated that expreſſion, and *Oh! l'horreur! Oh! le monſtre*[f]*!*

[f] See Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 577. 580. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 403.

This

This conduct, which excited great indignation in the people [g], produced no other effect in the king's mind than a ſenſe of the degraded ſtate of his worthleſs perſecutor. "I do not know," he ſaid, "what I have done to my couſin to make "him behave to me in the manner he has; but he "is to be pitied. He is ſtill more unfortunate than "I am. I certainly would not change conditions "with him [h]." Orleans is ſaid to have been a pleaſed ſpectator of the cataſtrophe of this horrid tragedy. Accompanied by his eldeſt ſon, he ſaw with a ſmile, from the *Pont de Louis* XVI. the decapitation of the virtuous monarch [i]. Heroic conduct of the king.

Whatever might be the hopes of Orleans at this moment, whether he had any latent expectations from the promiſes or principles of the Mountain, or whether his ambition confined itſelf to the tranquil enjoyment of the remains of his property, cannot be determined, but the day of the king's death put an end to all his comforts. He was alarmed by anonymous notes threatening him with aſſaſſination and with poiſon, and loading him with every reproach: he ſurrounded himſelf with a guard of *ſans culottes* formidably armed, who prevented all acceſs to him, except after the minuteſt ſcrutiny: he never ſlept twice together in the ſame room, and frequently changed his apartment in the courſe of the night: he wore armour under his clothes, and took every other precaution which fear and jealouſy could ſuggeſt. To the dread of aſſaſſination was added that of public impeachment; he knew that a word from the Mountain conſtituted his death warrant; and to obtain their forbearance, he ſacrificed to their cupidity every thing which would raiſe money; plate, furniture, pictures, gems, all were ſold. His virtuous lady, who had long mourned Terror of Orleans.

[g] Journal de Clery, p. 201.
[h] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 265.
[i] Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 45.

the effects of his vices and ambition, ſtruck with the prevailing horror at his late conduct, and urged by her friends, obtained a ſeparation from him, and retired to the houſe of her father.

Suppoſed plots in his favour.

For ſome time after the death of Louis XVI. it was ſuppoſed that the partiſans of Egalité were ſecretly labouring to procure his appointment to the protectorate [k]. This ſuſpicion was carried by ſome to a moſt ridiculous exceſs; one deputy affirmed, that Robeſpierre and the *commune* of Paris had conſpired to raiſe Egalité to the throne, and that Egalité had promiſed to make Robeſpierre prime miniſter *for life*, and convert the *national* into a *municipal* repreſentation, in which the repreſentatives of Paris ſhould be excluſively legiſlators for all

10th Mar. France [l]. A conſpiracy of ſome kind was entered into, and excited much alarm. Orleans was generally underſtood to be actively concerned in it, but what end was propoſed, or how it failed, are ſtill inſcrutable myſteries. Briſſot exhauſted his ingenuity in conjectures [m], and Garat avows his inability to explain the matter [n].

Total decline of his influence.

The failure of this undefined project completed the ruin of Orleans, his few remaining partiſans ſpeedily deſerted him. Before the king's death, Buzot and Louvet had moved for his baniſhment, but they were oppoſed by the Mountain, who apprehended that the loſs of his vote and influence would be fatal to their views [o], and particularly by Robeſpierre, who virulently inveighed againſt this new ſpecies of oſtraciſm [p]. They procured an adjourn-

23d Mar. ment of the queſtion till after the king's trial. The popular ſociety of Amiens ſent a letter requiring an

[k] Miles's Conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, p. 150.
[l] Garat's Memoirs, p. 197.
[m] Briſſot to his Conſtituents, p. 86.
[n] Garat's Memoirs, p. 114. 126.
[o] See Debates of 16th and 19th December 1792.
[p] See Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p. 485.

irrevocable

irrevocable decree of baniſhment againſt all the Bourbons, but as they imprudently added a requeſt that a decree of accuſation might be pronounced againſt Marat and ſome other demagogues, the convention paſſed to the order of the day. Robeſpierre alſo moved that *all* the relations of the late king ſhould be baniſhed, but with the like ſucceſs. 27th.

Flight of Dumouriez.

The flight of Dumouriez, and the obvious connection of that general with the Orleans family, completely ſubjected Egalité to his adverſaries. In vain he profeſſed in the convention his reſolution to imitate the elder Brutus, in ſacrificing his ſon to his country; his deſtruction was doomed, and he had neither virtue, property, or friends to defend or conſole him. When the news of Dumouriez's treaſon arrived, la Source moved that Egalité and Sillery ſhould be taken into cuſtody, but having implicated Danton in his cenſures, the debate took another turn. He was, however, that ſame day ſtruck out of the books of the Jacobin club. He was next indirectly denounced by Barbaroux, but as that deputy contented himſelf with requiring that Valence, and all perſons connected with the family of Orleans, ſhould be arreſted, Egalité ſeconded the motion, and thus obtained a momentary reprieve. This lenity was perhaps merely owing to the uncertainty which attended the final event of Dumouriez's exertions, for ſo ſoon as his want of power was diſcovered, the proceedings of the convention became more deciſive. Marat moved, that as there were no proofs againſt Egalité, his character of deputy ſhould be reſpected, but a letter having been read relating a converſation which he had held, in which he alluded to the probability of his being king, Boyer Fonfrede moved, that *all* the members of the Bourbon family ſhould be retained as hoſtages for the arreſted commiſſioners, which was decreed. Marat, a few days afterwards, ſaid, that he could not tell whether Phillippe Egalité was a traitor, but that he

1ſt April.

5th.

7th. Decree againſt Orleans.

12th.

he knew him to be a man without morals, without capacity, and without honour [q].

7th May. He is imprisoned.

When, in consequence of the decree granted on Boyer's motion, Orleans was taken into custody, he wrote to the convention to be informed whether the decree was meant to extend to him, an affirmative burst from every mouth. He protested against his detention, on the principle of his inviolability as a representative of the people; but they passed to the order of the day; and he was conveyed to the Abbaye. At the approach of the guards who came to arrest him, he fainted away, and on his being put in prison, exhibited every appearance of abjectness and terror. He was removed to Marseilles, together with several others of his family, and there confined. The first violence of his grief and fear having subsided, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of every species of luxury and debauchery in his power. He underwent an interrogatory before the criminal tribunal of Marseilles, but they having no instructions, pronounced him not guilty. They were soon however informed of the disposition of the convention, and instead of enlarging him after his acquittal, confined him in a close and damp dungeon.

11th. Sent to Marseilles.

7th June. Writes to the convention.

From this place he wrote to the convention, humbly supplicating that they would lighten his chains, if not restore him to liberty; expressing a hope that their definitive judgment would be in his favour, and that they would grant him that liberty which he had never employed but for the good of his country. This address however produced no effect, and he was for some time apparently forgotten. In the report made by Billaud Varennes respecting the imprisoned deputies, he was only slightly implicated on account of his connection with Petion.

25th July.

[q] See Debates.

At

At length, after he had ſuffered near ſix months impriſonment at Marſeilles, Amar made his famous report againſt the Briſſotines, and Orleans was implicated in many of the charges. Billaud Varennes immediately ſaid, "Let not the convention forget "one man, whom every ſentence of the report ac- "cuſes of the moſt criminal intentions: I move "that Philippe Egalité be compriſed in the decree "of accuſation which delivers all the conſpirators "to the revolutionary tribunal of Paris." This motion being received with applauſe, Billaud in continuation propoſed, that the votes on this ſubject ſhould be taken by *appel nominal*: this diſpleaſed Robeſpierre, who oppoſed the new motion with ſome aſperity; and at length it was decreed in the original form. When the people were informed of the event, they expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction, and rent the air with cries of *Vive la république*[1]! 3d Oct. Decree of accuſation.

He was ſoon afterwards brought to Paris, and lodged in the Conciergerie till the day of his trial. The jailor gave him a good bed in his own rooms, and he appeared perfectly indifferent to his fate; ate, drank, and ſlept with apparent tranquillity, never ſpeaking of public affairs[2]. He was at length put on his trial, together with one Couſtard, alſo a deputy; and defended by his old agent and ſtedfaſt adherent, Voidel. The interrogatory, which is one of the iniquitous forms of Gallic juriſprudence, charged him principally with a connection with the Briſſotines, and with an expreſſion to one Poultier, a deputy, conveying an idea that he was to be king. The jury, with their cuſtomary unanimity and inattention to the priſoner's defence, found him guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, and he was ordered for immediate execution. Brought to Paris. 6th Nov. Tried.

[1] Debates. [2] Proces des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 158.

His unexpected courage,

He was drawn to the *Place de la Revolution* in a cart, with four other perſons, who diſplayed the moſt dreadful apprehenſions; but, on this awful occaſion, Orleans exhibited an elevation of mind, which, had it been his portion in more proſperous days, would have inſured him happineſs and reputation. His being intended for execution on that day was ſo little known in Paris, that very few people were preſent when firſt he aſcended the cart, but the rumour ſoon flew and attracted innumerable gazers. They reproached him in the coarſeſt terms with all the crimes of his paſt life, his debaucheries, his aſſaſſinations, his perfidy, his vote againſt the king, every thing memory could ſuggeſt. When the cart reached the *palais royal*, with a refinement in cruelty truly Pariſian, they made it ſtop ten minutes, to obſerve the effect produced by contemplating the ſcene of his grandeur and debaucheries. On this great day he diſappointed the hopes of malevolence; he maintained, during his whole progreſs, a ſerenity of countenance and dignity of deportment altogether princely. He looked at the *palais royal*, and read the inſcription on the front denoting it to be national property, without the leaſt apparent emotion. The populace, diſappointed of their expected entertainment, at length permitted him to proceed. At a ſmall diſtance from the place of execution he entered into converſation with a prieſt who was allowed to attend the priſoners, and ſo continued till he came to the foot of the ſcaffold, where, without loſing for a moment the intrepidity ſo recently acquired, he ſubmitted to the knife of the guillotine, which terminated his exiſtence in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, in leſs than ten months after the murder of the king, which he had occaſioned by ſo much expence, ſo much intrigue, and ſo many crimes. His body was thrown without diſtinction amid the crowd of carcaſes which daily

and death.

butchery

butchery conſigned to the burying-ground of St. Mary Magdalen.

Thus periſhed this abandoned prince, whom it is now a common mode of ſpeech to call *the monſter Egalité*. He ſubverted a throne without courage or conſiſtency ſufficient to avail himſelf of the reſult of his own efforts; and ſquandered an immenſe fortune with ſo little judgment, that at his death he ſcarcely poſſeſſed a ſingle friend. He was tacitly excepted, after the fall of Robeſpierre, from the vote of cenſure which the *moderés* cauſed to be paſſed on the murderers of the other deputies; as no one had integrity or courage enough to propoſe including him in the liſt. His name will remain to poſterity a perpetual warning to individuals of overgrown property, againſt the folly of entering into popular conſpiracies, and becoming the dupes of men of deſperate fortune and daring ambition [t].

Obſervation.

I ſhall avoid further diſcuſſion of the character of Orleans, by preſenting to the reader the following animated compariſon, which a late noble and learned author has drawn with equal ſpirit and feeling.

" It is afflictive to have lived to find, in an age " called not only civilized but enlightened, in this " eighteenth century, that ſuch horrors, ſuch un- " paralleled crimes have been diſplayed on the " moſt conſpicuous theatre in Europe, in Paris, " the rival of Athens and Rome; that I am forced " to allow, that a multiplicity of crimes, which I " had weakly ſuppoſed were too manifold and too " abſurd to have been perpetrated even in a very " dark age, and in a northern iſland, not only not " commencing to be poliſhed, but inured to bar- " barous manners, and hardened by long and bar-

[t] Playfair, alluding to his firmneſs on the day of his death, with great juſtice and conſiderable humour ſays, " The duke of Orleans " was a coward from calculation, rather than from nature. When " there was any mode of eſcaping, or when he had an alternative, he " never riſked himſelf." Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 604. n.

" barous civil wars among princes and nobility " ſtrictly related;—yes, I muſt *now* believe that " any atrocity may have been attempted or prac- " tiſed by an ambitious prince of the blood aiming " at the crown, in the fifteenth century. I *can* " believe (I do not ſay I do) that Richard, duke of " Glouceſter, dipped his hand in the blood of the " ſaint-like Henry the ſixth, though ſo revolting " and injudicious an act as to excite the indignation " of mankind againſt him. I can now believe that " he contrived the death of his own brother Cla- " rence; and I can think it poſſible (inconceivable " as it was) that he aſperſed the chaſtity of his own " mother, in order to baſtardiſe the offspring of " his eldeſt brother:—for all theſe extravagant " exceſſes have been exhibited in the compaſs of " five years, by a monſter, by a royal duke, who " has actually ſurpaſſed all the guilt imputed to Ri- " chard the third; and who, devoid of Richard's " courage, has acted his enormities openly, and " will leave it impoſſible to any future writer, " however diſpoſed to candour, to entertain one " *hiſtoric doubt* on the abominable actions of Philip " duke of Orleans.

" After long plotting the death of his ſovereign, " a victim as holy as, and infinitely ſuperior in ſenſe " and many virtues to, Henry VI. Orleans has " dragged that ſovereign to the block, and pur- " chaſed his execution in public, as in public he " voted for it.

" If to the aſſaſſination of a brother (like the ſup- " poſed complicity of Glouceſter to that of Cla- " rence) Orleans has not yet concurred; ſtill, " when early in the revolution he was plotting the " murder of the king, being warned by an aſſociate " that he would be detected, he ſaid, 'No; for I " will have my (natural) brother, the abbé de St. " Far, ſtabbed too, and then nobody will ſuſpect " *me* of being concerned in the murder of my own " brother.'

" brother.' So ably can the aſſaſſins of an enlight-
" ened age refine on and ſurpaſs the atrocious deeds
" of Goths and barbarians!

" Shade of Richard of Glouceſter! if my weak
" pen has been able to waſh one bloody ſpeck, one
" incredible charge from *your* character, can I but
" acknowledge that Philip of Orleans has ſullied
" my varniſh, and at leaſt has weakened all the ar-
" guments that I drew from the improbability of
" *your* having waded ſo deeply into wickedneſs and
" impudence that recoiled on yourſelf, as to calum-
" niate your own mother with adultery. If *you* did,
" it was to injure the children of your brother;
" ſtill *you* had not the ſenſeleſs, ſhameleſs effrontery,
" to ſhake your own legitimacy. Philip of Orleans
" mocks your pitiful ſelf-partiality; he, in perſon,
" and not by proxy, has declared his own mother
" a ſtrumpet, has baſtardiſed himſelf, and for ever
" degraded his children as progeny deſcended from
" a coachman!—for what glory, for what object,
" far be it from me to conjecture; who would
" have a mind congenial enough to ſuch a monſter,
" as to be able to gueſs at his motives [u]?"

[u] See Poſtſcript to Hiſtoric Doubts written in 1793. Lord Orford's Works, vol. ii. p. 250*.

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THOMAS PAIN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the curiosity excited by the conduct and writings of Pain, and by his being the only Englishman who has appeared as a legislator in France, I should have felt an invincible repugnance to the labour of following him through all the mazes of guilt and fraud, and tracing him from a dishoneſt obscurity to his present state of infamous notoriety, but the more disgusting and fatiguing part of the task has been already performed with so much perspicuity and ability, that what remains becomes easy and comparatively pleasant. The publication on which I have relied for the facts stated in these Memoirs, is intitled, "The Life of Thomas Pain, the Author of the seditious Writings, intitled Rights of Man, by Francis Oldys, A. M. of the University of Pennsylvania;" a work which, from unquestionable information, I can venture to cite as the production of Mr. Chalmers, the well-known writer of the Lives of De Foe and Ruddiman. This work was first published [u] when Pain, making a violent effort to emerge from the obscurity in which he had remained ever since the peace of 1783, declared himself the opponent of Burke, and the champion of the French revolution. It has been so well received as to have passed through ten editions; and as the author himself has observed,

[u] It has been since abridged by William Cobbett, the American, who writes under the name of Peter Porcupine.

"Mr.

" Mr. Pain has noticed the Life in his Second Part " of the Rights of Man; yet, however urged by " intereſt, or quickened by ſhame, he has not con- " troverted one aſſertion, he has not explained one " incident; he has confirmed ſome facts, without " denying any: and, of conſequence, he has ad- " mitted the *whole* of the narrative to be *true*, " which indeed could not be diſputed, without " contradicting dates and invalidating records." Relying on their admiſſion, and on the known character of the author, I ſhall abridge his narrative and diſtinguiſh the notes for which I am indebted to his diligence and accuracy by the ſignature O.

Thomas Pain[x] was born at Thetford in the county of Norfolk. His father, Joſeph Pain, was the ſon of a ſmall, but reputable farmer; a ſtay-maker by trade, and a quaker by religion: his mother was Frances Cocke, the daughter of an attorney at Thetford. For marrying according to the forms of the church, Joſeph Pain was expelled the community of quakers, but that benevolent ſect continued to pity his diſtreſſes through life, and to relieve his wants. The father and mother both lived to know their ſon's vices, to pity his misfortunes, to hear of his fame, but to partake little of his bounty[y]. It aroſe, probably, from the tenets of the father, and the eccentricity of the mother, that Thomas Pain was never baptized, or regularly received into the boſom of any church, though he

29th Jan, 1736-7. Birth and accounts of his parents

[x] This man's real name is *Pain*: his fictitious name is *Paine* with a final *e*: for, his father's name was *Pain*; and his own name was *Pain*, when he married, when he correſponded with the exciſe, and when he firſt appeared in America: but, finding ſome inconvenience in his real name, or ſeeing ſome advantage in a fictitious one, he thus changed the name of his family.—O.

[y] Joſeph Pain was buried at Thetford on the 14th of November 1786, aged 78.—Frances Pain, widow, was buried on the 18th of May 1789, and recorded to be 94: but, as ſhe was born in January 1697-8, the pariſh regiſter makes her age to be greater than it was, though ſhe had far outlived the period which is aſſigned to mortals.—O.

was confirmed by the biſhop of Norwich. This laſt circumſtance was owing to the zeal of Mrs. Cocke, his aunt, a woman of ſuch goodneſs, that though ſhe lived on a ſmall annuity, ſhe imparted much of her little income to his mother, while he was not very ſolicitous about his aged parent, amidſt his cares for mankind.

Education. Pain, who was educated at the free-ſchool of Thetford, under Mr. Knowles, was deemed a ſharp boy of unſettled application, but left no performances which denote juvenile vigour or uncommon attainments; his ſtudies were confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. At the age of thirteen he left ſchool to learn his father's buſineſs, and continued to work with him at Thetford for five years, except a ſhort period during which he was employed by a couſin, who was alſo a ſtay-maker at Shipdam in Norfolk [z].

Learns the trade of a ſtay-maker.

1756. Goes to London. At the age of nineteen he went to London, where he is ſuppoſed to have remained about two years, but no trace of him is diſcovered, except that he worked for ſome with Morris, a very noted ſtay-maker, in Hanover-ſtreet, Long Acre.

1758. To Dover. He next eſtabliſhed himſelf at Dover with Grace, a ſtay-maker, of whom, under pretence of an attachment to his daughter, he contrived to borrow ten pounds, to ſet up as a maſter ſtay-maker at Sandwich, but he neither married the lady or repaid the money.

Apr. 1759. Goes to Sandwich At Sandwich he lodged with Mrs. Fiſher in the fiſh-market, at whoſe houſe he collected a congre-

[z] He indeed tells himſelf (Rights, part ii. p. 91.) what ſurely cannot be true, "That when little more than ſixteen years of age, I "entered on board the Terrible privateer, Capt. Death." He was certainly born on the 29th of January 1736-7: he was, of courſe, ſixteen on the 29th of January 1753. But the war was not declared againſt France till the 17th of May 1756, when he had entered into his twentieth year. The Terrible was fitted out probably in the ſummer of 1756, and was certainly captured in January 1757. Theſe facts evince how little Pain is to be truſted, when he does pretend to give a paſſage of his own life.—O.

gation,

gation, to whom he preached as an independent, or a methodiſt. He alſo wrote a ſhort poem which was never publiſhed, on a perſon in jail, who was reſtored to life and reaſon after he had attempted ſelf-deſtruction. Here he married Mary Lambert, the daughter of James Lambert, who had been an exciſeman, and afterwards a ſheriff's officer. She was waiting-woman to the wife of Richard Solly, an eminent woollen-draper, and is ſtill praiſed by her own ſex as having been a pretty girl of modeſt behaviour [a]. Whether he was diſappointed of an expected fortune, or urged by natural ſavageneſs is uncertain, but ere two months had elapſed, his ill uſage of his unfortunate wife was notorious. Her former miſtreſs, dame Solly, however, relieved her with conſtant ſolicitude. Pain ſoon after his marriage took a houſe next the Board-yard on Dolphin key, without being able to furniſh it. Rutter, a reſpectable unholſterer of Sandwich, ſupplied him with ſuch furniture as he wanted, but being embarraſſed with debts and goaded by duns, he was obliged to depart from Sandwich in the night, with his wife. He took with him the ſtays belonging to a cuſtomer, a ſtove and other articles of furniture from his houſe, the property of the upholſterer. He left at Sandwich a bad character, which has deſcended to the preſent times, and has induced the inhabitants to remark that not a ſingle anecdote of him is remembered which is favourable to his moral character.

and becomes a methodiſt preacher.

Marries.

7th April 1760. Runs away.

From Sandwich he went to Margate, where he ſold the furniture he had ſo diſhoneſtly obtained; an act, which, had the laws been duly enforced,

Goes to Margate.

[a] In the church regiſter there is the following entry: "Thomas "Pain, of the pariſh of St. Peter's, in the town of Sandwich in Kent, "bachelor, and Mary Lambert, of the ſame pariſh, ſpinſter, were "married in this church, by licence, this 27th day of Sept. 1759, "by me William Bunce, rector. In the preſence of Thomas Taylor, "Maria Solly, John Jollin. (Signed) Thomas Pain, Mary Lam-"bert."—O.

would

would probably have precipitated his voyage to America, and given him an additional claim to patronage in France. He ſtayed at Margate only while he ſettled his affairs, and then departed for London.

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Conjectures reſpecting his wife.

From this period it remains uncertain what fate attended his wife; by ſome ſhe is ſaid have periſhed on the road, of ill uſage and a premature birth: the women of Sandwich are poſitive that ſhe died in the Britiſh Lying-in Hoſpital, in Brownlow-ſtreet, Long Acre; but the regiſter of this charity, which is kept with commendable accuracy, evinces that ſhe had not been received into this laudable refuge of female wretchedneſs: and there are others who have convinced themſelves by diligent inquiry, that ſhe is ſtill alive, though the extreme obſcurity of her retreat prevents ready diſcovery [b].

Convinced by long experience that he was deficient in ſome eſſential requiſite, either ability or induſtry, to ſucceed as a ſtay-maker, he fixed his
July 1761. hopes on obtaining a place in the exciſe. To qualify himſelf for this ſituation, and obtain, in the meantime, a neceſſary ſubſiſtence, he retired to
1ſt Dec. 1762. his father's houſe, and after fourteen months of ſtudy and trials, obtained a gratification of his
Obtains a place in the exciſe. wiſhes, through the kindneſs of Mr. Cockſedge, the learned recorder of Thetford. He was immediately ſent as a ſupernumerary to gage the brewers' caſks at
8th Aug. 1764. Grantham, and afterwards to watch the ſmugglers
Diſmiſſed. 27th Aug. 1765. of Alford; but he did not long retain his office, being, for ſome reaſon at preſent unknown, diſmiſſed in a year after his arrival at that place.

Goes to London. He was now reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of indigence, in want of food, raiment, and ſhelter.

[b] A diligent ſearch in the books of the London Lying-in Hoſpital, in the City Road, found no ſuch perſon as Mrs. Pain to have died in it during the years 1760 or 1761: nor is it true, as hath been poſitively aſſerted in the newſpapers, that ſhe is now living in the work-houſe of St. George's, Southwark.—O.

In

In this miſerable condition he returned to London, where he was ſupported by the diſintereſted benevolence of ſome humane individuals till he was reſtored to the exciſe. Reſtored, 11th July 1766.

His reſtoration, however, not being attended with immediate employment, he was obliged to accept an engagement as Engliſh uſher with Mr. Noble, who kept the great academy in Leman-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, from whom he received twenty pounds a-year, and an additional five pounds for finding his own lodging. Here he continued till Chriſtmas, diſliked by the miſtreſs, who yet remembers him, and hated by the boys, who were terrified by his harſhneſs. During this period he lodged with one Oliver, a hair-dreſſer in Whitechapel, by whom he is ſtill recollected [c]. From Mr. Noble, who relinquiſhed him without regret, he went to Mr. Gardnor's, a reputable ſchool at Kenſington, but he remained there only three months. Uſher at an academy. 1767.

Among other ſagacious diſcoveries with which Mr. Pain has, of late years, benefited mankind, there is one very remarkable, that the knowledge of a clergymen is confined to a, b, ab, and hic, hæc, hoc. Yet even this contemptible modicum of ſcience was wanting, at this period to the accompliſhment of Mr. Pain's views of intereſt or ambition. He was deſirous of taking orders, and applied to Mr. Noble for a certificate of his qualification, which that gentleman very properly refuſed on account his limited education. Diſappointed in his wiſh of regular ordination, Pain felt no abatement of his deſire to be a preacher, but gratified himſelf by holding forth to promiſcuous audiences in Moorfields, and other populous places. Deſirous to take orders. Becomes a field-preacher.

At length he obtained a regular employ as an exciſe officer, being ſent, after ſome delays, to Lewes. Mar. 1768. Goes to Lewes.

[c] Theſe references to the memory of Mrs. Noble and Mr. Oliver are taken from "The Life of Pain," and, of courſe, apply to the time of publiſhing the firſt edition of that work, 1792.

Lewes

Lewes in Suſſex. At this place, by his devotion to the bottle, he acquired the title of a *jolly fellow*, and by greater attention to field ſports than his duty, the ironical nick-name of *commodore*. He lodged at the houſe
July 1769. of Samuel Ollive, a tobacconiſt, who dying in rather bad circumſtances, afforded Mr. Pain an occaſion to try his ingenuity in appropriating to himſelf part of his effects, but he failed in the attempt, and was turned out of doors by the executor, Mr. Atterſol, with marks of indignity and diſtruſt.

1770. But the advantages which the integrity and diſcernment of the executor withheld, the kindneſs of the widow and affection of the daughter ſupplied.

Opens a ſhop as a grocer. He returned to the houſe from which he had been ſo diſgracefully expelled, opened the ſhop in his own name as a grocer, and on his own behalf continued

Defrauds the revenue. to work the tobacco-mill of Ollive, however contrary both the ſhop and the mill were to the maxims of the exciſe. Such was his addreſs, or his artifice, that though he had promoted the buying of ſmuggled tobacco, he was able for ſeveral years to cover his practices, and to retain his protector.

1771. Marries Miſs Ollive. At the age of thirty-four, he married Elizabeth Ollive, the daughter of his old landlord, who was eleven years younger than himſelf[d], and a woman of ſuch accompliſhments as to attract men of higher rank and greater delicacy. Pain had, however, gained her affections; and ſhe would have him, contrary to the advice of Mr. Atterſol, her father's friend, and to the remonſtrances of her own relations. This marriage began inauſpiciouſly, and

Suſpected of committing perjury. ended unhappily. Before Pain could have obtained his marriage licence, he ſwore that he was a *bachelor*, when he knew that he was a *widower*, if indeed his

[d] The following entry appears on the pariſh regiſter of St. Michael in Lewes: "Thomas Pain, *bachelor*, and Elizabeth Ollive, ſpinſter, "were married in this church, by licence, the 26th of March 1771. "By me, Robert Auſten, curate. Witneſſes, Henry Verrall, Thomas "Ollive. (Signed) Thomas Pain, Elizabeth Ollive."—O.

firſt

first wife were deceased [e]. He was on this occasion instrumental too, with his understanding clear and his eyes opened, in entering on the register that he was a *bachelor*, though he knew he was a *widower*. Now the marriage-act declares it to be felony without benefit of clergy, wilfully to make false entry on the register, with intent to defeat the salutary purposes of recording truth, discriminating characters, and ascertaining property.

In this year Pain made his first effort as a public writer. His production was an election song for one of the candidates at New Shoreham. It was proposed to the poets of Lewes as a prize-subject: his song was adjudged the best, and he was rewarded with a present of three guineas. A design was formed about the same time by the excisemen, to petition parliament for an increase of salary; a sum of money was raised by common contribution, and Pain was employed to write *their case*. After many months labour, "he produced an octavo pamphlet "of twenty-one pages, which, exclusive of *the introduction*, is divided into two heads; *the state of* "*the salary of the officers of excise; thoughts on the* "*corruption arising from the poverty of excise-officers.* "On these topics, he says all that the ablest writer "could have said. Truth easily slides into the "mind, without the assistance of ability, or the "recommendation of artifice. But if Pain's maiden "pamphlet be inspected by critical malignity, it "will be found, like his maturer writings, to "abound in the false grammar of illiterature, and "the false thoughts of inexperience. Vigour of "sentiment and energy of manner will not be de-"nied him. His first pamphlet will be considered

Commences author.

1772. Writes the Excise-man's Case.

[e] It is a very remarkable fact, that the marriage affidavits, within the district of Lewes, during 1771, the year of Pain's marriage, should be missing; yet, that the marriage affidavits, during 1770 and 1772, should be safe. Whether this loss happened by design, or accident, we will not conjecture, though we think the coincidence rather extraordinary.—O.

"as

" as his beſt performance by all thoſe who regard " truth as ſuperior to falſehood, modeſty to impu- " dence, and juſt complaint to factious innovation[f]." Four thouſand copies of *the caſe* were printed by Mr. William Lee of Lewes. But even thoſe intended for the members of parliament were not all diſtributed; and though Pain reinforced the arguments contained in his pamphlet, by two additional
1773. publications, each on a folio ſheet, and ſtayed in London on the buſineſs a whole winter, no application to Parliament was made on behalf of his clients. Pain ſpent their money without obtaining for them any redreſs, and even left the printer's bill unpaid. It is worthy of remark, that in a newſpaper controverſy in 1779, he declared, that till the epoch of his *Common Senſe*, he had never publiſhed a ſyllable.

While he was thus employed in every thing but his proper buſineſs, his pecuniary affairs became deranged, and he was under the neceſſity of making an aſſignment of his effects to Mr. Whitfield of
8th April Lewes, his principal creditor. About the ſame time,
1774. his inattention and improper conduct in his office occaſioned his diſmiſſion; no previous acts of conciliation could avert his diſgrace[g]; nor could any ſubſequent efforts effect his reſtoration. Mr. Whitfield took poſſeſſion of the property by virtue of his aſſign-

[f] This is not the only occaſion on which I have uſed the *very words* of the author to whom I am indebted for my information reſpecting Pain; but as I have never ſeen the pamphlet in queſtion, I do not think it proper to make uſe of the judgment of another perſon without expreſs acknowledgment.

[g] As every ſcrap of a great writer is intereſting to the curious, we have preſerved the ſubjoined extract of a letter from our author to a ſuperior exciſe-officer, dated at Lewes, the 24th March 1774: —" Dear Sir, I have requeſted Mr. Scott to put y^e 3d and 4th^rd. " books for 74 under examination, for as I was in London almoſt all " laſt winter, I have no other, which have any buſineſs in them— " Requeſt the favour (if not too inconvenient) to inquire and inform " me when they are ordered—and *if you can find out the examiner, deſire* " *you will drink a bottle or two of wine with him*—I ſhould like the cha- " racter to go in as fair as it can."—O.

ment,

ment, and sold it [h]. The other creditors, thinking themselves defrauded by this preference, let loose on their debtor the terriers of the law, and he was obliged to abscond from their pursuit in the cock-loft of the White-horse inn, without bedding, and, but for the female servant, without food, till Sunday set him free.

www.ibtook.com.cn

His second wife had no less reason to complain of his unkindness and brutality than his first: she bore with the greatest patience the insults, violences, and repeated beatings, which his harshness and cruelty induced him to inflict, before she fought relief by complaining to her friends. On her representations, after an unhappy union of three years and an half, they executed articles of separation, which were drawn by Mr. Josias Smith, a most respectable attorney at Lewes; she engaging to pay to her husband thirty-five pounds, and he obliging himself to claim no part of whatever goods she might gain in future.

Treatment of his wife.

24th May 1774. Their separation.

On leaving Lewes, he fled to London for concealment; and soon after his arrival, hearing that his wife had been kindly received by her brother, and was comfortably settled with him, he disturbed her repose by contesting the validity of the articles so recently executed; but at length a new deed was prepared in such terms as to satisfy all parties.

Goes to London.

4th June 1774.

After many useless efforts to obtain his restoration as an officer of the excise, Pain's friend and patron, the late George Lewis Scott, recommended him to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, as a person who could, at that epoch, be useful in America. Franklin gave

Goes to America.

[h] Mr. Whitfield, by publishing the following advertisement, exposed to the whole town of Lewes the desperate state of his debtor's circumstances: "To be sold by auction, on Thursday the 14th of April, and "following day, all the household furniture, stock in trade, and other "effects, of Thomas Pain, grocer and tobacconist, near the West "Gate in Lewes: also, a horse-tobacco and snuff mill, with all the "utensils for cutting of tobacco and grinding of snuff; and two un-"opened crates of cream-coloured stone-ware."—O.

him

him a recommendatory letter to Mr. Richard Beech, wine-merchant, at Philadelphia; and one of introSept. 1774. duction to governor Franklin of the Jerseys. Thus provided he quitted England, leaving behind him acquaintance who did not esteem, and relatives who did not regret him [1].

Nov. 1774. His first employment. On his arrival in Philadelphia, he presented his letter to Mr. Beech; but that gentleman discovering that he could not spell correctly, declined recommending him as an usher; and he was engaged by Mr. Aitkin, a bookseller, as shopman, at a salary of twenty pounds a-year. The state of America at this period was such as to afford sufficient scope for the exertions of an active mind, to whatever course it was bent, and Pain did not long remain unnoticed. Quitting the obscure and unprofitable line to which his abilities at first seemed to Nov. 1775. condemn him, he employed his genius in experiments for fixing a cheap, easy, and expeditious me-

[1] We subjoin the following letter from Pain's mother to his wife; not only for its own merit, but because it ascertains his identity, and illustrates his character:

"Dear Daughter, Thetford, Norfolk, 27th July 1774.

"I must beg leave to trouble you with my enquiries concerning my "unhappy son and your husband: various are the reports, the which "I find come originally from the Excise-office. Such as his vile "treatment to you, his secreting upwards of 30*l.* intrusted with him "to manage the petition for advance of salary; and that since his "discharge, he have petitioned to be restored, which was rejected with "scorn. Since which I am told he have left England. To all "which I beg you'll be kind enough to answer me by due course of "post.—You'll not be a little surprised at my so strongly desiring to "know what's become of him after I repeat to you his undutiful beha"viour to the tendereſt of parents; he never asked of us any thing, but "what was granted, that were in our poor abilities to do; nay, even "distressed ourselves, whose works are given over by old age, to let "him have 20*l.* on bond, and every other tender mark a parent could "possibly shew a child; his ingratitude, or rather want of duty, has "been such, that he have not wrote to me upwards of two years.— "If the above account be true, I am heartily sorry that a woman, whose "character and amiableness deserves the greatest respect, love, and "esteem, as I have always on enquiry been informed your's did, "should be tied for life to the worst of husbands.—I am, dear "daughter, your affectionate mother F. PAIN."

"P. S. For God's sake let me have your answer, as I am almost "distracted."—O.

thod of making ſaltpetre; and propoſed the plan of a ſaltpetre aſſociation, for voluntarily ſupplying the public magazines with gunpowder.

But that which elevated him to a pitch of unexpected, and, for ſuch an exertion, unexampled celebrity, was the publication of the pamphlet called COMMON SENSE. Notwithſtanding all the faults of ignorance and raſhneſs with which it abounds; notwithſtanding the ingenious expoſure of its errors, written by Dr. William Smith, which appeared under the ſignature of Cato; this book was ſo congenial to the public taſte, that it was univerſally peruſed, and loudly praiſed. The firſt edition was ſpeedily ſold; a ſecond, with a ſupplement of one-third more, was immediately prepared; a German tranſlation was printed; yet after all theſe editions, and all this applauſe, this wonder-working pamphlet brought the writer in debt to the publiſher 29*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* if his own ſtatement may be believed [k]. In ſupport of this famous work, he wrote, in anſwer to the animadverſions of Cato, ſome letters in the Pennſylvania Journal, under the title of *a Forreſter*, which were more ſucceſsful, from the diſpoſition of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, than the ſober reflections of the ſcholar, who taught only the unpalatable doctrine of obedience. Nor did a more partial reception await a pamphlet intitled *Plain Truth*, which, as it was haſtily written, was inattentively read, and little heard amidſt the ravings of anarchy.

Publiſhes Common Senſe. 10th Jan. 1776.

In the unſucceſsful campaign of 1776, he joined the American army, and attended them in their retreat from Hudſon's river to the Delaware. While every thing around wore the moſt diſcouraging aſpect, he did not deſpair. The congreſs fled: all were diſmayed: yet Pain thanked God that he did

Joins the army.

[k] See Pain's Declaration in Almon's Remembrancer, 1780, part I. p. 295.—O.

not fear. "He knew well their situation, and saw "his way out of it." He endeavoured, with no inconsiderable success, to make others see with his eyes, to inspire others with his confidence. It was with this design that he published in the Pennsylvania Journal, THE CRISIS, wherein he states every topic of hope, and examines every motive of apprehension. This essay he continued to publish periodically, during the continuance of hostilities, as often as the necessity of affairs required that he should conceal truth, or propagate falsehood; that he should exhilarate despondency, or repress hope[1].

19th Dec. 1776.

1777. Appointed secretary to the committee.

The European concerns of congress were at first managed by *a committee for secret correspondence*, which was afterwards converted into *a committee for foreign affairs*, to which Pain was appointed secretary. All foreign letters, after this appointment, remained in his office; and his duty required him in future to reside with congress. He soon however embarked in a contest with Silas Deane, in which he involved Robert Morris, the celebrated financier of the American states; and perfidiously, and without regard to official decorum, retailed through the newspapers what he confidentially knew from the foreign correspondence. Of this misconduct the minister of France complained to the congress. Pain was ordered to attend. Being asked by Jay, the president, *if he were the author of the publications on Mr. Deane's affairs?* and answering, *Yes*; he was directed to withdraw. On the subsequent day he applied for an explanatory hearing, which was refused; and he was obliged to give in his resignation. He did not quietly suffer this disgrace, but wrote, though without success, to excite the people of America against the congress. The French minister, Gerard, attempted to gain him

6th Jan. 1779.

8th Jan. Resigns.

Intrigues of the French minister.

[1] The Crisis, No XIII. was published at Philadelphia on the 19th of April 1783, the same day that a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed. This was the last. Alm. Rem. 1783, part II. p. 105.—O.

over,

over, hoping to extract from him some secrets of more importance than he had before wantonly disclosed; and while he complained to the congress publicly, intrigued with Pain privately. They had several meetings, the object of which was *silence* about *Deane;* Gerard made him *a genteel and profitable offer*, but Pain was pledged to prosecute Deane; and he was determined that *pension* and *Pain* should never be seen together in the same paragraph. These intrigues were renewed, and continued for some time: Pain persisted in writing against Deane, till the Americans grew tired of the contest [m].

To

[m] See those intrigues detailed by Pain himself, with little prudence and no forecast, in Alm. Rem. 1780, part I. p. 294. 297. The following public papers will supply what is defective in Pain's detail:

"SIR, Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1779.

"It is with real satisfaction that I execute the order of Congress "for transmitting to you the inclosed copy of an act of the 12th "instant, on a subject rendered important by affecting the dignity of "congress, the honour of their great ally, and the interest of both "nations.

"The explicit disavowal and high disapprobation of congress relative to the publications referred to in this act, will, I flatter myself, be no less satisfactory to his most christian majesty, than "pleasing to the people of these states. Nor have I the least doubt "but that every attempt to injure the reputation of either, or impair "their mutual confidence, will meet with the indignation and resentment of both. I have the honour, &c.

"JOHN JAY.

"To the Hon. the Sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France."

"In Congress, January 12, 1779.

"Congress resumed the consideration of the publications in the "Pennsylvania packet of the 2d and 5th instant, under the title of "'Common Sense' to the public, on Mr. Deane's affair, of which "Mr. Thomas Pain, secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, "has acknowledged himself to be the author; and also the memorials "of the minister plenipotentiary of France of the 5th and 10th instant, "respecting the said publications; whereupon, *Resolved unanimously*, "That in answer to the memorials of the Hon. Sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of his most christian majesty, of the 5th and "10th instant, the president be directed to assure the said minister, "that congress do fully, and in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publications referred to in the said memorials; "and as they are convinced by indisputable evidence that the supplies "shipped in the Amphitrite, Seine, and Mercury, were not a pre-

Pain made maſter of arts.

To compenſate for the loſs of political honours, Pain now received thoſe of the academy. The univerſity of Pennſylvania, after the tumult of the times had driven his old antagoniſt the preſident away,

1780. conferred on him the degree of *maſter of arts*. He was choſen a member of the American Philoſophical Society, and clerk of the aſſembly of Pennſylvania.

March. On the ſtagnation of the congreſs paper credit, he publiſhed *a Criſis extraordinary*; but eloquence like his, though it might be acceptable at the moment of incipient innovation, and uſeful in exciting the exertions of the turbulent, and the clamours of the diſaffected, was of no avail againſt the impreſſions of inſtant calamity and approaching ruin. He cheered the Americans from time to time with another *criſis*, till his *criſis* becoming common, was no longer a *criſis*; and was therefore read without attention, and thrown away without efficacy.

" ſent, and that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, the great and generous " ally of theſe United States, did not preface his alliance with any " ſupplies whatever ſent to America, ſo they have not authoriſed the " writer of the ſaid publications to make any ſuch aſſertions as are " contained therein; but on the contrary, do highly diſapprove of the " ſame."

To which Mr. Gerard returned the following anſwer:

" SIR, Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1779.

" I have received the letter with which you honoured me on the 13th " inſtant, incloſing me the reſolve of congreſs in anſwer to the re- " preſentations I had the honour to make them on the 5th and 10th.

" I intreat you to receive and to expreſs to congreſs, the great ſen- " ſibility with which I felt their frank, noble, and categorical man- " ner of deſtroying thoſe falſe and dangerous inſinuations which " might miſlead ignorant people, and put arms into the hands of the " common enemy.

" To the king, my maſter, ſir, no proofs are neceſſary to the " foundation of a confidence in the firm and conſtant adherence of " congreſs to the principles of the alliance; but his majeſty will always " behold with pleaſure the meaſures which congreſs may take to pre- " ſerve inviolate its reputation; and it is from the ſame conſideration, " I flatter myſelf, he will find my repreſentations on the 7th Decembe r " equally worth his conſideration. I am, &c.

" GERARD.

" Publiſhed by order of congreſs, CHARLES THOMSON, Sec."

At

At length a conſciouſneſs of inſignificance, or a deſire of change, induced Pain to accompany the younger Laurens to France. While he was at L'Orient, preparing to return to America, the Anna Tereſa packet-boat for New York was carried into France by the Madame, French privateer. This event gave him an opportunity of peruſing the miniſter's diſpatches, which Laurens carried to congreſs when they both returned to Philadelphia [a]. He pretends that at this period he projected a ſecret trip to London, in order to *open the eyes of the country with reſpect to the madneſs and ſtupidity of its government* [b]. It is of little conſequence to diſcuſs the merits of an unexecuted project; but in this aſſertion there is ſuch a mixture of abſurdity and impudence, that it claims ſome notice. Pain, it ſeems by his own account, *had formed to himſelf a deſign of coming over to England in the latter end of the year* 1780. He communicated it to general Greene, who at firſt vehemently approved it; but the affair of Arnold and André happening ſoon after, the general became alarmed for the ſafety of the profound politician, and diſſuaded him from executing his ſcheme. In truth, if he had really formed ſuch a ſcheme, the general ſhewed more wiſdom than belonged to the maſter of arts. The ſucceſs of his plan depended only on *his getting over to England without being known, and only remaining in ſafety till he could get out a publication.* The man who could form ſuch a project has little right to exult over the ſtupidity of others! But after all, what need was there to riſk a life ſo precious by

1780. Goes to France.

May 1781.

Sept. 1781. Returns to America.

[a] Rights, part ii. p. 95. He there gives an account of that whole adventure, but with ſome circumſtances which create diſtruſt. The fact is, that the original diſpatches, which were dated the 7th of March 1781, were publiſhed in the Amſterdam Gazette of the 11th of June 1781, and were afterwards republiſhed in the Engliſh Regiſters. Yet he pretends, with his uſual ſelf-ſufficiency, to have ſeen in thoſe original diſpatches the ſtupidity of the Engliſh cabinet far more than he otherwiſe could have done.—O.

[b] See Rights, ubi ſupra.

coming to England? All his publications came through the preſſes of London, without his perſonal aſſiſtance, and without contributing very much *to open the eyes of the country*. His venom would have been as effectually circulated from America or from France then, as it is now.

1782. Writes a letter to Raynal.

Before the American revolution was really atchieved, the abbé Raynal haſtened to give his hiſtory of it [P]. This publication was diſpleaſing to the Americans in general, and offenſive to Pain in particular, as the abbé had, on falſe pretences, obtained Pain's metaphyſics, and ſold them as his own; thus borrowing his *morals* with his *maxims*. He poured forth his indignation on this ſubject in ſeventy-ſix octavo pages of intemperate criticiſm; and violently reclaimed his property, aſcertaining it by the moſt indubitable marks. The pamphlet has all the characteriſtics of its author's other productions: the ſame violence, the ſame boldneſs of aſſumption and raſhneſs of concluſion, the ſame indifference to propriety, and the ſame contempt of all laws, thoſe of grammar not excepted.

29th Oct. 1782. Writes his Letter to the Earl of Shelburne.

Pain had ſcarcely diſpatched his letter to the abbé Raynal, when he wrote an epiſtle to the earl of Shelburne. The noble earl had ſaid in parliament, it ſeems, in a tone which ſtill vibrates in the ears of Engliſhmen, *that when Great Britain ſhall acknowledge American independence, the ſun of Britain's glory is ſet for ever*. Pain reaſons and laughs with the parliamentary prophet, through a little pamphlet of twenty-eight pages.

19th April. Publiſhes his laſt Criſis.

On the day a ceſſation of hoſtilities was proclaimed, Pain publiſhed his laſt Criſis, which was afterwards reprinted under the title of *Pain's Thoughts on the Peace*. He concluded this valedictory oration in the following words: *Now, gentlemen, you are independent—ſit down and be happy.*

[P] It was publiſhed at London in December 1781.—O.

But

But the country was far from being happy; nor was the magic of words sufficient to compensate for physical wants and social privations. Pain, who was no longer of use, suffered all the miseries of dependent penury. He was employed for several years in soliciting the American assemblies to grant him some reward for his labours. New York conferred on him some forfeited lands at New Rochelle, which, as they were neither tenanted nor cultivated, brought him no annual income. Pennsylvania gave him five hundred pounds, which, in spite of his protestations, was a mode of uniting *pension* and *Pain* in the same paragraph [q]. 1783. His rewards.

Having stayed in America long enough to see the people awaking to order and law; to find himself no longer looked upon as a safe director or wise politician, but consigned with the most contemptuous indifference to oblivion; he quitted the United States, leaving the American citizens to build up as they could the several fabrics he had so powerfully contributed to overturn; and a young woman at New York, of a reputable family, to deplore the effects of a profligacy that will probably prevent his return to his *beloved America*. He arrived in Paris, with no other introduction than his literary fame, and the model of a bridge he had projected, which he exhibited to the French academy. That body, with their usual politeness and indifference, thanked him for the sight, but did not honour him with any further notice. 1786. Leaves America. 1787. Arrives in Paris.

In the autumn of the same year he returned to England, and took up his residence at the White Bear, Piccadilly. He did not make a long abode in Returns to England, 3d Sept.

[q] In the Maryland Journal, dated the 31st of December 1784, there is the following article: "On the 6th instant, his excellency John "Dickenson, president of the State of Pennsylvania, sent a message to "the assembly respecting Mr. Thomas Pain, the author of Common "Sense and other political pieces, strongly recommending to their "notice his services and situation."—O.

London, but went to Thetford to visit his mother, to whom he had previously remitted the twenty pounds advanced on his bond, as mentioned in her letter to his wife. He now promised her an allowance of nine shillings a-week, to be paid by one Whiteside, an American merchant; but owing to the confusion in that trader's affairs, or to some other cause, this allowance was soon stopt. Before the end of the year, he returned to London, and published his *Prospects on the Rubicon; or, an Investigation into the causes and consequences of the politics to be agitated at the meeting of parliament.* This is an octavo tract of sixty-eight pages, and discusses a great multiplicity of topics, particularly the affairs of Holland: but it is now no longer remembered.

Publishes.

1788. Builds his bridge.

Pain now employed himself with great assiduity in building his bridge. For this end, he made a journey to Rotheram in Yorkshire, in order to superintend the casting of the iron by Mr. Walker. While thus occupied at Rotheram, his French familiarity is said not to have much pleased the English ladies; and their displeasure induced Mr. Walker to turn Pain out of his house. The bridge, however, was at length erected in a close at Leasing-Green; being an arch constructed of iron, one hundred and ten feet in the span, five feet from the spring, and twenty-two feet in breadth. It was erected chiefly at the charge of Mr. Walker; but the project had cost the projector a large sum, which was mostly furnished by Mr. Whiteside. The bridge was shewn for some time at the Yorkshire Stingo, for a shilling[r]. As this was not the first iron bridge which was known to the English, it is not easy to discover why the projector, who had a model,

[r] Pain's bridge was taken to pieces in October 1791, in order that other erections might be built in its place, and that the rent of the close in which it stood might be paid: the timber of it was sold to the neighbouring builders, and the castings of iron were sent to Yorkshire, whence they came.—O.

should

ſhould incur ſo great an expence, merely to make a ſhow.

Whiteſide having become a bankrupt, and his affignees finding ſix hundred and twenty pounds charged againſt Pain, they ſued out a writ againſt him: he was arreſted at the White Bear, and carried to Armſtrong's lock-up houſe in Carey-ſtreet. Here he lay for three weeks, at the end of which he was bailed by ſome American merchants; and at length compromiſed the buſineſs, by paying four hundred and ſixty pounds which had been remitted to him from America, and giving his own note for one hundred and ſixty more. Is arreſted. 29th Oct. 1789.

At this period, the French revolution had aſſumed that character of horror which rendered it too intereſting to Pain for him to endure a longer abſence. The capture of the Baſtille, the maſſacres of the ſummer, and the impriſonment of the king on the 6th of October, were evidences of a revolutionary ſpirit, which promiſed to a mind like his the fulleſt enjoyment. He accordingly repaired to Paris. But the revolution of France was not like that of America; his ſlowneſs of conception, and difficulty of argumentation, were ill calculated to advance his reputation among the rapid thinkers, and fluent ſpeakers and writers who illuminated the public mind at Paris. He could only wait in gloomy patience till ſome active apoſtle of ſedition in England ſhould, by an application of French doctrines to this country, erect a ſtandard under which he might range himſelf, and by ſome deſperate exertion reſcue his name from that oblivion into which it was rapidly ſinking. Nor was an opportunity of this kind long wanting: Dr. Price's extraordinary ſermon had excited the deteſtation of every well-diſpoſed man in England: that ſuch doctrines ſhould be ſo promulgated, if not abſolutely a novelty, was nevertheleſs a perverſion of the character Goes to France. Publication of Burke's Reflections.

racter of a preacher, so abominable, and so flagrant, as to demand a public and severe reprehension. It
1790. was generally known that Burke had undertaken the task, and expectation was strained to the most interesting degree of anxiety, for the publication of the sentiments of that great politician on so important a topic. Such a work as he produced would have been dishonoured by a smaller share of expectation, and an expectation so vast could only be gratified by the work which had excited it. Language less powerful than that of the master of the sublime himself, would be inadequate duly to praise the "Reflections on the Revolution;" its merit can only be appreciated by the never-dying rancour it excited in the minds of his opponents, a rancour which age, affliction, sickness, and even death itself could not assuage.

Pain resolves to answer them.

Pain was so delighted with the prospect of obtaining public notice by being known as the antagonist of Burke, that, as he himself informs us, "as "soon as he saw the advertisement of the pamphlet "he intended to publish, he promised some of the "friends of the revolution in France, that whenever Mr. Burke's pamphlet came forth he would "answer it[s]." The rapid dissemination of Burke's book, without any reduction of its price, without any recommendation but its own merit, without any patronage but the public curiosity, produced a numerous, though not very formidable tribe of *answerers*. Every weapon of assault was tried, from the most ponderous argumentation, to the most frivolous raillery; but in vain: these productions have passed from the shelf of the bookseller to the shop of the trunk-maker, without animadversion from the illustrious author against whose fame they were directed, while his book continues to be read, praised, and quoted by every man of true genius,

[s] Preface to the Rights of Man, part I.

every

every man who is capable of admiring the vaſt efforts of a vigorous mind, which, by an accurate inveſtigation of cauſes, delineated their certain conſequences wtth all the force of prophecy. To prepare himſelf for this important aſſault, Pain came to England, and in a few months his publication ſaw the light. It was ſubmitted to the reviſal of Mr. Brand Hollis, and a committee of democrats, by whom, after ſome ſtruggles between the deſires of the author and the wiſhes of his patrons, it was fitted for the preſs. It was firſt printed for Johnſon in St. Paul's church-yard, but he declined ſelling it. This unexpected refuſal cauſed a month's delay. A few copies were, however, ſmuggled into private hands, and many artifices were uſed to excite and keep up a ſpirit of curioſity which might be beneficial to its object.

Comes to England.

At length this mutilated brat was delivered to the public by Jordan of Fleet-ſtreet [t]. To the parent this was a moment of peculiar anxiety: beſides his cares for his child, he feared or pretended to fear that the audacity of his attack might endanger his perſonal ſafety. He found ſhelter in the houſe of his friend Mr. Hollis, and cauſed it to be generally rumoured that he was returned to France. But all theſe artifices did not ſucceed in raiſing the pamphlet to that degree of notice which would produce all the evil conſequences the author intended. There were numbers, no doubt, who praiſed it, becauſe they wiſhed its tenets triumphant; there are ſome who rejoice to ſee real learning defied by groſs illiterature; and the Conſtitutional Society, as it was called, ſtrenuouſly recommended this tract to the peruſal of the people. But the officers of government

13th Mar. 1791. Publiſhes the Rights of Man, part I.

[t] The caſtrating hand of Mr. Jordan appears in the title-page; he there makes Thomas Paine *a ſecretary for foreign affairs* to congreſs, inſtead of *the ſecretary to a committee of congreſs* for foreign affairs. The clerk of the houſe of commons, and the clerk of a committee of that houſe, are quite diſtinct officers.—O.

overlooked the pamphlet and its applauders with the moſt mortifying contempt.

It is not my intention to review this publication, on which the ſenſe of the thinking part of the community is decidedly pronounced. Burke left it to find its way to notice or oblivion without his recommendation or reprehenſion; he would not deſcend from the dignity of his political eminence to engage perſonally in a conteſt, which would have been as degrading to him, as it would for Achilles to have entered the liſts againſt Therſites. In numerous critical publications the faults of ſtyle and reaſoning are expoſed, but in none better than the work to which I am ſo much indebted for information. In that publication there is a copious analyſis of "The Rights of Man," under the different heads of "Bad Grammar, Barbariſm, Soleciſm, Impro-"priety, and Nonſenſe," and to that I refer my readers [u]. But the character of the man, as an individual, would be unfairly concealed by his exertions as an author, were I to omit the following inſtance of literary diſhoneſty, which I ſhall give without a comment, in the very words of the author who firſt detected it [x]. He quotes the following ſentence of Burke: "The circumſtances are "what render every civil and political ſcheme "beneficial or noxious to mankind. Abſtractedly "ſpeaking, government, as well as liberty, is good; "yet could I, in common ſenſe, ten years ago, have "felicitated France on her enjoyment of a govern-"ment, (for ſhe then had a government,) without "inquiry what the nature of that government was, "or how it was adminiſtered?" On this paſſage he has a note in theſe words:

"I will not put it in the text, but I earneſtly beg "the attention of whoever reads this pamphlet, to "what follows in this note."

[u] Life of Thomas Pain, 10th edition, p. 65 to 79.

[x] Profeſſor Wilde of Edinburgh. See his excellent Addreſs to the Society of "Friends of the People," p. 64.

On

On the 23d page of the *First* Part of "Rights of Man," Mr. Pain writes thus:

"But Mr. Burke appears to have no idea of "principles when he is contemplating governments. "*Ten years ago* (says he) *I could have felicitated* "*France on her having a government, without inquir-* "*ing what the nature of that government was, or how* "*it was administered.* Is this the language of a "rational man? On this ground Mr. Burke must "compliment every government in the world, "while the victims who suffer under them, whether "sold into slavery, or tortured out of existence, "are wholly forgotten. It is power and not prin- "ciples, that Mr. Burke venerates; and under this "abominable depravity, he is disqualified to judge "between them.

"I have looked into several editions of Pain, and "this paragraph stands the same in all of them.

"I do not believe that there is any where else "in the world to be found an instance of such "shameless falsification. Good-breeding is due to "the public, and I would not wish to be deficient "in this respect. Yet there are certain things "which can only be called by certain names. Mr. "Pain has recorded himself as long as his book "lasts, to be a DELIBERATE LIAR.

"An useful lesson, however, arises from this; "and I shall take the liberty shortly to enforce it.

"I do not know that this forgery, impudently "glaring as it is, has been hitherto detected by any "person. By those who did not much attend to "Mr. Pain, this might not be much attended to "either. But with Mr. Pain's disciples (who "either do not read, or read without understand- "ing it, Mr. Burke's book) it would obtain "thorough credit, that Mr. Burke thought any "form or mode of government whatever good; "and this wilful falsehood commented upon by "their master, would be of more use to his system

"than

" than a thouſand arguments. Once believed, it " took from Mr. Burke's authority every ſort of " poſſible eſtimation. What was it that he de- " fended the conſtitution of England, who would " defend any government under the ſun? With " utility ſo great and manifeſt, Pain would care but " little (and it might not even happen) for after " detection. That detection would not again reſt " on the undermined authority, in whoſe place he " had now fixed his own opinions. And as to any " ſhame, he, and thoſe like him, had but little " acquaintance with that ſenſation.

" It is therefore a leſſon moſt neceſſary to be at- " tended to, (and which the detection of this forgery " demonſtrates,) that, where falſehoods can be of " uſe, neither their utter improbability, nor their " almoſt certainty of being diſcovered, will prevent " wicked and daring men from employing them. " In a time accordingly, like the preſent, he who, " uninformed himſelf, grounds his approbation or " diſapprobation of any proceedings or opinions " upon the information of men of dubious cha- " racters, who are intereſted to miſlead, who con- " ceal their names, or who do not give (or are not " ready to give) their authorities, commits a very " great evil. He encourages the propagation of " falſehood for the purpoſes of wickedneſs. Nor " after ſuch an expoſure as I have juſt now made, " can any perſon juſtify himſelf by the common " faith that is due to the common run of men. At " leaſt, on the part of Pain, there can be no queſtion " that he who is deceived has himſelf only to " blame. It is a ſtrange thing belief, after recorded " falſehood."

The reviews of criticiſm, however, did not pre- vent Pain from receiving the applauſe of party, ſince he promoted the intereſts of faction. Nay, philology came in the perſon of Horne Tooke, who found out his retreat, after ſome inquiry, to mingle her

her cordial congratulations with the thanks of greater powers. *You are*, he ſaid, *like Jove coming down upon us in a ſhower of gold.* Pain was highly gratified by ſuch attentions; yet he was not happy; he plainly wiſhed for ſomething that was ſtudiouſly withheld. Like Rouſſeau, he longed for proſecution. While fluttering on the wing for Paris, he hovered about London a whole week, waiting to be taken, not by the catchpoles of creditors, but by the runners of Bow-ſtreet. Yet the meſſengers of the preſs would not meddle with either his perſon or his pamphlet. Upon what motives government acted cannot be aſcertained. Whether the miniſters truſted to the good ſenſe of England, which generally gains the aſcendancy, or were not willing prematurely to engage in vindictive proſecutions, is left entirely to conjecture.

At length, Pain departed for Paris. He there formed a connexion with Condorcet, Briſſot, and a few others of that ſtamp, who, diſſatisfied with the exiſting government, and deſpairing of pre-eminence even ſhould the views of Orleans ſucceed, began to broach doctrines of republicaniſm. The flight of the king gave an opportunity of detailing this doctrine, which was not popular, or its diſciples numerous. Pain and his two aſſociates engaged in the paper called *Le Republicain*, notwithſtanding his ignorance of the French language, which was remedied by the kindneſs of Condorcet's wife, who tranſlated his contributions. Pain, on this occaſion, hoped to elevate himſelf to a great degree of notice, by a challenge to the abbé Syeyes, in which he undertook to anſwer all that could be advanced in favour of monarchy, in any form or ſpace, in a work of fifty pages [y]. The abbé did not accept the challenge, and *Le Republicain* was ſoon diſcontinued.

May 1791. Goes to Paris.

Writes Le Republicain.

[y] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 376.

At

His perſon in danger.

At Paris, Pain met with Mr. Thomas Chriſtie, who made ſome figure by his eulogium on the French revolution and conſtitution. On the day of the king's return they met with an adventure, which, had it been their gift to learn by experience, would have imparted ſome doubts concerning the pre-eminence of a popular government. At the moment when all thoſe whom curioſity had attracted to ſee the king brought into the capital a priſoner, were ordered to be covered, Pain had loſt his cockade. This reduced him to the dilemma of diſobeying the important command of the aſſembly, or of appearing without a cockade, either of which amounted to a crime of *leze-nation*, and ſubjected the delinquent to immediate puniſhment. Already the fatal cry was heard, *ariſtocrat! ariſtocrat! a la lenterne!* A Frenchman, who could ſpeak Engliſh, deſired him to put on his hat. He explained his embarraſſment, and the ſentimental mob was with ſome difficulty ſatisfied and appeaſed [z].

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25th July. Returns to England. 24th.

Diſappointed in his expectation of notice in France, Pain returned to England, juſt in time to partake in the celebration of the French revolution. Yet it was deemed proper that he ſhould not appear at the dinner, and he came not to the Crown and Anchor tavern till eight o'clock, when the celebrators had been hiſſed away by the multitude. Soon after this Pain retired to Greenwich, to write his Second Part of the RIGHTS OF MAN.

16th Feb. 1792. Publiſhes Rights of Man, Part II.

This malignant libel was publiſhed by Jordan in Fleet-ſtreet. Grown bolder from impunity, and additionally ambitious of the fame which would reſult from proſecution, he wrote to Jordan on the day of publication, requeſting him, "If any perſon, "under the ſanction of authority, ſhould inquire "reſpecting the author and publiſher, to mention

[z] See Mr. Thomas Chriſtie's letter, dated from Paris, June 22d, 1791, and publiſhed in the Morning Chronicle of the 29th June 1791.—O.

"him,

" him, as he would appear and anſwer for the work " perſonally." In this, however, he was diſappointed: it required a meaſure more audacious and flagrant than that of a tranquil publication, to rouſe the reſentment of an inſulted government.

This work is now put out of circulation by the verdict of a jury, and for a criticiſm on it I muſt again refer my reader to " the Life of Pain," where he will find an ample and able diſcuſſion[a]. There is, however, a preſumptuous arrogance in an inſinuation in the Appendix, which deſerves particularly to be refuted: it is, that the miniſtry had tampered with the printer to give them a knowledge of its contents, and to delay the publication, that the chancellor of the exchequer might be enabled to avail himſelf of ſome of his financial ideas, at the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament. Chapman was the printer of the firſt part of the *Rights of Man*: Pain had been introduced to him by Chriſtie. Chapman was again employed to print the *ſecond part*, and about Chriſtmas 1791, carried Pain to lodge at No. 10, in Dean-ſtreet, Fetter-lane; Pain, as early as September, delivered a conſiderable quantity of copy, and took this lodging to be near his printer. Now, he thus ſtates his caſe: " on " Tueſday fortnight preceding the meeting of " parliament (the 17th of January 1792), *all at* " *once, without any previous intimation, though I had* " *been with him* (Chapman) *the evening before*, he " ſent me, by one of his workmen, all the remain- " ing copy from page 112, declining to go on with " the work on any conſideration. *To account for* " *this extraordinary conduct, I was totally at a loſs.*" The anſwer to this ſtatement is taken from *Chapman's account of the tranſaction, delivered on oath*, on the trial of Pain[b]. He there avers, that he had

Obſervations on one of his ſtatements.

[a] Page 88 to 148.

[b] See Mr. Chapman's evidence on Pain's trial, Gurney's edition, 86-7, which proves the falſehood of Pain's ſtory.—O.

proceeded to work off as far as the ſignature *H*, when the ſignature *I* coming under his inſpection, he obſerved ſomething which, in his humble apprehenſion, *appeared of a dangerous tendency*; he therefore reſolved to have nothing more to do with the work, but felt ſome delicacy in declaring this reſolution to Pain, who had always behaved towards him with kindneſs and civility. From this embarraſſment, however, he was relieved by Pain himſelf, who coming to his houſe on the evening of the day he had made this reſolution, ſomewhat intoxicated with his friend Johnſon's wine, began the ſubject of religion, *a topic he was very fond of expatiating on when drunk.* Chapman and his wife were diſſenters. The *woman* defended her opinions in a manner which conquered the philoſophy of the champion of the *Rights of Man.* He roſe, at about ten o'clock in the evening, in wrath, declaring he had never been ſo inſulted before, and to be on par with the loquacious female, he declared that he ever thought it his duty to be on his guard againſt diſſenters, who were a pack of hypocrites; and deſired Chapman to come to a ſettlement, before he proceeded any further with his work. The printer gathered courage from the overflowings of his wife's ſpleen, and next day ſent Pain the remainder of his copy, together with a letter explaining his motives. Pain returned, to apologize, but the printer was implacable, and he was obliged to procure another perſon to go on with the work. This, then, is a narrative of the event, for which Pain, with his uſual fallacy, declares himſelf utterly unable to account.

Within a week after Mr. Chapman had returned the copy, Pain announced the cauſe which delayed
25th Jan. 1792. the publication. In the Gazetteer, Pain publiſhed that the compoſition being now paſt, the copy was given, *a few weeks ſince*, to *two printers*, who were to print it ſpeedily. They printed about half of it,

and

and then, being *alarmed* by *ſome intimations*, refuſed to go further; but another printer had taken it; and in the courſe of the next month, it will appear[c]. Pain had now told *two ſtories* about the cauſe of the delay, which invalidate each other. In the one account, the copy had been delivered to *one* printer in September 1791; in the other account, the copy was delivered to *two* printers before the 25th of January 1792. In the firſt account, Pain was totally at a loſs to account for the printer's refuſing to continue the work. In the ſecond account, Pain ſays that the printers were alarmed by *ſome intimations*, from the meſſengers of the preſs, no doubt. Which of theſe accounts are we to believe; or ſhall we, after ſuch palpable tergiverſation, believe any account which is given by Pain?

Yet let us trace him a little further through the mazes of duplicity, that we may judge of his veracity in any caſe. He now tells what indeed is likely to be true, that he gave his copy to the printer in September laſt; let us ſuppoſe the 15th of September: from the 15th of September, to the 17th of January following, there paſſed away *ſixteen* weeks. Now, when the memorable quarrel happened between the printer and Pain, only ſeven ſheets had *paſſed through the preſs*; ſo that more

[c] In the Gazetteer of Wedneſday the 25th January 1792, appeared the *following notice*, the air, and ſentiments, and ſtyle, of which plainly demonſtrate the *real author*,

"Mr. PAIN,

"It is known, is to produce another work this ſeaſon.

"The compoſition of this is now paſt, and it was given, a *few* "*weeks* ſince, to *two printers*, whoſe preſſes it was to go through as "ſpeedily as poſſible. They printed about half of it, and then, being "alarmed by *ſome intimations*, refuſed to go further. Some delay has "thus occurred, but another printer has taken it, and, in the courſe of "next month, it will appear.

"Its title is to be a repetition of the former, 'THE RIGHTS OF "MAN,' of which the words 'Part the Second' will ſhew that it is a "continuation."—None but PAIN could write ſuch an *advertiſement*.—O.

than two weeks were employed on every ſheet[d]. And it is a known fact, that Pain kept his proofs frequently a week, often a fortnight, and ſometimes longer. He was all the *ſixteen weeks* caſting about for matter, receiving hints and corrections, and waiting for events. He knew that the writer who gets into a chapter of *miſcellanies*, may go forward or ſtop ſhort when he pleaſes. And Pain was plainly watching for a moment of misfortune, when he might urge diſcontent into fury, by publiſhing his *ſecond part* on ſome factious night. But the parliament met, without waiting for his publication: The day of triumph paſſed over while he loitered in the preſs: The nation exulted in her proſperity, while he ſat calculating with arithmetical preciſion, the depth of her diſtreſſes, and the benefits, but not the miſeries, of anarchy.

It was owing to the foregoing cauſes, that Pain, who had returned his proof ſheets ſo ſlowly before, was now obliged to accelerate the preſs. He was compelled to perform a harder taſk; to find plauſible reaſons for poſtponing his work, till the unpropitious day of general ſatisfaction. The book would have been publiſhed before the meeting of parliament, he ſays, "had the work appeared at "the time the printer had engaged to finiſh it." But this aſſertion, as we have already ſhewn, cannot be true; for no printer can perform his engagement if the author return not *the proofs*; and no printer can be benefited by the ſtanding ſtill of his preſs.

[d] Before the ſad evening of the fatal quarrel, being the 16th of January 1792, the ſheet *H* had been printed, now, from *B* to *H*, there are ſeven ſheets. But the ſheets *I* and *K* were alſo ſet up; now, theſe two may be conſidered as another ſheet; and, of conſequence, it is proved that there were no more than *eight* ſheets printed in the *ſixteen* weeks, from the 15th of September to the 17th of January following. This muſt be allowed to be very *ſlow printing* indeed, when even *two ſheets* a day may be done with eaſe.—O.

Of

Of this book, which was dedicated to la Fayette, five thouſand copies were printed. But notwithſtanding every art to raiſe curioſity, this did not, for ſome weeks, ſell with the rapidity of the *firſt part*. Three ſhillings was too great a ſum for perſons to give who had it only in view to diſtribute theſe new found lights, they did not even at firſt publicly applaud the author. A month elapſed from the time of publication, when the *Mancheſter conſtitutional ſociety* thanked Pain for his publication, and recommended his work *as of the higheſt importance to every nation under heaven*[c]. Other ſocieties followed the example of Mancheſter, and in order to give more rapid diſſemination to the favoured publication, editions were printed on a whitiſh-brown paper at a ſmall price, but to thoſe who could not or would not buy even at that rate, the book was profuſely diſtributed, *gratis*. It was in all ſhapes and all ſizes, with an induſtry incredible, either in the whole or in extracts, thruſt into the hands of all perſons in this country, of ſubjects of every deſcription. The ſweetmeats of children and the tobacco of men were wrapped up in it, in the hope they might be tempted to read what was thus gratuitouſly preſented.

Succeſs of the work.

13th Mar. 1792.

This culpable aſſiduity, and the multiplication of treaſonable ſocieties gave ſerious alarm to government. A royal proclamation was iſſued, warning to the loyal and prudent part of the nation againſt theſe innovators, a proſecution was commenced againſt Jordan the publiſher, and an information put on the file againſt Pain himſelf.

Proceedings of government.

21ſt May.

Meantime Pain had not been inactive, and the aſpect of affairs was ſuch as to open to his malignant mind the hope of a long day of horrors. Anarchy was making the moſt rapid ſtrides in France; its agents here were rated at *forty thouſand*; and the

Pain's occupations.

[c] See the Morning Chronicle of March 19, 1792.—O.

murder of the king of Sweden in his own palace afforded Pain an opportunity of exclaiming with diabolical triumph, "*Aye, you ſee how crowns are melting away!*" and of adding with explanatory archneſs, "*There is a kettle boiling in this country.*"

Apr. 1792. Goes into the country.

He was invited by his friend Mr. W. Sharp, the engraver, to paſs a few months with him in the country; and lodged at the houſe of one Tanner at Bromley in Kent, from which he ſeldom ſallied forth. He attended at the anniverſary meeting of the conſtitutional ſociety at the London Tavern, as one of the ſtewards. This was the laſt public dinner he aſſiſted at in England, and from this he might as well have ſtayed away; for the aſſignees of Whiteſide, lured by the hope of getting in their outſtanding demand, and incited by the knowledge of a fact ſo unuſual as his public appearance, at a given time and place, ſued out a writ againſt him for the amount of his note. This buſineſs was conducted ſo ſecretly, that the ſociety knew nothing of the tranſaction. He was carried, by Wild the officer, to the King's Head lock-up houſe in Wood-ſtreet, till he was bailed by Johnſon the bookſeller, and by Wilkie another bookſeller, who at Johnſon's requeſt joined in the bond. Soon after the information had been filed againſt him, his hoſt at Bromley, diſcovering the real name and character of his lodger, gave information of his diſcovery to Mr. Norman, the neareſt magiſtrate. Pain being apprized of the circumſtance, made a haſty retreat from the country, and again repaired to the obſcure purlieus of Fetter-lane.

13th Apr. Is arreſted.

27th May. Returns to London.

June. Writes in the Argus.

Here he was not idle: he wrote ſeveral letters in a contemptible ſeditious newſpaper called the *Argus*; which were afterwards diſtributed from the pamphlet-ſhops, under the title of *Pain's four Letters on Government*. He afterwards produced his ADDRESS TO THE ADDRESSERS, which was, like the *Rights of Man*, printed on a ſmall type and

His Addreſs to the Addreſſers.

and dingy paper, and ſold for a groat. In the ſuperior edition, it was contained in ſeventy-eight pages; in the inferior, in forty. It is written in his uſual ſtyle and manner, without any novelty to ſoften his coarſeneſs, or any information to atone for the boaſts of ſuperior knowledge. This ſcurrilous work was afterwards an object of legal proſecution: but Pain having, previous to its publication, withdrawn himſelf from the reach of thoſe laws he had inſulted and defied, the puniſhment fell on the publiſher.

His fame now acquired its higheſt poſſible varniſh in the eyes of the French legiſlature. He had made himſelf obnoxious to a regular government, to the government of England. This was a merit of ſufficient magnitude to induce the Briſſotines to forgive his having dedicated his book to their enemy la Fayette, and to cheriſh him as a fit medium for propagating thoſe calumnies by which they intended to inflame the minds of their countrymen, and prepare them to approve the hoſtilities already projected againſt England and her allies. Accordingly Guadet, the principal orator of the party, made a ſpeech in the legiſlative aſſembly, demonſtrating how proper it would be to call Pain, Prieſtly, and ſome others, to the enviable dignity of French citizens. This was afterwards decreed, on the motion of the ſame orator, in terms which will afford an excellent commentary on the writings of thoſe who maintain the paſſiveneſs, and deny the premeditated aggreſſion of the French towards this country[f]. It muſt alſo be recollected

Made a French citizen.

24th Aug.

26th.

[f] "The national aſſembly, conſidering that thoſe men, *who, by their writings and their valour, have ſerved the cauſe of liberty and paved the way for the enfranchiſement of nations*, cannot be looked upon as foreigners by a nation rendered free by its own knowledge and valour;

"Conſidering, that if five years reſidence in France is ſufficient to obtain for a foreigner the title of French citizen; that title is much more juſtly due to thoſe *who, whatever be the ſoil they inhabit, have conſecrated their arms and their vigils to the purpoſe of defending the cauſe of the people*

recollected that Pain, at the moment of receiving this homage, was under profecution for the very writings ſo oſtentatiouſly commended by the government of a country, then hypocritically pretending to maintain the relations of peace and amity.

Elected member of the convention.

In conſequence of this naturalization, an attempt was made by the Briſſotines to obtain his election as member of the convention for Paris; but this was fruſtrated by the faction of Robeſpierre and Marat [g]. Calais however repaired the injury done him by the capital [h]; and Abbeville was alſo deſirous of ſeeing the champion of anarchy amongſt her repreſentatives, but was prevented by the knowledge of his previous election for Calais [i].

Goes to France.

He was informed of this honour by citizen Audibert, who was deputed for that purpoſe. He had previouſly ſecured the zealous affection of the

---

" *people againſt the deſpotiſm of kings, of baniſhing local prejudices; and of extending the limits of human knowledge*;

" Conſidering, that though it may not be permitted to hope that " men will, at ſome period, form in ſocial regulation, as in nature, " but one family, one ſingle aſſociation, yet the friends of liberty " and univerſal fraternity ought not to be leſs dear to a nation which " has decreed her renunciation of all conqueſts, and her deſire of fra- " ternization with all the world;

" Conſidering, finally, that at the moment when a national con- " vention is about to fix the fate of France, *and perhaps to prepare that* " *of all mankind*, it belongs to a free and generous people to call in all " the intelligence they can obtain, and to ſubmit the right of con- " curring in this grand act of reaſon to men who, by their ſentiments, " their writings, and their valour, have ſhewn themſelves ſo eminently " worthy of it;

" Decrees, that the title of French citizen be conferred on *Prieſtly*, " *Paine*, and ſixteen more." See Mercure de France, vol. de Septembre 1792, p. 14. 22. Madame Roland explains with no leſs force, the *true* reaſons of his naturalization. " Payne was declared a French " citizen as one of thoſe celebrated foreigners whom the nation ought, " with eagerneſs, to adopt. He was known by his writings, which " had been uſeful in the American revolution, and *might have contri-* " *buted to produce one in England*." Appel, vol. ii. p. 29.

[h] Louvet's Narrative, p. 20.

[i] Printed Liſts in Political State of Europe, Goudemetz's Epochs, &c.

[i] Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 365.

ſocieties

societies in England, by an ostentatious donation, real or pretended, of one thousand pounds, the produce of the Rights of Man, to the constitutional society, to be disposed of as they might think proper [k]. He now bade a last farewel to Fetter-lane, and, accompanied by Audibert and Mr. Frost, went to Dover. Here their trunks were diligently searched by the custom-house officers: but nothing being found to support an information which had been laid, they replaced every thing as they found it. Pain, who probably thought this vigilance in a revenue officer a libel on his own conduct in the same situation, wrote a letter of clamorous complaint to Mr. Dundas, as did citizen Achilles Audibert. This citizen also published a letter, in which he threatened to prosecute the custom-house officer; but it appears that he was better entitled to the name of *Rodomont* than *Achilles*, as he never put his boastful threats in execution.

After a passage of three hours, they arrived at Calais; where, between the interpretations of Achilles, and the dumb-shew of Thomas, the electors and the representatives understood, or fancied they understood, mutual expressions of good-will and devotion [l]. 16th Sept. His reception.

He took his seat in the convention; but his ignorance of the French language reduced him to a state of silence not very agreeable to his disposition. He was, however, chosen one of the committee of the constitution [m], after the abolition of royalty; but what in particular was the result of his labours is not ascertained. He was also one of madame Roland's cabinet party, though the lady does not seem to have been impressed with notions very ad- Member of the convention. 11th Oct.

[k] See Pain's Letter to the Constitutional Society, in the Morning Chronicle of the 9th July 1792.—O.

[l] See the Letters above alluded to, and one describing Pain's reception, in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. i. p. 459 to 464.

[m] Debates.

vantageous

18th Nov. vantageous to him [n]. He assisted at a dinner given at White's hotel, to celebrate the victories gained by the French. A great number of English democrats were assembled; Mr. J. H. Stone was in the chair. They mistook the inspirations of Bacchus for those of philosophy, and in their flowing cups affected to legislate and to prophesy. They toasted "the abolition of *hereditary titles* in England:"—"THOMAS PAIN, and the new mode of advertising *good books*, by proclamation, and the court of king's bench:"—"The approaching *national convention* of Great Britain and Ireland:" and many similar sentiments. These drunken frolics would not deserve notice, but for the ridiculous ceremony which ensued, of sending an address on the subject, which was warmly received by the national convention [o].

His conduct on the king's trial.

With the fumes of the wine still in his head, and the din of music performed at the feast by the band belonging to the German legion still in his ears, Pain proceeded to write his opinion respecting the trial of the

21st Nov. unfortunate king. In this opinion, which was read for him in the convention, he considered Louis XVI. as a confederate in an universal conspiracy, which threatened not only the liberty of France, but that of every other nation: he considered him as a culprit, whose trial might lead all people to a knowledge and a detestation of the monarchical system, and of the plots and intrigues of their own courts; he therefore voted for the trial [p]. After such a sentence as this, and after voting the king guilty on the first *appel nominal*, with how little reason do the admirers of Pain affect to extol his merciful disposition, and exonerate him from the ignominy attached to the murderers of that unhappy monarch, on ac-

[n] Appel, vol. ii. p. 29.
[o] Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. ii. p. 777. Debates.
[p] Debates.

count

count of his ſubſequent exertions [q]. On the queſtion of puniſhment, he voted againſt death, and for baniſhment; and when the reſpite of the ſentence was moved for, he delivered an opinion, which was read by Bancal. It began by ſtating, that it would have been better if the national convention had contented themſelves with paſſing on Louis a ſentence of impriſonment till the peace: but ſince they had condemned him to death, he voted for a ſuſpenſion of the execution. He aſſigned as a reaſon, the neceſſity of not giving offence to foreign powers, particularly to the Americans, who, he aſſured the convention, would look with an evil eye on the execution of Louis Capet. In concluſion he ſaid,— "France has now no ally except America, and "that ally is the only one who can furniſh naval "ſtores. Now it happens unfortunately in the "preſent caſe, that the object of our preſent diſcuſ-"ſion is looked upon by the United States as the "perſon to whom they are indebted for their li-"berty. I can aſſure you that his execution will "ſpread through the ſtates a general affliction. If "I were capable of ſpeaking French, I myſelf "would deſcend to the bar, and in the name of my "American brethren preſent a petition for a re-"ſpite." This obſervation excited the murmurs of the Mountain: Marat ſaid that Pain was biaſſed by the contracted notions of his original religion, that of a quaker; Thuriot affirmed that the convention was impoſed on by a falſe tranſlation; Garan aſſerted that he had ſeen the original, and that the tranſlation was perfectly correct. Bancal proceeded: "Your executive counſel have recently "nominated an ambaſſador to the United States of "America, who is to ſet ſail in a few days. No-"thing could afford greater pleaſure to your allies "than for him, on his arrival, to addreſs them to 19th Jan. 1793.

[q] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 247.

"this

" this effect: that in conſideration of the ſhare
" Louis Capet had borne in the American revolu-
" tion, and of the grief the Americans might feel
" at his execution, you had granted him a reſpite.
" Ah, citizens! do not afford to the deſpot of Eng-
" land the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that man periſh on
" the ſcaffold, who aſſiſted in releaſing from their
" chains my dear brethren of America[r]."

His trial. While his attention was thus occupied with the trial of a dethroned monarch in Paris, his own trial was coming on in London; ſo that while he ſat as a judge in the one capital, he was arraigned as a criminal in the other. The information filed againſt him in Eaſter term came on to be tried, before
18th Dec. 1792. lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury at Guildhall, in the ſittings after Michaelmas term. The attorney-general[s], in a moſt able ſpeech, ſtated the enormity of the offence of which the defendant had been guilty; expoſed the fallacies of his reaſoning; detected the rancour of his heart, affecting diſguiſe under the ſemblance of virtue and moderation; and, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the court and jury, produced a letter written to him by the defendant from Paris, which for impudent mendacity, ſcurrility, and impertinence, exceeded whatever the imagination could ſuggeſt. It inſulted the nation by calling the king Mr. Guelph, and threatened the judge, the attorney-general, and the jury, with the moſt horrible conſequences if the trial proceeded[t]. Very few witneſſes were called, and they were chiefly examined to prove his hand-writing. He had every aſſiſtance in his defence which juriſprudential knowledge could give. Five counſel held briefs for him, three of them[u] juſtly celebrated for

[r] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 232. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 587. Debates.

[s] Sir Archibald Macdonald, now chief baron of the exchequer.

[t] See the letter at length in the Appendix, N° VIII.

[u] The Hon. Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Piggott, and Mr. (now ſerjeant) Shepherd.

learning and abilities. Mr. Erſkine, in his addreſs to the jury, exerted all the powers of that perſuaſive eloquence and admirable memory for which he is ſo juſtly celebrated: he endeavoured to diſtinguiſh between the author's doctrines and intentions, and to ſhew that the one might be pure, though the other were unintentionally pernicious. "I am not," he ſaid, "aſking your opinion of the doctrines "themſelves, you have given them already pretty "viſibly ſince I began to addreſs you; but I ſhall "appeal not only to you, but to thoſe who, without "our leave, will hereafter judge, without appeal, "of all that we are doing to-day; whether, upon "the matter which I haſten to lay before you, you "can refuſe in juſtice to pronounce, that from his "education, from the accidents and habits of his "life, from the time and occaſion of the publica-"tion, from the circumſtances attending it, and "from every line and letter of the work itſelf, and "all his other writings, before and even ſince, his "conſcience and underſtanding *(no matter whether* "*erroneouſly or not)* were deeply and ſolemnly im-"preſſed with the matters contained in his book; "that he addreſſed it to the reaſon of the nation at "large, and not to the paſſions of individuals; and "that in the iſſue of its influence, he contem-"plated only what appeared to *(him though it may* "*not to us)* to be the intereſt and happineſs of Eng-"land, and of the whole human race[x]. But the powers of oratory and genius were exerted in vain; in ſuch a cauſe no efforts could induce the jury to remove the mountain of culpability which reſted on the ſhoulders of the defendant. The reſult of the trial is well ſtated in the unornamented words of the reporter, who, purſuing his account from the concluding period of Mr. Erſkine's ſpeech, ſays,— "The attorney-general aroſe immediately to reply

[x] Trial of Pain, Gurney's edition, p. 121.

"to

" to Mr. Erſkine, when Mr. Campbell, the fore-
" man of the jury, ſaid, " My lord, I am autho-
" riſed by the jury here to inform the attorney-
" general, that a reply is not neceſſary for them,
" unleſs the attorney-general wiſhes to make it, or
" your lordſhip. Mr. attorney-general ſat down;
" and the jury gave in their verdict, GUILTY [r]."
The conviction of Pain as a malignant libeller was followed by effects which were unexpected by himſelf, and unforeſeen by his patrons. He was ere long burnt with his books in almoſt every village of England, with circumſtances which plainly denoted popular contempt for his doctrines, and popular hatred of his perſon. His conviction was purſued to *outlawry*; and having joined with the convention at Paris, in a declaration of *war* againſt Great Britain, he became thereby a *traitor*.

1793. His inſignificance.

But though he had thus caſt off his native country, he found that to which he had betaken himſelf, on the faith of ſolemn invitations and aſſurances, very different from a peaceable aſylum. Attached, as far as he was capable of attachment, to the Briſſotine party, he had the mortification to witneſs their degradation, expulſion, and execution. He was one of the ſeventy-three who ſigned the proteſt againſt the proceedings of the 31ſt of May. He fell into inſignificance as a legiſlator; and to amuſe himſelf, and contribute all in his power to the emancipation of the human mind from every religious and moral obligation, he compoſed, or rather compiled, for there is nothing new in it, his firſt part of the AGE OF REASON. In this work he attacks the bulwark of faith, with feeble arguments and clumſy ribaldry, with all the perverſions and miſrepreſentations of fraud and ignorance.

Publiſhes the Age of Reaſon, part I.

Deprived of his ſeat and ſent to priſon.

He ſoon found that Robeſpierre's caſtle of the Luxembourg was as impenetrable a priſon as the

[r] Trial of Pain, Gurney's edition, p. 195.

king's

king's caſtle of Baſtille, in the taking of which he had ſo much rejoiced. He found that when nations were freed from the reſtraints of law, and raiſed, by the artifices of falſe reaſoning, above the dictates of conſcience, no ſituation, no guaranty, no participation of guilt, no plea of innocence, affords a protection. He was, by a decree of the Mountain, deprived of his ſeat in the convention, and ſoon after committed to the priſon of the Luxembourg. 30th Dec. 10th Jan. 1794.

In this ſituation, he exerted all the efforts his fancy could ſupply to obtain his liberation. A deputation of Americans reſiding in Paris went to the bar of the convention to reclaim him as a countryman, but Vadier, the preſident, informed them that Pain was no countryman of theirs, but an Engliſhman; and it was hinted to them by one of the committee of general ſafety, that their interpoſition was irregular, as it was only the act of individuals, without any authority from the American government [z]. In fact, he was as little beloved in America as in England; his principles were ſo inimical to every thing like a regular government, that Mr. Adams himſelf had written an anſwer to the Rights of Man, in which he not only cautioned the people of America, but thoſe of England, againſt its doctrines. Pain, diſappointed in this effort, had recourſe to the club of Cordeliers, hoping that the preachers of atheiſm would favour the publiſher of the *Age of Reaſon*. But that body ſcorned him: they ſent him no other anſwer than a copy of his ſpeech in behalf of the unfortunate king [a]. He had now no reſource but hard drinking, diſputations with Clootz in favour of the few religious principles he ſtill affected to retain [b], and the hope that he might be able, by dint of indefatigable perſever- 25th Jan. Deputation of Americans. 20th Feb. Applies to the club of Cordeliers. His employments.

[z] Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. vi. p. 72. Pain's Letter to Waſhington, p. 14.

[a] See Goudemetz's Hiſtorical Epochs, p. 86.

[b] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 177.

ance,

ance, to intereſt the American government in his favour [c]. The firſt of theſe enjoyments was taken from him by the increaſed ſeverities which the republican government thought proper to impoſe on the priſoners; the ſecond, by the death of the Pruſſian atheiſt; and the laſt was reduced almoſt to nothing by the difficulty of conveying letters, which he could only do through the lamp-lighter, who riſked his head to oblige him; and by his receiving no anſwers [d].

Falls ill. During his confinement he fell ill of a fever, and loſt his ſenſes for upwards of a month. It is probable, if we may believe him, that he was indebted to this circumſtance for the preſervation of his life. A memorandum was found in Robeſpierre's handwriting, after his fall, in theſe words: "To move "for a decree of accuſation againſt Thomas Pain, "for the intereſt of America as well as of France [e]."

Is renounced by America. How far the government of America was intereſted in the fate of this outcaſt cannot be aſcertained; but when Robeſpierre was no more, Pain received information, in the moſt unqualified terms, that "he was not conſidered by the American govern-"ment, or by individuals, as an American ci-"tizen [f]."

Is liberated. At length the death of Robeſpierre facilitated his reſtoration to liberty and to the legiſlative body; but thoſe events did not take place ſo ſoon as might

4th Nov. have been expected. Mr. Monroe, the American miniſter, interceded for him, and obtained his enlargement; and, in little more than a month after-

7th Dec. wards, a decree of the convention invited him to reſume his ſeat.

[c] Pain's Letter to Waſhington, p. 15, et ſeq.
[d] Idem, p. 17.
[e] Idem, p. 16. The ſame ſtory is told in the Preface to the Age of Reaſon, part II.
[f] Idem, p. 18.

His

His first publication, when restored to the dignity of a legislator, was a DISSERTATION ON THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT. The occasion of this production was the formation of the new French constitution, which, requiring some qualification of property, was not sufficiently democratic for his approbation. He distributed his book as a prelude to a speech which he afterwards delivered in the convention, and which met with little attention, and with some difficulty obtained the honours of the impression. The *Dissertation* was reprinted in London by one Griffiths, but its merits were so small that it soon fell into disregard, and though the sale of it has not been restrained by prosecution, it is little read.

Publishes a Dissertation.

7th July 1795.

Soon after this, he published A SECOND PART OF THE AGE OF REASON, in which he renewed his attack on the bible with increased acrimony; and, as it suited the views of the democratic party here to loosen the ties of public faith, it was disseminated, like the Rights of Man, by means of cheap editions and affected recommendations. Several answers appeared; but, however well meant, they all faded before the superior lustre of that produced by the learned and eloquent bishop of Llandaff. That worthy prelate, in his APOLOGY FOR THE BIBLE, follows the assailant of Christianity through every one of his assertions, exposes his ignorance, his shameless repetition of refuted calumnies, the futility of his arguments, and the fallacy of his deductions. The arm of the law was stretched forth against the distributor of Pain's pernicious treatise. An information was filed against the publisher, by the activity of the society for propagating religion, rather than by government. Mr. Erskine, by his admirable speech delivered in the court of king's bench, added a never-fading leaf to his laurels; and the jury, without hesitation, acquiesced in the direction of the lord chief justice, and brought in a verdict of GUILTY against the defendant.

The Age of Reason, part II.

8th April 1796. Writes the Decline and Fall, &c.

Yet Pain could not be idle; he produced a pamphlet in forty-four pages, called the DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF FINANCE. In this work, written for the purpoſe of encouraging France, and cauſing deſpondency in England, he affects to demonſtrate that this country is in the very gulph of bankruptcy. To prove this poſition he has recourſe to a ſeries of tables, by which he affects to demonſtrate that every new war in which England engages muſt coſt as much and half as much as the laſt preceding war. This pretended principle he affects to verify by an expoſure of the expences of wars for a century paſt. The abſurdity of ſuch an argument muſt be ſtriking to every perſon who conſiders it. No reaſon is given why ſuch a ratio ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the verification of it as a fact depends on ſix inſtances, two of which fail [s]. But could events perfectly conſonant, be related without number, they could never make, though they might help to demonſtrate a principle. For example, it was ſaid in old times,

> "When the Lord falls in the lady's lap,
> "Then let England fear a miſhap,"

and it was proved that for a great length of time, whenever Good Friday happened on Lady-day, ſome great commotion occurred that year in England. The coincidence, however, was merely caſual; the ſame event has taken place ſeveral times ſince, and ſo far from fearing or feeling a miſhap, the people of England hardly knew or noticed it. If the country ſuſtain no greater injury from Mr. Pain's politics than from his prophecies, it will long continue rich, happy, and reſpectable. The book was publiſhed by Eaton in Newgate-ſtreet, and as he pretends to have entered it at Stationers'-hall, it is to be ſuppoſed that it was either ſold or given to him by the author.

[s] See Decline and Fall, &c. p. 11. and the note.

Pain

Pain next publiſhed his LETTER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, which, to the ſurpriſe of every one who is not prepared for all that the moſt impudent inconſiſtency can produce from a mind ſo abject and malignant, contains theſe and many more inſulting expreſſions: "I KNOW, that had it not been for "the aid received from France in men, money, and "ſhips, *your cold and unmilitary conduct* would, in "all probability, have loſt America; at leaſt, ſhe "would not have been the independent nation ſhe "now is. *You ſlept away your time in the field*, till the "finances of the country were completely exhauſted, "AND YOU HAVE BUT LITTLE SHARE IN THE "GLORY OF THE FINAL EVENT. Elevated to the "chair of the preſidency, you aſſumed the merit of "every thing to yourſelf, and *the natural ingratitude* "*of your conſtitution began to appear. You commenced* "*your preſidential career by encouraging and ſwal-* "*lowing the groſſeſt adulation;* and you travelled "America from one end to the other to put your- "ſelf in the way of receiving it. You have as "many addreſſes in your cheſt as James the Second. "As to what were your views, for *if you are not* "*great enough to have ambition, you are little enough* "*to have vanity*, they cannot be directly inferred "from expreſſions of your own; but the partiſans "of your politics have divulged the ſecret [b]." When Pain wrote the dedication to the firſt part of the *Rights of Man*, it is to be ſuppoſed he *knew* theſe facts, as he would call them, as well as in 1796, yet what did he ſay then to the very ſame perſon? "Sir, I preſent you a ſmall treatiſe in defence of "thoſe principles of freedom WHICH YOUR EX- "EMPLARY VIRTUE HATH SO EMINENTLY CON- "TRIBUTED TO ESTABLISH. *That the Rights of* "*Man may become as univerſal as your benevolence* "*can wiſh*, and that you may enjoy the happineſs

Aug. 1796. Letter to Waſhington.

[b] Letter to Waſhington, p. 8.

" of seeing the New World regenerate the Old, is " the prayer of, Sir, your much obliged, and " obedient humble servant, Thomas Paine [i]." This was the tribute of adulation which Pain thought proper to throw in as his additional mite to Washington's Exchequer of Flattery. No one of his enemies in the utmost malignity of misrepresentation could have invented a contradiction to shew more amply the baseness of his heart, and this total want of principle and truth. Either he was ready in 1791 to answer a purpose, to adorn the brow of pusillanimity and vanity with the wreath due to valour and public spirit; or in 1796, under the impression of imaginary wrong, the desire of revenge led him to use the most barefaced calumnies, and palpable untruths: he must, therefore, be considered either as an abject sycophant, or an audacious slanderer.

Since this period, he is reputed to have published some other tracts, among which are Animadversions on Mr. Erskine's Speech respecting the Age of Reason, and a Letter to the People of France, remarkable for its inconsistency with his former doctrines, its abject flattery of the present rulers, and its puerile absurdity [k].

I am now at the conclusion of Pain's literary and political life. He still remains in France, though no longer a legislator, and the reason is well expressed by an ingenious author: " America would now " prove a sterile and unproductive soil for the trans- " plantation of such a genius, while ungrateful Eu- " rope, (the French dominions excepted,) shutting " every avenue against him, bids him wander, like a " second Cain, without an asylum or a resting- " place [l]."

[i] I give the *whole* dedication to avoid all possible imputation of having perverted the sense by the unfair production of a part.

[k] I have not seen either of these publications, and derive my opinion of the last only from the Anti-Jacobin Review, p. 21.

[l] Tench's Correspondence, p. 183.

After

After ſo ample a detail of his tranſactions from his earlieſt youth to the preſent time, it would be ſuperfluous to deſcant on his character as a man. It has been clouded by all the meaner vices, fraud, hypocriſy, rapacity, cruelty, without being illumined by the rays of one ſolitary virtue. He has renounced parents, wife, friends, country, and religion, without acquiring reſpect or confidence from thoſe in whoſe favour the moſt important of theſe ſacrifices have been made. He is declared an outlaw by England, renounced as a citizen by America, and, except when occaſionally called into uſe as an humble tool, contemned and derided in France. In how little eſtimation he was held when his fame was at the higheſt, may be ſeen by the following character of him drawn by madame Roland. "Among the perſons I was in the habit of receiving, and of whom I have already deſcribed the moſt remarkable, Pain [m] deſerves to be mentioned. Declared a French citizen, as one of thoſe celebrated foreigners whom the nation ought with eagerneſs to adopt, he was known by writings which had been uſeful in the American revolution, and might have contributed to produce one in England. I ſhall not take upon me to ſpeak deciſively on his character becauſe he underſtood French, without ſpeaking it, and I was nearly in the ſame ſituation with reſpect to Engliſh; I was therefore leſs able to converſe with him myſelf, than to liſten to his diſcourſes with thoſe whoſe political talents were greater than my own. The *boldneſs* of his conceptions, the originality of his ſtyle, the ſtriking truths which he *boldly* throws out in the midſt of thoſe whom they

His character, by madame Roland.

[m] She ſpells his name Paynes; Robeſpierre, in "Le Defenſeur de la Conſtitution," calls him Penne. This ſlight fact is mentioned merely to ſhew how little chance of celebrity remains for Engliſh adventures in a country where the writers who quote them pay that homage with ſuch ungracious awkwardneſs as not even correctly to acquire their appellatives.

" offend, muſt neceſſarily have produced great " effects; but *I ſhould think him better qualified to* " *ſcatter*, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, *the* " *flames of conflagration, than to diſcuſs primary prin-* " *ciples, or prepare the formation of a government*[a]. " Pain is more fit to illumine a revolution, than to " aſſiſt in framing a conſtitution. He takes up, " he eſtabliſhes thoſe great principles the diſplay of " which ſtrikes every eye, raviſhes a club, and " excites tavern enthuſiaſm; but for the cool " diſcuſſions of the committee, for the regular la- " bours of legiſlation, I think *David Williams* a " much more proper man[b]."

I ſhall not enter into a review of his writings, having taken notice of ſeveral at the time of relating their publication, and others being ſuppreſſed by the laudable vigilance of the government. It would be the height of injuſtice to deny his claim to a certain ſhare of popular eloquence, but it is too much to praiſe him for originality, unleſs the moſt unlimited mendacity and temerarious preſumption merit that eulogium. He has a ſingular art of incorporating with the moſt obvious truths the moſt fallacious aſſumptions, and making ſuch complicated reſults as perſuade raſh believers, and confiding half-thinkers, and the detection of them requires ſo many diſtinctions, that the perſon who undertakes to anſwer him incurs the cenſure of ſubtilty, from thoſe who have not candour or knowledge enough to reflect that the greateſt ſubtilty lies in the uſe of general poſitions. *Dolus latet in univerſalibus.* He alſo gives great effect to his arguments, by the introduction of allegories and anecdotes which are eaſily remembered, and make great impreſſion, the

[a] Theſe expreſſions are very much ſoftened in the tranſlation ſold by Johnſon: the original is in theſe words: " *Mais je le croirois plus propre à* " *ſemer, pour ainſi dire, ces etincelles d'embraſement, qu'à diſcuter les baſes ou* " *préparer la formation d'un gouvernement.*"

[b] Appel à l'Impartiale Poſterité, vol. ii. p. 29. Tranſlation, vol. ii. p. 41.

fallacy

fallacy of which, from the levity of their compoſition, eſcapes the ſhafts of rigid animadverſion: ſuch are the bear of Berne; the Norman who wanted to be king of America; the lame man and hare, and many others, which are introduced throughout his works, and ſtated with falſe and malignant applications. The familiar appellation of "TOM PAIN," by which he is generally known, contributes to a deluſion that ſanctions his audacity, and apologizes for many of his errors; that he is a *young man*. But let thoſe whom his example may tempt to follow his ſteps recollect, that *Tom Pain* is now approaching that term which experience marks out as the limit of human life; that, at the age of threeſcore, he has neither wife, child, home, nor country; that all men have renounced him, as he has renounced his GOD.

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JEROME PETION.

IT has often occurred in the courſe of the French revolution, that the frenzy of popular predilection, the zeal of private friendſhip, or the temerity of individual arrogance, has occaſioned the application or aſſumption of names and epithets to which the party for whom they were deſtined had ſo little claim, that they have been ſucceſsfully converted to terms of reproach by merely repeating them ironically. The hiſtories of ancient and modern times have been ranſacked for appellatives, which have been applied with the moſt ludicrous impropriety, and epithets which ought only to be the meed of long tried merit, have been inconſiderately laviſhed on men whoſe names juſtice would have ſtigmatized with every mark of opprobrium and diſgrace. Petion affords an inſtance of this kind. His partiſans, with a ridiculous ſolemnity and affected reiteration, attached *virtuous* to his name, till, for a time, it became common in France to call him *the virtuous Petion*, though, in fact, moderate talents, exceſſive vanity and ſelfiſhneſs, inveterate rancour, and conſummate hypocriſy were his principal characteriſtics.

Birth and profeſſion.

Petion was born at Chartres, but, till the revolution, was ſo totally unknown, that little can with certainty be recorded of him. He was a juvenile companion of his townſman Briſſot, and, like him, bred to the profeſſion of the law [p]. He is ſaid to

[p] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 54.

have

have been a mere pettifogging advocate, who gained a livelihood by encouraging village litigation, but of ſo bad reputation that many feudal lords refuſed him permiſſion to plead in their courts [q]. He was alſo the author of ſome ſpeculative, political, and moral tracts, which were afterwards collected and publiſhed in three volumes, but are ſo little recommended by ſtyle or matter, as to fatigue the patience without informing the underſtanding [r]. Petion was a member of the new lodges of maſonry, and particularly of that of the *Contrat Social*, where he, together with Orleans, la Fayette, Mirabeau, and ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed characters, formed the political committee [s].

Publications.

Freemaſon.

The connexion which Petion thus formed with Orleans might probably procure his election to the conſtituent aſſembly, though it is ſaid he owed it to the favour of the clergy, whom he afterwards repaid with inſult and perſecution [t]. He was conſidered a devoted adherent to the duke, and for a long time acted that part with ſo much ſucceſs, as to obtain through his means, wealth, influence, and importance [u], though it is probable that he only pretended an attachment to his patron, in order to promote his own intereſts, and that he was, from the beginning of his political career, at heart a republican [x]. In ſaying that Petion was a republican, I do not wiſh to be underſtood that he was ſo much attached to that form of government as to have ſacrificed to his predilection any opportunity of promotion which a monarchy, a regency, a dictatorſhip, or a triumvirate might have afforded. Had Orleans poſſeſſed courage and conſiſtency enough to avail himſelf of the opportunities which the times

1789. Member of the conſtituent aſſembly.

[q] Apologie des Projets, &c. p. 215.
[r] See Œuvres de Petion. [s] Robiſon's Proofs, p. 403.
[t] Fennel's Review, p. 429.
[u] See Pagès, vol. i. p. 460. 462, Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulins, paſſim. Conjuration de d'Orleans, paſſim.
[x] See Robiſon's Proofs, p. 376.

preſented

presented for his advancement, Petion would have remained content in the situation of governor to his children, which had been promised him [y], unless some opportunity had occurred of gratifying his ambition, or his love of degrading his superiors, by adopting a different party.

Conduct in the assembly.

In the national assembly, Petion was distinguished as an adherent of Orleans, though he occasionally displayed those republican sentiments which many others affected, and which, from the beginning of the revolution, were highly popular, though the people were not, at first, prepared to approve of those actions which resulted from them. He was a member of the club Breton, where the interests of Orleans were always attended to, and the motions, afterwards made in the assembly, previously discussed [z]. He was one of the members who took the oath in the tennis-court, and, on the day of the royal sitting, displayed great warmth in reprobating the conduct of the king [a]. Petion's eloquence was not calculated to make a great impression in an assembly which contained such speakers as Mirabeau, Mauri, and Barnave, nor was his knowledge so extensive as to afford copious elucidations or important disclosures, but he constantly maintained an intimate intercourse with Brissot, and borrowed from him many hints, and even many rules of political conduct [b]. Petion was one of the cabinet council, and intimate associates of Orleans [c], he assisted in preparing the popular commotions in October, and he was the first who denounced in the assembly, the pretended *orgies* of the *gardes du corps*, though his timidity would have made him

20th June 1789.

23d.

5th Oct. Active conspirator

y Pagès, vol. i. p. 470.
z Conspiracy of Robespierre, p. 49.
a Debates. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 94.
b Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 54.
c History of the Brissotines by Camille Desmoulins, p. 10. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 234.

completely

completely ridiculous, had he not been extricated from his embarraſſment by Mirabeau[d]. He was during the tumults which occurred at Verſailles on that occaſion, one of the moſt active in exciting the mob and ſeducing the ſoldiers, and was ſeen with other conſpirators diſguiſed in woman's attire, and inſtigating acts of violence[e].

When the aſſembly removed to Paris, Petion contionued his labours with great aſſiduity, though without much celebrity. He oppoſed la Fayette's martial law, and was deſirous to diveſt the king of the prerogative of making war and peace. Petion was the firſt who propoſed the reſolution, which was adopted by acclamation, importing, that the French nation renounced for ever, all idea of conqueſt, and confined itſelf entirely to defenſive war[f]. This declaration was one of the firſt acts of political hypocriſy, by which the French legiſlature attempted to impoſe on the reſt of Europe. Petion, at the time of propoſing it, knew that a ſcheme had been concerted for annexing Avignon to the dominions of France, which was afterwards effected in ſpite of this decree. This acquiſition may be affectedly diſtinguiſhed from a conqueſt, but the diſtinction is rather in words than in fact. The pope had not ſufficient power to defend his property from the French; and the inhabitants, deluded by intrigues and alarmed by maſſacres, were forced to throw themſelves into the arms of their treacherous neighbours. Petion was a ſtrenuous promoter of this union; he made a ſpeech on the ſubject which was ordered to be printed, and which diſplays a mind fraught with wickedneſs, and framed for iniquity[g]. He was once called to the preſident's chair, and on

Exertions in the aſſembly.

5th Dec. 1790. Preſident.

[d] See MIRABEAU. ORLEANS.
[e] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 245.
[f] Debates. Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 341.
[g] Debates. Wilde's Addreſs to the Friends of the People, p. 479.

that

that occaſion highly complimented by his predeceſſor Lameth [h].

23d June 1791. Sent to Varennes.

But though aſſiduous and unremitting in his exertions, Petion never obtained a conſpicuous reputation [i] till the unfortunate journey of Louis XVI. to Varennes. On that occaſion he diſplayed a malignant joy in the anticipation that it would prove the king's ruin [k]. He was gratified, on this occaſion, by being appointed one of the commiſſioners to eſcort the royal family back to Paris. The members of the deputation were particularly inſtructed to be attentive in preſerving all the reſpect due to the royal dignity [l]. This injunction was not regarded by Petion, he exulted in an opportunity of diſplaying the rancour of a grovelling mind, by an unmanly triumph over his degraded ſovereign. He and Barnave were ſeated in the coach with the royal captives. He held the dauphin on his knee during the whole journey [m]; and, in converſation, took every opportunity of inſulting the king [n]. He is ſaid to have diſcourſed affectedly on the neceſſity of bringing the king to trial, and eſtabliſhing a republic. The diſtinction ſhewn by the royal family to Barnave, who preſerved a more dignified and reſpectful demeanour, increaſed Petion's averſion, and rendered him the implacable foe of his king [o].

Brutality towards the king.

Suppoſed republican.

At this period, from his intimacy with Briſſot, and the authors of *le Republicain*, Petion was con-

[h] Debates. Wilde's Addreſs to the Friends of the People, p. 479.

[i] He is thus deſcribed in a pamphlet intitled Addreſſe aux Provinces, "Petion de Villeneuve, in whom you have never been able to diſtinguiſh any thing but the confidence of folly, and who, vile inſtrument of factious men! reſembles the criers of a fair, who are ſtationed at the doors of theatres to make a noiſe while the farce goes on." Quoted from Chriſtie's Letters on the Revolution, p. 132. n.

[k] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58.

[l] Debates. Hiſtories. Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 365.

[m] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 125.

[n] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 406.

[o] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 349.

ſidered

sidered a republican; and his conduct on the king's return tended to confirm the opinion [p]. He argued with vehemence against the king's inviolability, and for the propriety of bringing him to trial. He said, "as a citizen and public function- 13th July. Exertions against the king.
"ary, the king is subject to the law; if above the
"law, he is a despot. If inviolable, he must be
"impeccable: then he may murder with impunity:
"a Nero, a Caligula, may indulge his sanguinary
"propensities, and have them respected." Notwithstanding the disgust excited by this unjust assimilation of Louis XVI. Petion continued in the same strain, and concluded thus: "Either the king
"is weak, or wicked; in either case he ought to
"be tried; I move, therefore, that his trial be de-
"creed; and that it take place before the as-
"sembly, or before a convention appointed *ad*
"*hoc* [q]." These violent propositions were overruled by the address and eloquence of Barnave, and the salutary check which sedition experienced from the well-timed exertion of power in the *Champ de Mars*, so alarmed Petion, that he began to assume the veil of moderation; and declared that although he disapproved of the report of the committee, he now considered it as a law, and would support it with his life [r].

The defection of Barnave and his party had so reduced the ranks of opposition, that Petion, Robespierre, and Buzot were almost the only systematic cavillers at the proceedings of the assembly [s]. When recovered from the momentary panic with which he had been affected, Petion resumed his wonted virulence. He had always endeavoured to favour the ascendancy of the mob; he was an advocate for the unqualified right of petitioning by every individual, without distinction; and for an unrestrained Perseverance in opposition.

[p] Historical Sketch, p. 379.
[q] Debates.
[r] Historical Sketch, p. 385.
[s] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 56.

liberty

liberty of printing and publiſhing, without any re-
9th May. ſponſibility. "Shall non-active citizens (he ſaid) "be deprived of the right of petitioning? You "compel them to employ force. If houſekeepers, "you require that they ſhall ſign their petitions: "ſuppoſe they cannot write, are they to be deprived "of the rights of man? As to the right of pub-"liſhing *placards*; to declare a printer reſponſible "for the ills which may ariſe from a poſting-bill, "or to proſecute the authors and their abettors, "would be to deſtroy the liberty of the preſs: "what can be more arbitrary than to decide, that "ſuch and ſuch maxims have a tendency to diſturb "the public tranquillity?" He perſevered in ſimi-
lar ſentiments till the diſſolution of the aſſembly.
10th Aug. He ſaid, "The ſovereignty of the nation is *one*, "*indiviſible*, *inalienable*, and *imperſcriptible*. The "nation, in delegating its powers, does not dele-"gate its ſovereignty; it reſerves the right of ex-"erciſing that, when neceſſary, by conventions, or
23d Aug. "inſurrections." In diſcuſſing the ſubject of libels, on another occaſion, he ſaid, "That a prohi-"bition to calumniate miniſters by libels, amounted "to a charter of impunity; for that miniſters would "never, or very rarely be convicted before the tri-"bunals. What effect (he continued) can a mo-"mentary calumny produce againſt a life dedi-"cated to virtue? If libels proceed from levity, "we ſhould deſpiſe; if from folly, pity; and if "from malice, forgive them[t]." Theſe ſentiments which, though ridiculous from their exaggeration and abſurdity, were highly popular; and his exertions to degrade the king, whom he laboured to deprive of the power of pardoning, and to diſtinguiſh by the title of chief public functionary only, confirmed the opinion that Petion was a zealous republican[u]. He was ſuppoſed to be en-

[t] See Debates on the ſeveral days mentioned in the margin.
[u] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 389. 400.

gaged

gaged in plots inimical to the ſtate, and the friends of government watched his motions with ſuſpicion and jealouſy [x].

Notwithſtanding theſe appearances, Petion was ſtill attached to Orleans. He had been one of the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for his acquittal on the charges relative to the fifth of October [y]; and was one of the privy council of the *palais royal* [z]. Orleans was ſo well pleaſed with his ſervices, that he reſolved to exert his influence to get Petion elected mayor of Paris [a]; and intruſted to his care the ſafe convoy of his daughter, and her governeſs madame de Sillery, to London. The motives of this journey are differently ſtated. Camille Deſmoulins inſinuates, and his opinion is adopted by profeſſor Robiſon, that the charms of the two females, particularly the youngeſt, were employed to confirm Petion's attachment to the duke's family [b]. Madame de Sillery pretends that his attendance was merely an act of politeneſs, dictated by the danger and inconvenience the ladies would experience in traverſing the provinces of France, unaccompanied by a male friend, who could on occaſion harangue the people and the municipalities [c]. This does not appear a ſufficient reaſon for Petion's deſerting Paris at a period ſo intereſting, when the conſtitution was juſt completed, and the election for mayor, and the appointment of a new commander of the national guard about to take place. There was undoubtedly ſome ſecret motive for this journey, but its preciſe object is not aſcertained.

Attached to Orleans.

October. Goes to London.

Petion took leave of madame de Sillery while ſhe was changing horſes, and ſaw her no more.

His ſtay.

[x] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 127. Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 484.
[y] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii p. 83. 89.
[z] Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulins, p. 10.
[a] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 108.
[b] Hiſtory of the Briſſotines, p. 9. Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 252.
[c] Précis de la Conduite de Madame de Genlis depuis la Revolution, p. 26.

He

He ſtayed in London but eight days [d], during which time he aſſociated with ſome gentlemen who had adopted Gallic principles of reform, and honoured the revolution ſociety with his preſence at dinner [e].

Recal. When Bailly reſigned the mayoralty, Orleans immediately diſpatched a meſſage to Petion, requiring his preſence in Paris to fill the vacancy [f]. During his journey to London, he had ſpoken on the ſubject to madame de Sillery. He told her he entertained no doubt of being unanimouſly elected, but that he ſhould decline the office. The lady expreſſing ſome doubts of his reſolution, he ſaid, "Whatever entreaties may be uſed, if I accept the "poſt, I am content that you ſhould ever conſider "me as the moſt contemptible of mankind [g]." Notwithſtanding this proteſtation, which he frequently repeated in the courſe of his journey, he obeyed Orleans's ſummons without heſitation, and immediately on his arrival declared himſelf a candidate for the mayoralty. His principal opponent was la Fayette, but Petion ſucceeded in the election. It is ſaid, and I believe truly, that la Fayette would have had a majority, if ſeven-eighths of the inhabitants of Paris had not declined voting [h]. The royaliſts moſt probably did not vote on the occaſion; they could not eſteem Petion; although the king, juſtly incenſed againſt la Fayette, was ſo little apprized of his competitor's malignity, and ſo little apprehenſive of his power, that he wiſhed him elected in preference to the general [i]. As ſoon as he had gained his election, it was announced to the

Candidate for the mayoralty.

19th Nov. Elected.

[d] Précis de la Conduite de Madame Genlis depuis la Revolution, p. 27.

[e] Flower of the Jacobins, p. 15.

[f] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 151.

[g] Précis de la Conduite, &c. p. 27.

[h] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 349. Out of eighty thouſand, the ſuppoſed number of active citizens in Paris, only ten thouſand four hundred and thirty two voted. See Mercure François, No du 26 Novembre 1791, p. 289.

[i] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 259.

assembly, by a letter from Petion himself, in which he requested the legislature to honour with some mark of their favour the man whom the citizens of Paris had honoured with their confidence. On the motion of Couthon, afterwards so distinguished for sanguinary ferocity, the election was recorded in the *procès verbal*, as a just tribute to a man distinguished for the goodness of his principles and his zeal for the public. It was also moved that the president should answer Petion's letter, but the proposal was over-ruled by a suggestion, that if such a practice were established, the president would be under the necessity of writing forty-four thousand seven hundred and thirty-three similar letters to different municipal officers [k].

Petion soon displayed his resolution to adhere to those principles of insurrection and insubordination to which he owed his popularity. Far from attempting to discourage, he countenanced the attacks made by the mob, under the direction of the Jacobins, on the club of *Feuillans*. He apologised for their violences in a letter to the assembly, by which he declared that Paris was divided between the friends of the people and the Feuillans, and that the law was in a state of opposition to the public opinion. The assembly on reading this letter decreed, that no club should be held in the convent of the *ci-devant Feuillans* [l]. Encourages sedition. 27th. Dec.

In consequence of his great influence with the Jacobins, Petion was consulted on forming the Jacobin administration [m]. Robespierre asserts, and perhaps with truth, that in this instance Petion was merely the tool of Brissot, and recommended implicitly such ministers as his political preceptor pointed out [n]. He was however in high favour with Connection with the Jacobin ministry.

[k] Debates.
[l] Ibid. Impartial History, vol. i. p. 487.
[m] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 177.
[n] See Robespierre's Letter to Jerome Petion, Appendix, N° X.

this unprincipled adminiſtration, who, together with their fautors, exerted every effort to enhance his popularity. Dumouriez, at firſt by a moſt unwarrantable breach of faith towards the king [o], and afterwards by a miſappropriation of the ſecret-ſervice money, furniſhed him with the means of libelling the royal family [p]. The ſums thus received and applied by Petion are ſaid to have amounted to a thouſand livres (43*l.* 15*s.*) a-day [q]. When the republican members of the cabinet commenced their outrageous attack on the royal prerogative, Petion and his coadjutor Manuel aided their views by endeavouring to terrify the king, that he might be induced to make his eſcape, which would have amounted to an abdication of the throne, and ſpared the faction much intrigue and exertion [r]. This project being baffled by the firmneſs of the king, and his reſolute adherence to the conſtitution, Petion endeavoured to inſpire the people with a continual jealouſy, that the king was deſirous to take the ſtep he had ſo repeatedly declined. Actuated by a pretended alarm on this ſubject, Petion wrote to the commandant of the national guard, mentioning his ſuſpicions, and requiring him to increaſe the patroles about the Tuilleries, both in number and force. The king, informed of this circumſtance, wrote to the municipality, complaining of this unjuſt ſuſpicion, and declaring his confidence in the national guard. He ſaid that he was informed of all the manœuvres which had been employed to agitate the public mind, and compel him to leave the capital, but that they would be tried in vain. The effect of this letter muſt have been highly prejudicial to the views of the faction, had the public been permitted to peruſe it calmly and without perverſion; but Petion, anxious to prevent this effect,

Exertions againſt the king.

22d May.

23d.

[o] See DUMOURIEZ. [p] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 79.
[q] Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulins, p. 38.
[r] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iv. p. 170. 173. 187.

publiſhed

publiſhed a long letter animadverting on that written by the king, replete with fallacious arguments and evaſive ſubtleties. Not ſatisfied with this, he procured a deputation, who unexpectedly appeared at the bar of the aſſembly, and denounced the publication of the king's letter as a crime againſt the nation. Their orator declared, that "if Petion "loſt the public confidence, there was no longer any "ſafety for the people." The ſpeaker was frequently interrupted on account of the irregularity of his proceeding; but, favoured by the galleries, he was heard to an end, and invited to the honours of the ſitting. Though the aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day on the denunciation, the deputation was of uſe to thoſe who contrived it, as it ſerved to inflame the public mind, and increaſe the popularity of Petion [s]. A few days afterwards, a riot was organized which threatened a renewal of the ſcenes of October 1789; the king's guard was inſulted, and the cap and flag of anarchy planted over the principal gate of the caſtle; the whole city exhibited an appearance of alarm and agitation, the ſittings of the aſſembly were declared permanent, and the houſes illuminated; but, probably for want of a determinate project, the inſurrection ſubſided [t].

24th. 25th. 29th.

When the Jacobin adminiſtration was diſmiſſed, the conteſt between that faction and the friends of the king became more inveterate and violent than ever. Petion co-operated with his old aſſociates, and reſolved to uſe every means which his popularity and influence afforded to reduce the royal power to a nullity, or to render the king implicitly ſubſervient to the miniſtry or regent whom he favoured. An inſurrection was projected and organ-

Diſmiſſion of the jacobin adminiſtration.

[s] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 32. For copies of the letters on this occaſion, ſee Mercure François, N° du 2 Juin 1792, p. 60.—And for the proceedings in the aſſembly, ſee Debates.

[t] Mercure François du 2 Juin, p. 64.

ized, in which it is moſt probable that the ultimate intention was to ſacrifice the whole royal family; though the conſpirators, not daring to avow the extent of their deſign, had not expreſsly commiſſioned any individual or party to perpetrate the murder.

Preparations for inſurrection. For ſome days before the inſurrection, Petion diſplayed the utmoſt activity in exciting the mob of the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine[u]; he and Manuel covered the walls of Paris with placards highly abuſive of

19th June. the royal family[x]. The day before the inſurrection was appointed to take place, and while the minds of the people were in the greateſt fermentation, a dinner was given in the *Champs Elyſées*, at which were preſent about five hundred gueſts. Anacharſis Clootz, who but two days before had propoſed to depoſe the king, ſat as toaſt-maſter; Dugazon the actor ſang couplets threatening deſtruction to the king; and in the courſe of the day, Gorſas declared, that on the morrow, not the *oak*, but the *aſpin* of liberty, muſt be planted in the garden of the Tuilleries[y]. The Jacobin club had declared their ſittings permanent; and the projected inſurrection was formally announced by a declaration, that the inhabitants of the *fauxbourg* St. Antoine would meet in arms and preſent a petition to the king, requiring him to ſanction the decrees againſt the prieſts, and for forming a camp round Paris[z]. The aſſembly took no active meaſures to diſcourage theſe proceedings, and Petion openly favoured them.

20th. Proceedings of the mob. On the day of the inſurrection, Petion, in imitation perhaps of Orleans, abſented himſelf from Paris: he went, no one knew wherefore, to Verſailles[a]. Rœderer, *procureur-general-ſyndique*, appeared at the bar of the aſſembly, and formally an-

[u] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 391.
[x] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 175.
[y] Fennel's Review, p. 67. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 174.
[z] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 42.
[a] Idem, vol. ii. p. 45. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 408.

nounced,

nounced, that a collection of an hundred thouſand men in arms was formed on the place where the Baſtille ſtood; that they were encouraged by the tacit approbation of the aſſembly and the municipality, and by the preſence of three members of the legiſlature: he ſaid that their intention was to preſent a petition to the aſſembly, and afterwards to go in a body to the Tuilleries: he requeſted the legiſlature to ſupport their own dignity, by adhering to the law which forbad the preſenting of petitions by armed men, and by refuſing admiſſion to the petitioners. This application produced a debate, in which the propriety of following Rœderer's advice was ſtrongly enforced. Before this ſubject was fully diſcuſſed, the mob, headed by Santerre and St. Huruge, preſented themſelves at the door of the hall. They ſent in a petition to be admitted, ſtating that their number did not exceed eight thouſand. Lafource ſupported the petition, and averred, as from his own knowledge, that if they were received in the hall of the legiſlature, they would leave their petition there, and not proceed to the palace. Swayed by this argument, and terrified by the impetuoſity of the mob, the aſſembly at length admitted them. Their petition was read by one Huguenin, formerly an advocate in the parliament of Nancy; he was an old man, almoſt ſeventy, remarkable for his gigantic ſtature, bleared eyes, and ferocious aſpect. The petition or memorial was contained in eight pages, and every ſentence was replete with threats and invectives againſt the king and queen. When he had finiſhed, a motley and ſqualid band of the moſt wretched outcaſts, drawn from all the receptacles of beggary, idleneſs, and infamy in Paris, marched through the hall: they were armed with pikes, ruſty ſwords, ſcythes, pitchforks, twy-bills, bludgeons, pickaxes, and clubs. This miſerable battalion conſiſted of coalmen, chimney-ſweepers, ſhoe-blacks, wharf-porters, negroes male and female,

and women of the loweſt and moſt abandoned claſs. They carried divers enſigns, with inſcriptions denoting ſanguinary ferocity, occaſionally intermixed with coarſe and vapid ribaldry: among the latter efforts may be enumerated ſeveral pairs of ragged black breeches, which were hoiſted on poles, with the inſcription, *libres, et ſans-culottes*; ſome were half naked, and carried their rags on the point of a pike; ſome bore on their pikes pieces of bread, cheeſe, or other food. This diſguſting troop occupied the hall of the aſſembly three hours, and at their departure left with the preſident a banner, in token of fraternity. They then divided into three companies, one under Santerre, another under St. Huruge, and a third commanded by the Amazonian proſtitute, Theroigne de Mericourt. After ſurmounting a ſlight oppoſition, or rather their own fears of oppoſition, from a guard, who were either diſaffected, or would not act without orders, they occupied all the apartments in the palace, and committed thoſe horrible outrages which endangered the lives of all the royal family, and will ever ſtigmatiſe the legiſlature, the municipality, and the people [b].

Conduct of Petion.

When the mob had exhauſted every effort of inſult and brutality which their ferocious licentiouſneſs could dictate; when they had perpetrated every violence ſhort of abſolute murder, from which by ſome unaccountable impulſe they were reſtrained, Petion made his appearance. He was driven in his carriage up to the palace, with the air of a man perfectly at leiſure [c]. Convinced that the day would not produce the advantages his faction expected, that the king would not be induced by terror to ſanction the decrees, and that the mob had not been duly-prepared to exterminate the royal family, he

[b] See THE KING, &c. Debates and Hiſtories. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 202, et ſeq. Fennel's Review, p. 69, et ſeq. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 176, et ſeq. and the Journals.

[c] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 408.

thought

thought it would be beſt to aſſume an appearance of kindneſs. He ſaid to the king, "Sire, I was "only this moment informed of your ſituation."— "That is extraordinary, (ſaid the king,) for I have "been in this ſituation above three hours [d]." Petion then aſſured the king he had nothing to *fear*; which produced from the king that energetic reply, in which he diſclaimed the influence of ſo degrading a ſentiment [e]. He added with pointed indignation; "Go, ſir, Europe will be your judge." Theſe words inflamed Petion's rancour, and increaſed his animoſity againſt the royal family [f]. For the preſent, however, he reſtrained his anger, and diſperſed the mob. Mounted on a ſtool, he ſaid, "Citizens, you have now made your deſires known "to the hereditary repreſentative, with that energy "and dignity which become a free people, who "underſtand their rights. The king at preſent "knows the intentions of the *ſovereign*, and will "undoubtedly pay a proper regard to them. You "ought now to retire with calmneſs and decency, "that your intentions may not be calumniated." A deputation from the national aſſembly ſoon afterwards arrived, and, in their uſual cant, proffered to make a ſhield of their bodies for the king. This ill-timed offer was rendered uſeleſs by the diſperſion of the mob, who, at the command of Petion and Santerre, evacuated the palace [g].

His ſuſpenſion.

Petion's miſconduct on this occaſion was ſo flagrant, that the directory of the department of Paris thought proper to ſuſpend him and Manuel from their functions. When this decree was known in Paris, every exertion was made to render the

[d] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 217. This aſſertion of Petion's muſt have been a falſity, or at leaſt an equivocation; for he knew all the preparations for the event, and purpoſely abſented himſelf that he might not be called on to interfere.

[e] See THE KING.

[f] Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 122.

[g] Hiſtories. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 217.

authors of it odious, and to procure the reinſtatement of the popular officers. Petion publiſhed, in anſwer to the letter of the directory of the department, an apologetical pamphlet, intitled, *General Rules of my Conduct towards the People*, in which he declared it as a fundamental principle, that he would never cauſe the blood of the people to be ſhed [h]. This declaration, which confounded every diſtinction between the peaceable citizen and the audacious violator of public repoſe, rendered him, if poſſible, more popular than before. Numerous deputations were ſent to the bar of the aſſembly, who mingled with their petitions and declamations on behalf of the *virtuous* mayor, the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt the king and his adviſers [i]. Danton endeavoured to excite the *commune* in Petion's behalf [k], and Robeſpierre wrote a ſevere invective againſt the directory of the department [l]. The king wiſhed to decline interfering, but the aſſembly would not permit him to diſplay his forbearance. He was obliged to confirm the decree of the department, and when his proclamation to that effect had been read in the aſſembly, and Petion preſented himſelf at the bar to reply, Bazire inſolently exclaimed, "Let us *now* hear the language of virtue and "truth." His apology, which was a ſeries of abſurd fables compiled with the moſt barefaced diſregard of conſiſtency or probability, was received with clamorous plaudits, he was invited to the honours of the ſitting, and by a decree reſtored to the exerciſe of his office [m]. This meaſure was followed by the reſignation of the directory of the department [n], but the rancour of Petion was not

12th July. Speech in the aſſembly.

13th. Reſtoration.

[h] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 410.
[i] See Debates from 25th June to 13th July.
[k] See MANUEL.
[l] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, p. 431.
[m] Debates. See alſo Fennel's Review; Peltier's late Picture; Moore's Journal, vol. ii.; and the Hiſtories.
[n] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 77.

to

to be ſo appeaſed, he commenced an active perſecution of la Rochefoucault, who had been preſident of the directory, and finally, with the aſſiſtance of the ungrateful Condorcet, procured his murder [o].

At the confederation, Petion was oſtentatiouſly exhibited as the popular idol. His name was inſcribed on the banners, and on the hats of the mob, whoſe general cry was *Vive Petion! Vive le vertueux Petion! à bas la Fayette! à bas le veto! à la lanterne les ariſtocrates! Petion ou la mort!* &c. Several members of the legiſlative aſſembly were inſulted by the pretended conquerors of the Baſtille, who ſaid that if Petion had not been reſtored, they would have wreaked their vengeance on the aſſembly [p]. 14th. Popularity at the confederation.

The faction to which Petion belonged, now diſplayed all the exultation of ſubaltern triumph with the ferocity of implacable hate; they encouraged the moſt flagrant inſults and circulated the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt the royal family. Among other reports which gained eaſy credit with the mob was that of a large quantity of arms being concealed in the palace. The king, with his uſual candour, invited Petion to attend and ſearch; the mayor refuſed, but ſent a deputation of ſix municipal officers, and, though they were perfectly ſatisfied that there was no truth in the ſuggeſtion which occaſioned their viſit, Petion would not certify the fact ſo unequivocally as to remove the popular ſuſpicion. The arts of the faction were ſo ſucceſsful, that the mob, who terrified and governed the city, were eager to commence acts of riot and hoſtility, but the fear of the national guard reſtrained them from attacking the palace. The night was diſgraced by tumultuous and incendiary meetings, and in the day, the unreſtrained rabble committed every act 26th July. Rancour againſt the king.

[o] Conſiderations on the Nature of the French Revolution, by Mallet du Pan, p. 46. n.

[p] Mercure François, N° du 21 Juillet 1792. The reader is referred to this publication for a judicious deſcription of the ceremony of the day.

of

27th. Encourages the mob.

of violence and fury which licentiouſneſs and political fanaticiſm could ſuggeſt. Among other inſtances may be mentioned the attack made on d'Epréméſnil, who but a few years before had been one of the popular idols. He was walking tranquilly in the garden of the Tuilleries, when, without any known provocation, a numerous party attacked, wounded, robbed, and ſtripped him naked; they were about to have executed him *à la lanterne*, when he was reſcued by a detachment of national guards, who carried him, though ſuppoſed to be dead, to the guard-houſe of the treaſury. Petion attended, but unwilling to check and unable to juſtify this mob, he politically fainted away [q].

30th. Arrival of the Marſeillois.

To encourage the rabble, and counteract their dread of the Swiſs and national guards, the demagogues of Paris ſent for a troop of ruffians from Marſeilles, men reeking with the blood ſhed in lawleſs violence at Avignon, incapable of remorſe, and rendered additionally ferocious by the concurrence of climate, education, and practice. Their march to Paris was marked by acts characteriſtic of their principles; robbery, rape, and murder attended their footſteps; they recruited their bands with all the abandoned wretches whom want or infamy had rendered deſperate, and arrived at Paris near ſeven hundred in number. In their progreſs from the *Barriere du Trone*, where they entered, to the mayor's houſe, which was at the other extremity of the city, they gave a ſample of the conduct they intended to maintain, by inſulting and defying the inhabitants; they inſiſted that ſilken cockades ſhould not be worn, but that worſted ſhould be ſubſtituted, and overthrew the ſtalls where ribband

[q] See Debates and Hiſtories. Peltier's late Picture, vol. i. p. 30. D'Epréméſnil recovered, though grievouſly wounded; he employed his firſt effort of returning ſtrength in writing to his ſovereign to beg forgiveneſs for that conduct which had accelerated the revolution. He was guillotined during the tyranny of Robeſpierre.

cockades

cockades were ſold. The national guard, conſiſting of thirty-two thouſand men, and the citizens remonſtrated in vain, they were terror-ſtruck by this handful of reſolute banditti, and forced to ſubmit. Petion received the Marſeillois with cordiality and exultation, he exhorted them to be unanimous, and provided them with barracks in the *fauxbourg* Montmartre, which were afterwards exchanged for the barracks of the Cordeliers, in the ſection *du Theatre François*. Theſe ruffians did not take poſſeſſion of the reſidence aſſigned them by the mayor till they had ſignalized their own ferocity, and demonſtrated the puſillanimity of the Pariſians, by attacking a party of the national guard who were dining in the *Champs Elyſées*, ſome of whom they killed and wounded, and took others priſoners, with very little reſiſtance[r].

Encouraged by this reinforcement, Petion aſſumed a more deciſive conduct. Actuated by his faction, the ſections of Paris had been for ſome time in the daily habit of ſending petitioners to the aſſembly to demand the king's ſuſpenſion, while the more reſpectable inhabitants had attended with proteſts or counter-petitions. The aſſembly, inſtead of terminating theſe indecorous ſcenes, ſanctioned them by indeciſion, and, at length, a petition was drawn up by Chenier, the poet, and Collot d'Herbois, the actor, ſubſcribed by a numerous tribe without diſtinction of ſections, and preſented by Petion, at the head of a deputation of the *commune*. This petition was replete with every calumny which invention had framed againſt the king, and every ſuggeſtion with which malice had endeavoured to blacken his intentions. It concluded by requiring a decree which ſhould ordain "not his ſuſpenſion till the "country ſhould be no longer in danger, but his

3d Aug. Preſents petition to depoſe the king.

[r] Hiſtories. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 413. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 28. vol. ii. p. 485.

"forfeiture

" forfeiture of the crown." It is remarkable that this petition deprecates the formation of a republic, and ſeems only calculated to procure the depoſition of Louis XVI. It ſays, " while we have *ſuch* " a king, liberty can never be eſtabliſhed;" and in another place, " as it is very doubtful that the na- " tion can ever place confidence *in the preſent* " *dynaſty*, we pray, &c." Theſe expreſſions afford ſtrong proofs that Petion was ſtill attached to Orleans, and laboured for his advancement, and demonſtrate the juſtice of Robeſpierre's obſervation, that the republic glided in by ſtealth among the various factions. The petition was received with acclamations, ordered to be printed and ſent to the departments, and referred to a ſpecial committee[s].

10th. Conduct during the inſurrection.

But although the aſcendancy of faction, aided by the clamour of the galleries, had procured a favourable reception to this petition, the final event could not be intruſted to the aſſembly, where the royaliſts and conſtitutionaliſts ſtill retained a majority. The report of the ſpecial committee was deferred, and the inſurrection organized which terminated in dethroning and impriſoning the king. In that part of this work where the inſurrection is deſcribed, Petion's conduct is carefully pourtrayed[t]. The leading features conſiſt in his having been in the palace till the inſurrection was in full force, and then evading his duty of protecting the royal family, by procuring an order from the national aſſembly requiring his attendance at the bar; his being nominated one of the three members of the new *commune*, after the old *commune* had been driven out: and his giving an order to Mandat to repel force by force, and afterwards cauſing that officer to be murdered and the order taken out of his

[s] Debates. Hiſtories. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 427. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 15. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 34.

[t] See BRISSOT.

pocket.

pocket. The two former tranſactions are ſufficient to ſtigmatize his name with indelible infamy, but thoſe who applaud the French revolution are ſo far from diſapproving his conduct that they conſider it meritorious, and generally mention it with applauſe. The order given to Mandat, in which Petion did his duty, is, on the contrary, adduced as an inexpiable offence, it formed part of the accuſation againſt the Briſſotines[u]; and madame Roland undertakes his defence in theſe words[x]: "It is not "till lately that Petion's enemies have thought of "ſaying that he went to the palace to defend it; "while, in fact, he was expoſed to the greateſt "danger while he remained there himſelf; it is "not till lately that they have circulated the ca-"lumny of his having given an order to Mandat "to fire on the people. I aſk for what purpoſe "Petion, deteſted by the court and cheriſhed by "the people, ſhould have betrayed the latter and "protected the former, when its fall was approach-"ing; he who had fought againſt it in the pleni-"tude of power, and had already acquired popu-"larity, what reaſon could he have for riſking his "popularity, when the people had the beſt of the "game[y]. I put out of the queſtion the philoſopher "and zealous citizen, I conſider only the man, "and it is demonſtrative, that under the influence "of ambition or intereſt, the conduct attributed "to Petion is repugnant to common ſenſe; and "that if his integrity would not, his judgment "would have prevented his adopting it. He could "not, from the nature of his place, march at the "head of the inſurrection; it was neceſſary to "confine him, and tie his hands that he might not

[u] See the Act of Accuſation againſt them, and the Report by Billaud Varennes, made July 15, 1793.

[x] See Obſervations rapides ſur l'Acte d'Accuſation contre les Députés. Appel à l'Impartiale Poſterité, vol. ii. p. 57.

[y] Lorſque le Peuple avait plus beau jeu. *Orig.*

"counteract

Petion's arduous ſituation.

Petion's popularity and aſcendancy were confirmed and increaſed by the events of the tenth of Auguſt, he was hailed as the magiſtrate of the people, and his name inſcribed on a flag hoiſted within the precincts of the Tuilleries to commemorate that eventful day [g]. He ſoon found, however, that his attachment to Briſſot and the miniſtry was incompatible with his ſituation in the new ſelf-formed council of the *commune*. That body, as Petion afterwards ſaid, inſtead of putting an end to the revolutionary efforts, which had already been crowned with ſucceſs, though it more dignified to enter into a ſtate of rivalſhip with the legiſlative aſſembly, whoſe decrees they obeyed or reſiſted only as they were favourable or repugnant to their views [h]. But however Petion might diſapprove the uſurpations of the *commune*, he had not courage or integrity ſufficient to oppoſe or reſiſt them, he contented himſelf with a cold diſtant demeanor, and ſanctioned all their meaſures in ſuch a manner as to ſhew his internal ſentiments of diſguſt. This conduct was ſufficient to expoſe him to the rancour of the Jacobins, who overwhelmed him with defamation. He was not poſſeſſed of the energy requiſite to ſtem this torrent, but threw himſelf help-

30th. leſs into the hands of his new adverſaries. He wrote a canting letter to the *ſection des Halles* in vindication of his own conduct towards the *commune*, in which he meanly flattered them, and excuſed himſelf by general profeſſions of zeal for the public

31ſt. good [i]. To conciliate ſtill more the wavering populace, he attended the next day at the bar of the aſſembly, at the head of a deputation of the *commune*, and ſanctioned by his preſence thoſe proceedings which demonſtrated that the diſorganizing

[g] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 297.
[h] Petion's intended Speech on Louvet's charge againſt Robeſpierre. See Mercure François, N° du 17 Novembre 1792, p. 190.
[i] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 291, 292.

faction in the *commune*, not content with deſtroying royalty, were determined to reign paramount to every other exiſting authority, and to brave and awe the legiſlature itſelf[k].

Thus trembling for his popularity, and ready to embrace every exceſs rather than riſk a diminution of it, it is reaſonably preſumed that Petion took an active ſhare in promoting the fatal maſſacres which occurred ſo ſoon after this diſgraceful ſcene in the aſſembly; and the preſumption receives additional confirmation from his known attachment to Orleans, and his intimacy with Manuel. He is feebly defended by Garat and madame Roland. Garat merely ſays that Petion was kind and humane, and had a due averſion and horror for the ſhedding of human blood[l]. This negative acquittal is not of great importance in itſelf, for even if the general aſſertion were true as to the reſt of Petion's life, his conduct on this day might exhibit him in a new light, and alter the impreſſion made by his former actions. The defence however is in itſelf of no force, for however a French revolutionary journaliſt and miniſter of ſtate may reaſon, it is not poſſible for the thinking part of any other community to concede, that the defender of the maſſacres at Avignon, the employer of the Marſeillois in Paris, the inſurgent of the twentieth of June, and the conſpirator of the tenth of Auguſt, had any horror of bloodſhed. Madame Roland, ſpeaking of Amar's act of accuſation againſt the Briſſotines, ſays, "The reporter "has not, in the ſlighteſt manner, adverted to the "maſſacres on the ſecond of September; he has "avoided a dilemma by not adopting any concluſion, for the Mountaineers have made ſtatements "diametrically repugnant. When Roland denounced theſe maſſacres, the Jacobins aſſerted "that they were the work of the people, inflamed

2d Sept. Obſervations on his conduct during the maſſacres.

[k] See BRISSOT.

[l] Garat's Memoirs, p. 27.

" to vengeance; they conſidered it a crime to re-
" frain from applauding them; and when Petion
" and his colleagues obtained a decree to proſecute
" the authors of theſe ſcenes, they called Petion and
" the right ſide enemies of the people and of li-
" berty. Now, ſince this decree is fallen into ne-
" glect; now, that the Jacobins triumph, and the
" twenty-two are proſcribed, the Jacobins them-
" ſelves, and Hebert among the foremoſt, impu-
" dently aſſert that the maſſacres were the work of
" the baſe Petion [m]." Admitting this to be a good party argument, it is far from eſtabliſhing Petion's innocence, it only ſhews that the Mountain were, as well as their opponents, frequently guilty of inconſiſtencies in argument and conduct. The facts are not, however, exactly agreeable to madame Roland's ſtatement, Marat, even while he attributed theſe acts to the people, admitted and ſtrongly aſſerted that Petion was a principal promoter and accomplice. He ſays: " As to the maſſacres of the
" ſecond and third of September, it is an atrocity
" to repreſent them as the work of a gang of bri-
" gands: if ſo, the aſſembly, the miniſter of the in-
" terior, and the mayor of Paris were the malefac-
" tors; and nothing can waſh them clean from the
" crime of not having prevented aſſaſſinations that
" laſted three days. But they will doubtleſs ſay,
" it was impoſſible, being equally the act of the na-
" tional guards, the federates, and the people.
" Petion reſted tranquilly at table with Briſſot and
" his friends, and diſdained to quit the party even
" for receiving the commiſſioners ſent by the aſſem-
" bly to charge him to ſtop theſe exceſſes [n]." The flimſy reaſonings of Petion's advocates have not been able to prevent diſcerning men of all nations, and of

[m] Obſervations rapides, &c. Appel à l'Impartiale Poſtérité, vol. ii. p. 58.

[n] Journal de Marat, No. 105. Quoted in Arthur Young's Example of France, a Warning to Britain, p. 28.

both

both parties, royaliſt and republican, from conſidering and accuſing him as the chief contriver and promoter of theſe horrible tranſactions. Arthur Young makes an exception favourable to Marat, in ſtating the comparative guilt of that incendiary and Petion [o]. Montjoye and Peltier expreſsly aver, that he was the principal promoter of the maſſacres [p]; and the republican Pagès repeats the ſame accuſation in various parts of his hiſtory, and with all the violence of unqualified reprobation [q].

Leaving, however, theſe ill-managed efforts of exculpation, and general cenſures, it plainly reſults from all apparent circumſtances, that Petion knew and conſented to, if he did not command, the ſcenes which diſgraced his mayoralty. After the ſuſpenſion of the municipality, he had been inveſted with power to order out all the armed force in Paris, and could at pleaſure have terminated a carnage which was begun and conducted only by a ſmall band of hireling ruffians [r]. From his window he could ſee the carriages full of prieſts deſigned for ſlaughter go over the *pont neuf* [s]; and from rooms in his hotel he could not avoid hearing the ſcreams of the dying, and the ſhouts of the murderers, in two different priſons [t]. The inſurrection was twice announced in form, as having begun, and going to begin, yet Petion took no notice of it [u]. A deputation of twelve commiſſioners was ſent to Petion by the aſſembly, to confer on the ſtate of public affairs: if we may believe Marat, he ſat at table with Briſſot, and ſhewed no inclination to receive them [x]; and when at length they were admitted, kept them till

[o] Example of France, &c. ubi ſupra.
[p] See Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 74. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 230. n.
[q] See Hiſtoire Secrete, vol. i. p. 479. vol. ii. p. 40. 319.
[r] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 499.
[s] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 306.
[t] Playfair, ubi ſupra. [u] Garat's Memoirs, p. 28.
[x] See quotation from Marat, above.

two o'clock in the morning converſing on indifferent topics, and never mentioned the maſſacres in the priſons. He was afterwards reproached with this fact in the convention, and feebly defended himſelf by ſaying there was no need for him to mention an event notorious to all Paris, or to deſcant on an evil which was then irreparable [y]. He even told a perſon who adviſed him to go to the priſons, that he did not chooſe to riſk his popularity [z]. Towards the concluſion of the maſſacres, Petion made his appearance at the Bicêtre, where the mob was employed in pumping, in order to drown a few priſoners, the melancholy remains of this ſavage carnage, who had concealed themſelves in cellars and holes under ground. He addreſſed the mob in the language of mildneſs and pretended philoſophy, but when they perſiſted in their proceedings, calmly left them, ſaying, "Well, children, make an end "of it [a]!"

5th Sept. 7th, 8th, 15th, 17th, 18th.

As ſoon as decency would permit, Petion appeared at the bar of the aſſembly, with a ſtatement that Paris was then perfectly tranquil; and afterwards wrote ſeveral letters, ſtating the diſpoſition of the people to return to order, and requiring that energy might be given to the law [b]. At this period, Paris was in a ſtate of unparalleled diſorder; the allied armies were ſuppoſed to be within a ſhort diſtance, and certain of reaching the capital; the elections for members to the convention were proceeding, but all appearance of freedom or regularity was deſtroyed by a mob of pike and bludgeon men, who conſtantly beſet the electors; the populace addicted themſelves to plunder to a degree ſo audacious, that watches, jewels, and trinkets, were ſnatched from

State of Paris.

[y] See Debates, 21ſt January 1793.

[z] See St. Juſt's Report, 8th July 1793. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 539.

[a] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 365. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 498.

[b] Debates.

the

the perſons of their poſſeſſors in open day, and Petion ſtated it to the aſſembly as an inſtance of the people's ſenſe of propriety, that ſome of theſe robbers had been murdered on the ſpot; the *garde-meuble de la couronne* was broke open, and plundered of jewels of immenſe value; all was rapacity, riot, inſubordination, and terror [c]. The miniſters, alarmed at the hurricane they had excited, were deſirous to leave Paris, to carry the king with them, and transfer the ſeat of government to a more tranquil city; Danton, however, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the meaſure, and Petion rejected it with indignation [d]. It has been aſſerted that Petion, accompanied by Manuel and Kerſaint, induced Louis XVI. to require the retreat of the combined armies; but this account, ſo far as it connects him with Manuel in the tranſaction, is diſproved by Clery [e].

Notwithſtanding Petion's official ſituation, and the ſtrong alliance between him and the miniſtry, he had not ſufficient influence to be elected deputy to the convention for Paris [f]. He was however returned for Eure et Loire, or Chartres, which place he had repreſented in the conſtituent aſſembly. His popularity was now rapidly declining; and the ill grace with which he, the inſtigator of commotion, now recommended ſubordination and obedience to the laws, contributed as much as any other circumſtance to diveſt him of the public favour [g]. Though he was not choſen deputy for Paris, he was re-elected mayor of that city; but this was probably a manœuvre of the Mountain, to make him reſign his ſeat for Eure et Loire; if ſo, he fruſtrated it by declining the mayoralty in the

Elected deputy to the convention.

[c] Debates. Hiſtories. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 412, et ſeq.
[d] Hiſtory of the Briſſotines by Camille Deſmoulines, p. 20.
[e] Pagès, vol. ii. p. 44. Journal de Clery, p. 105.
[f] Louvet's Narrative, p 20.
[g] See Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 130. Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 459. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 40.

moſt poſitive manner, by a ſhort letter to the electors [h].

21ſt Sept. Preſident.

At the firſt meeting of the convention, when royalty was aboliſhed without deliberation by three hundred and ſeventy-one members out of ſeven hundred and forty-five, Petion ſat as preſident. He was alſo one of the committee appointed to reviſe the conſtitution [i], His politics at this time are extremely doubtful; he was in the confidence, and acted with the Briſſotine faction; but it is ſaid that he continued attached to Orleans, and laboured to promote his views, though the aſcendancy of Marat and other worthleſs characters prevented his public co-operation [k]. To this uncertainty of conduct may be attributed his apparent inconſiſtency when Louvet made his denunciation againſt Robeſpierre. He coincided in the views of the Briſſotines ſo far as related to the puniſhment and diſgrace of the intended dictator, but was anxious to prevent ſuch a diſcuſſion as would endanger Orleans; he therefore avoided ſupporting Louvet in the debate, and was friendly to the motion for the order of the day, but he afterwards publiſhed the ſpeech he intended to have delivered [l].

Conteſt with Robeſpierre.

The conteſt between Petion and Robeſpierre now grew to a great exceſs of perſonal rancour; in addition to his intended ſpeech, Petion publiſhed, and poſted on the walls of Paris, a letter to the Jacobin club againſt his rival [m]. Robeſpierre anſwered theſe attacks in a letter replete with humorous ſatire and poliſhed ridicule, and ſucceeded in making his antagoniſt additionally contemptible [n].

[h] Mercure François, N° du 27 Octobre 1792.

[i] See Debates.

[k] See Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 219. 223. Alſo Pagès, vol ii. p. 12.

[l] Louvet's Narrative, p. 23, 24. See alſo Mercure François N° du 17 Novembre 1792.

[m] A ſummary of this ſpeech and a tranſlation of the letter to the Jacobins, are given in the Appendix, N° IX.

[n] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 395. See ROBESPIERRE.

Petion's

Petion's exertions in the convention were neither ſtrenuous or important; his chief efforts were employed on the king's trial, in which he acted with ſuch timid duplicity as completely to annihilate his ſmall remaining portion of popularity, without ſerving the king, or ſeeming attached to his cauſe. He appears principally to have aimed at obtaining delay, as he propoſed the diſcuſſion of the king's inviolability, and remonſtrated againſt the convention ſitting as judges; but when the *appel nominal* was to decide the fate of Louis, Petion voted him guilty, reſerving only a diſcuſſion on the propriety of delay [o]. His conduct in this particular excited great indignation among the populace, it was conſidered as a high crime at the Jacobin club, and Petion narrowly eſcaped, or rather obtained a ſhort reſpite from expulſion [p].

Conduct on the king's trial.

3d Dec.

5th Jan. 1793.

In the courſe of theſe debates, Petion had ſome perſonal altercation with Lepelletier, and when that deputy was aſſaſſinated, the Mountain took advantage of the circumſtance to accuſe Petion as an accomplice with the murderer. A long and tumultuous debate enſued, in which Petion's conduct in many reſpects was virulently arraigned, and his defence was by no means proportioned to the vigour and extent of the attack [q]. In the conteſt which enſued between the Mountain and the Gironde, Petion was not active, though frequently attacked. His known connexion with Orleans reſtrained his efforts, and perhaps he yet retained a wiſh that the views of that conſpirator ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, as he could never be induced to act ſtrenuouſly againſt him. He awaited the turn of events with childiſh indifference, or hypocritical levity. The following anecdote, related by Louvet [r], re-

21ſt Jan. Defeat of Petion's party.

[o] Debates.
[p] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 570. 572. See alſo p. 614.
[q] Debates. See Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 241.
[r] Louvet's Narrative, p. 35.

ſpecting the conſpiracy of the 10th of March, will ſhew that Petion was incredibly ſtupid, or ſo great an hypocrite that even his own faction could not depend on him. Louvet ſays, "That I might be "near the convention, I had taken a lodging in "Honoré-ſtreet, very little above the Jacobins. "About nine in the evening, my Lodoiſka, who "had gotten home, and was expecting me, heard a "frightful tumult and horrible cries. Ever anxious "for me, who, with moſt of my friends, had lived "for three months ſurrounded with dangers, con-"ſtantly purſued, threatened, inſulted, obliged to "carry arms for my defence, and forced to keep "every night from home; my dear wife came "down, and went on till ſhe came into the gal-"leries of the ſociety, from which the noiſe "iſſued. She heard a thouſand ſlanders, a thou-"ſand horrid ſpeeches uttered. She ſaw the lights "extinguiſhed, and ſabres drawn. She came out "with an enraged multitude, who went to the "Cordeliers for auxiliaries, thence to return forth-"with, and attack the convention, Lodoiſka juſt "came back when I returned. Immediately I flew "to Petion's, where ſome of my friends were aſ-"ſembled. They were converſing calmly on cer-"tain decrees that were to be paſſed in the courſe "of a few weeks. God knows how difficult I "found it to rouſe them from their ſecurity. At "laſt I prevailed on them to refrain from appearing "at the meeting already begun, and to aſſemble, "with all the principal perſons proſcribed, in an "hour's time, in a houſe where the conſpirators "would not expect to find us. I then repaired "with ſpeed to the meeting, where I found Kervé-"légan, deputy from Finiſterre. This brave man "haſtened to the farther part of the ſuburb St. "Marceau, to alarm a battalion from Breſt, which "very fortunately arrived at Paris a few days be-"fore, and had been detained. This battalion re-

"mained

" mained all night under arms, ready to march to
" our assistance at the first request, or the sound of
" the alarm-bell. In the mean time I went from
" house to house, to acquaint Valazé, Buzot, Bar-
" baroux, Salle, and several others. Brissot went
" to inform the ministers of what was passing; and
" the minister at war, the brave and unfortunate
" Beurnonville, having scaled the wall of his gar-
" den, had already joined some of his friends, with
" whom he formed a patrole. After a ramble of
" two hours, in a dark night, and in the midst as
" it were of my assassins, I arrived at the place of
" rendezvous. Petion was wanting. He was in
" much danger, however, if he remained at his own
" house. I returned to seek him, and a single in-
" cident that passed will depict his character. As
" I was pressing him to come with me, he went to
" the window, and opened it; then, having looked
" at the weather, he said, *It rains, there will be no-*
" *thing done.* Notwithstanding all I could say, he
" persisted in staying at home."

On the triumph of the Mountain and total defeat of the Brissotine faction, Petion made his escape from Paris, and followed the fortune of those who were of opinion that nothing but the insurrection of the departments could save France [s]. He traversed a large part of France with a party which never mustered more than nineteen in number [t]. They endeavoured to excite an insurrection in the departments, but met with very little success; their enemies were numerous, vigilant, and active; their friends few, cold, and inert. The people with great propriety distinguished between the cause of the fugitives and their own; and many who would have braved every danger to establish a good government, remained perfectly neuter in a contest, the event of which could only decide whether their

31st May. His flight.

[s] Louvet's Narrative, p. 49. [t] Idem, p. 82.

lives

lives and properties ſhould be at the diſpoſal of Petion or Robeſpierre[u]. At Caen they met with a ſmall ſhare of protection and temporary encouragement, and had they declared in favour of royalty, would in all probability have been more confidentially treated; but finding them ſolicitous only for the advancement of their own faction, general Wimpfen, after trifling with them ſo as to prevent their ſucceſs in any other quarter, finally fruſtrated an intended attack on the city of Vernon, abandoned their cauſe, and left them to their own reſources[x]. After leaving Caen, Petion and his aſſociates wandered about for ſome time, expoſed to every hardſhip, and eagerly purſued by their inveterate and active foes. Petion was peculiarly liable to be known, from the publicity of his late ſituation in Paris, and from the remarkable circumſtance of his having grey hair at a very early age. In paſſing through a village named Moncontoir, he was recogniſed, though not apprehended[y]. In general he bore his ſufferings with fortitude, but ſometimes exhibited ſymptoms of deſpair[z]. At length, the increaſing vigilance of their enemies rendering it unſafe for them to travel in ſo numerous a party, the fugitives diſperſed and took different routes. From this period the fate of Petion remains uncertain: by ſome he was ſaid to have been found ſtabbed in a field in the Gironde; by others, ſtarved to death in a cave in Languedoc. For ſome time after the fall of Robeſpierre, hopes were entertained by his adherents, that he, like Louvet and Iſnard, would emerge from concealment, and again appear in the convention[a]: theſe hopes however were not verified, and doubt, myſtery, and conjecture muſt ever attend the final moments of a man who, in the day

and death.

[u] Reſidence in France, edited by John Gifford, vol. i. p. 283.
[x] Louvet's Narrative, p. 56, et ſeq.
[y] Idem, p. 85. [z] Idem, p. 103. 149.
[a] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 168.

of

of pride and upſtart inſolence, availing himſelf of unmerited popularity, rivalled, endangered, and inſulted his ſovereign.

During Petion's flight, his wife and mother-in-law were arreſted and confined in the priſon of St. Pelagie [b]. They were in ſuch pecuniary diſtreſs, that they were ſupported only by borrowing [c]. The mother-in-law was guillotined; of the wife's fate I am uncertain. Fate of his wife and mother-in-law.

Dr. Moore deſcribes Petion as a fair, well-looking man, of genteel addreſs, and cheerful countenance, with an habitual ſmile [d]. Madame Roland ſays; "The ſerenity of a good conſcience, and mildneſs "of an eaſy temper, with frankneſs and cheerfulneſs, diſtinguiſh his countenance [e]." The partiality of this deſcription of Petion's phyſiognomy may be corrected by Bertrand, who ſays: "His "countenance, which at firſt ſight appeared open "and agreeable, upon a nearer examination was "inſipid and devoid of expreſſion [f]." His talents were far from brilliant or extenſive, even madame Roland avows, that "as an orator he was cold, as "a writer his ſtyle was looſe [g]." Dr. Moore ſtates him to have been "a man of conſiderable learning, "though not ſo much as he wiſhed the world to "believe; of ſome eloquence, but by no means ſo "much as he believed himſelf; of ſome judgment, "though a much ſmaller portion than he imagined; "whereas he really poſſeſſed a very comfortable "ſhare of vanity, of which it appears he was perſuaded he had none at all [h]." I incline however to conſider even this account too favourable to Petion's knowledge and intellects, and think he is more correctly appreciated by Bertrand. He ſays, His perſon. Talents.

[b] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 176.
[c] Appel à l'Impartiale Poſtérité, vol. ii. p. 74.
[d] Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 130.
[e] Appeal, vol. i. p. 126.
[f] Memoirs, vol. i. p. 259.
[g] Appeal, vol. i. p. 127.
[h] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 402.

"Petion's

" Petion's want of information, his heavy elocution, " meanly trivial or abſurdly bombaſt, made me " conſider him as a man by no means dangerous. " I even imagined that by flattering his vanity or " ambition, he might be made uſeful to the king. " His conduct has proved how much I was de- " ceived; and I cannot, even at this diſtance of " time, reflect without pain on my having been " deceived by ſo ſilly a knave [i]." Petion's virtue and diſintereſtedneſs are highly extolled by madame Roland; ſhe ſays; " Petion is a truly good and " honeſt man, equally incapable of doing the leaſt " thing repugnant to juſtice, and inflicting the " ſlighteſt injury or occaſioning the leaſt uneaſi- " neſs to any one. For himſelf he can neglect " many things, yet he knows not how to refuſe a " favour to any perſon in the world [k]." The diſ- intereſtedneſs implied in the latter part of this pa- negyric is ſubject to much doubt, as Petion, in common with the reſt of his faction, was ſuſpected of having greatly enriched himſelf by the moſt palpable peculation [l]. It is no anſwer to the ac- cuſation to ſtate, that his wife was, after his flight, left in diſtreſſed circumſtances, and when in priſon, expoſed to want: Petion, though poſſeſſed of no property, lived in a ſplendid ſtyle, and his flight was ſo unpremeditated, as not to afford him the means of ſecuring his property, which, like the confiſcated wealth of others, was embezzled, and its amount never aſcertained. The firſt part of the lady's eulogium is refuted by every act of Petion's life; which fully juſtifies the obſervation of Du- mouriez, who alſo had ſufficient means of appreciat- ing his character, that he concealed, under a mild and prudent appearance, a heart coldly wicked [m].

Moral character.

i Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 259.
k Appeal, vol. i. p. 126.
l Impartial Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 339.
m Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 187.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.

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MAXIMILIEN Robeſpierre was born in the city of Arras[n], and an orphan from his earlieſt infancy. His father was a counſellor, in conſiderable practice, and of good reputation, but ſo little endowed with prudence, that he left three children in the utmoſt want. It has been aſſerted that the ſubject of theſe Memoirs was the nephew of d'Amiens, who was broke on the wheel for an attempt to aſſaſſinate Louis XV.[o], but this ſtory is abſolutely untrue. It may have been the invention of ſome indignant royaliſt, or perhaps of ſome friend of Robeſpierre himſelf. The good character of his father, and the diſtreſs of his children, operated ſo much in their favour with ſome of their relations that they uſed every exertion to procure them ſome effectual protection; one of them took the charge of the daughter, and the two ſons were recommended to the biſhop of Arras, who brought them

1759. Robeſpierre's birth and education.

[n] The principal tranſactions of this blood-thirſty tyrant's life are abridged from the work of Montjoye, intitled, "*Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de Maximilien Robeſpierre.*" To M. Montjoye I am indebted for all the particulars of Robeſpierre's early hiſtory, and for the arrangement and diſtribution of the whole work. I have differed with him, and with moſt writers who have preceded me on the ſubject of Robeſpierre's talents; and I have ſuppreſſed ſome parts of his narrative for brevity's ſake, and others from a conviction that they ſprang from miſinformation or haſte. All thoſe parts of the enſuing narrative for which no authority is given, are derived entirely from him.

[o] See Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 141. 220. Apologie des Projets des Chefs de la Revolution, p. 216. Perhaps too the political romance called Couteau's Confeſſions may have contributed to give currency to the report.

up

up with a care and humanity worthy a Chriſtian paſtor. Maximilian, diſcovering the greateſt ſhare of genius, and no traits of thoſe vices which afterwards marked his character, was the favourite of the worthy biſhop [P], who, after leading him by the hand with infinite ſatisfaction through the primary avenues of ſcience, obtained for him, by his intereſt, an exhibition, or annual purſe, at the college of *Louis-le-grand* at Paris. While he continued in this ſituation, the hopes of his patron were abundantly realized; his progreſs was rapid and honourable, he was generally at the head of his claſs, and obtained ſeveral prizes. He exhibited no ſymptom at this period of a bad heart or depraved diſpoſition, but every one thought he would be diſtinguiſhed by his prudence, and paſs through the world with ſome *eclat*.

Studies the law.

The fame of his ſcholaſtic triumphs excited ardent hopes in the boſoms of his provincial friends; they recommended to him to ſtudy the law, and to make Paris the ſcene of his exertions, little doubting that the ſame ſucceſs and eminence which had awaited him in the univerſity, would be his portion in the greater ſcene his profeſſion would open to him. To obviate the diſadvantages likely to reſult from his unprovided ſtate, recourſe was had to the humanity of a gentleman of great eminence at the bar, of the name of *Ferrières*, who gratuitouſly received him as a pupil, and undertook to provide him with every thing he wanted, while he was proſecuting his ſtudies. But in this ſituation Robeſpierre's deficiencies firſt became apparent. The acquirements of the college, as it was then regulated, were confined to a knowledge of the lives, actions, and a few of the more glaring opinions of the ancient

P It has been ſaid that he repaid the kindneſs of this worthy paſtor with ingratitude; but the fact is ſo ſlightly alleged, that I am little inclined to give it credit. See Chriſtie's Letters on the Revolution, p. 132. n.

Romans.

Romans. A young Frenchman was brought up without any reference to the world he was about to inhabit, as if he had nothing to learn, no model to conſult, but the heroes of antiquity. This learning, requiring only a good memory, and affording little ſcope to the exerciſe of genius or imagination, opened an eaſy road to puerile celebrity, Robeſpierre purſued and attained it; it was flattering to the vanity, becauſe without much effort, it gave an *air recherché* to the converſation of its poſſeſſor. To the prevalence of this taſte it is to be attributed, that during the French revolution, the Lives of Plutarch, the Annals of Tacitus, and other memorials of the vices and virtues of the Greeks and Romans have been as conſtantly quoted, and as hypocritically deſcanted on, as the Holy Bible was during the civil commotions under Charles I. and the uſurpation of Cromwell. Robeſpierre, who had been accuſtomed to conquer fame without an effort, in this eaſy level field, was diſguſted at the neceſſity impoſed by his newly-embraced profeſſion of acquiring new information; of inveſtigating antiquity, of taking nothing for granted, but weighing in the balance of extreme ſcrupuloſity, the difference between truth and ſpecioufneſs, falſehood and paradox; of examining with attention, every different complexion of men and things, of manners and motives. Uſed to the facilities of collegiate declamation, where it is only required to illuſtrate a given ſubject, he had not patience ſufficient to go through the neceſſary labour of attaining an eloquence which ſhould, by its perſpicuouſneſs, ſtrength, and fluency, at once convey information, obviate doubt, penetrate into the dark receſſes of latent guilt; and diſplay in their ſtrongeſt light, the intereſting features of calumniated virtue. Incapable of this exertion, he ſhrunk from the taſk, and from that period commenced an averſion to literature and literary characters, which he retained during the remainder of his life. At the expiration of his term

of

of ſtudy, his friends, who now expected the accompliſhment of all their hopes, and that this boaſted genius would ſpeedily attain the higheſt honours, ſent one of his relations to partake the triumph of his firſt impreſſion. On his arrival in the capital this gentleman was effectually undeceived, he found his young friend far below mediocrity in his profeſſional line, his knowledge extremely limited, and his eloquence deficient both in dignity and correctneſs. He was eaſily perſuaded by Ferrières to take him back to Arras, where dilligence might procure him a ſubſiſtence, without expoſing him to compariſon or competition, which muſt inevitably produce diſgrace.

Practiſes at Arras.

Notwithſtanding the horrible celebrity which has ſince diſtinguiſhed the name of Robeſpierre, no trace can be found of his profeſſional employment, except in one ſolitary inſtance. The invention of electrical conductors, to diſcharge the lightning from impending clouds, made a great progreſs in France; it ſpread with ſingular ſpeed from the capital to the provinces; it was patronized by the learned and polite, and oppoſed by the vulgar, the prejudiced, the timid, and the ſuperſtitious. Some of theſe machines were placed on buildings in the neighbourhood of Arras, and produced a law-ſuit. Robeſpierre, whom the fame of ſcholaſtic attainment pointed out as a proper perſon, was fixed on to conduct this cauſe on behalf of thoſe who had adopted the conductors, but he is ſaid to have drawn up a memorial, or caſe, on the ſubject, which was publiſhed, in which his ignorance was ſo manifeſt, his ſtyle ſo baſe, and his argumentation ſo perplexed, that he loſt his clients, and acquired the never-ending contempt of his fellow-citizens. The cauſe never came into court, an amicable accommodation took place.

1789. Member of the conſtituent aſſembly.

The convocation of the ſtates-general firſt afforded him an opportunity of emerging from obſcurity. The opinion of the inhabitants of Arras had not

been able to eradicate from his mind thoſe ſeeds of vanity which had been implanted there by his juvenile ſucceſſes. He imagined that a large theatre alone was wanting to enable him to make a conſpicuous figure. Full of this idea, he intrigued amongſt the lower claſs of inhabitants in the diſtrict where he reſided, and by inceſſant ſolicitation, by promiſes adapted to the imagined wants and wiſhes of the people to whom he looked up for ſupport, he finally ſucceeded, not only in being returned to the ſtates-general as repreſentative of the *tiers etat*, but in being permitted to compoſe, in the name of his conſtituents, the cahiers, or inſtructions for himſelf and his co-deputies.

His talents.

The talents diſplayed by Robeſpierre in the conſtituent aſſembly have been too much under-rated in conſequence of the violent efforts made by Briſſotine as well as royaliſt writers to expoſe him to contempt [q]. Even impartial writers, contemplating the figure he made in the convention, the gigantic power he acquired, and the dreadful means he employed in its maintenance, and comparing them with his unimportance in the aſſembly, have raſhly pronounced that he was deficient in eloquence and ability. Robeſpierre came from Arras to Paris not much improved in knowledge or oratory, and he came into an aſſembly where, on both ſides, there were ſeated men famous for both. He poſſeſſed neither birth or wealth to give him partiſans, and his defects in ſpeaking occaſionally

[q] He is thus ſpoken of by M. de Montgaillard, whoſe deſcription will ſpare the neceſſity of numerous quotations. "'My only wiſh,' "ſaid he in 1784,' is to be attorney-general for the parliament of Paris. "Ah! how I would make people talk of me!' In the poſſeſſion of "that office he ſaw the means of ſatisfying that conſuming thirſt of "publicity, by which he often afterwards acknowledged himſelf to be "influenced. This alſo informs us of his motives for getting returned "to the ſtates-general. Yet he only appeared there a ſtupid enthuſiaſt. "At its diſſolution, he retired, leaving no other impreſſion than a "rooted contempt for his talents, and a total forgetfulneſs of his "perſon." Etat de la France, p. 9.

excited the laughter of the audience; but his education furniſhed him with modes of knowledge ſufficient to give him a reputation in an aſſemblage ſo mixed and compounded, and his perſevering aſſiduity in poliſhing his language, and extending his information, together with the death and receſſion of ſome of the more diſtinguiſhed members, afforded him the means, before the diſſolution of that aſſembly, of acquiring an extended and rather brilliant reputation. Garat, who is certainly a competent judge, ſpeaks of his talents in theſe terms[r]: "In Robeſpierre, notwithſtanding the nonſenſe and abſurdity of thoſe extemporary harangues which he daily uttered in the aſſembly; notwithſtanding his endleſs tattle about the rights of man, the ſovereignty of the people, principles of which he was continually talking, without ever communicating a ſingle idea about them that was, in any degree, new or exact; In him, I fancied that I could diſcern, eſpecially when he printed his compoſitions, the firſt efforts of riſing genius, which was ſuſceptible of improvement (which did actually improve) and of which the energies might one day fully expand ſo as to do much good or much miſchief. In his ſtyle I ſaw a care to ſtudy and to imitate thoſe forms of expreſſion which poſſeſs elegance, dignity, and ſplendour. By thoſe which he imitated and produced the oftenеſt, I could perceive that the writings of Rouſſeau were his great ſchool and model."

Copies Mirabeau.

In his oratory he affected to copy Mirabeau, and if he could not reach all the heights of his eloquence, he could at leaſt obtain enough to impoſe on the people, and even to ſecure him ſome reſpect in the aſſembly. He reſolved to attract notice by buſtle and detraction, and to acquire popularity by in-

[r] Memoirs of the Revolution, p. 65.

gratiating

gratiating himſelf with the loweſt people, by flattering their caprices, extolling their virtues, reprobating all men and meaſures which were diſliked by them, and generally by adapting his harangues entirely to their taſte and comprehenſion.

He was a member of the ſociety formed by Briſſot and others, under the title of *Amis des Noirs*, the object of which was to procure the unconditional emancipation of all the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies. In purſuit of this project he diſplayed that violence and inconſiderate impetuoſity which characterize men who ſubſtitute paſſion for judgment, and purſue a favourite ſpeculation, in contempt of every oppoſing motive, and declared his willingneſs to deſtroy the colonies, rather than ſacrifice one iota of principle [t]. Very early in the ſittings of the aſſembly he was ſo far noticed as to be included in the deputation of twenty-four, ſent up, on the motion of Mirabeau, to requeſt the king to remove the troops from the capital [t].

Ami des Noirs.

10th July 1789. Goes with meſſage to the king.

Yet, though Robeſpierre was not of ſufficient conſequence to be claimed as a coadjutor by any party, he never failed to preſent himſelf at the tribune on almoſt every diſcuſſion; ſometimes with prepared orations, ſometimes to utter extempore remarks. He felt no timidity in preſſing his principles nor any fear of contempt from the frequency of his repetitions. By degrees he poliſhed his ſtyle, and in time gained ſome portion of attention. He aſſiſted in undermining the popularity of Necker by making a ſpeech againſt the amneſty obtained by him from the commune of Paris [u]. He was always extremely ſolicitous for the removal of the ſittings of the national aſſembly from Verſailles to Paris [x],

Exerts himſelf in the aſſembly.

30th July.

[s] Bryan Edwards's Hiſtory of St. Domingo, p. 41. 61. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 415.
[t] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 303. Debates.
[u] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 172. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 382.
[x] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 427.

but the events of the day which produced that change were not contrived by him, nor had he the leaſt notion of their being in agitation. He was not yet
5th Oct. truſted, though in the debate which took place on the ſubject of the king's animadverſion on the articles of the conſtitution, he rendered a ſervice to the Orleans' faction by obſerving, that his majeſty's meſſage, inſtead of an acceptance, was a cenſure [y].

Becomes an Orleaniſt and Jacobin.

He was now conſidered as actively attached to the Orleans' party. There was more buſineſs to do in the aſſembly, in the city, and in the clubs, than his ſuperior aſſociates could conduct without aſſiſtance. Robeſpierre had ſo far ſucceeded in imitating Mirabeau, that he began to be noticed by it, though not much to his advantage; the one was ſaid to be the flambeau of Provence, the other the taper of Arras. The deſire Orleans and all his party entertained to humble la Fayette and Bailly, cauſed Robeſpierre to frequent the company of Danton and Marat, who were actively engaged in the taſk, and through them he was often employed to convey to the people of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, thoſe intimations which it was thought would be received with more readineſs if ſanctioned by a deputy. His eloquence and his manners were exactly ſuited to this claſs of people, and he ſoon became their idol, a circumſtance which afterwards gave him unlimited rule in France, but the principal engine of his elevation was the Jacobin club. He was not thought worthy of a ſeat in the club Breton; that club, while the aſſembly remained at Verſailles, was ſmall and ſelect, founded at firſt by the deputies from Bretagne, but when the legiſlative body removed to Paris, they threw open their doors to all the members of the *left ſide*, and to many other perſons; they hired the convent belonging

[y] Mrs. Wolſtonecroft's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 436. The other Hiſtories and Debates.

to

to the Dominican, or as they were called in France, *Jacobin* friars, in the *rue St. Honoré*, and extended their influence all over the kingdom, by means of affiliated ſocieties, and committees of correſpondence. This club, by their pernicious agency, produced inſubordination in the army and navy, and confirmed the licentiouſneſs, fury, and infidelity of the populace; they deſtroyed the church, diſſolved the tie of laws, and brought the king to an ignominious death. The iniquity of their means was proportioned to the flagitiouſneſs of their ends: they laid wealthy individuals under contribution; they ſhared the plunder of thoſe whoſe deſtruction they had occaſioned; and to defray the immenſe expences they were ſubject to, before their own creatures came into adminiſtration, they abetted the forgery of aſſignats, which they were thus enabled to diſtribute with incredible profuſion [z]. At this club Robeſpierre was indefatigable, he made motions and ſpeeches of the moſt incendiary deſcription, and in all reſpects accommodated himſelf ſo well to the taſte of the people, that he was ſoon elevated to the preſidency, and during the remainder of his life, retained an influence the moſt unlimited. Here he firſt began to court the galleries and the populace of Paris in his ſpeeches, by conſtantly uſing a flattering cant which was ſuited to their intellects, by conſtantly inſiſting on their virtues, and calling them emphatically *the good people of Paris* [a].

This

[z] Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 276. See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 28.

[a] This ſtyle he never afterwards diſcontinued. The following are ſpecimens of it from a periodical work he publiſhed in 1792, called *Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans*. "Taken collectively, you are the moſt generous, the moſt moral of all people; and, but for your levity, the moſt deſerving of liberty." Vol. i. p. 6. "The people are naturally juſt and peaceable; they are always guided by the moſt pure intentions: the evil-minded cannot ſtir them up, without preſenting to their view a powerful and proper motive." Vol. i. p. 405. "The

Manages the galleries.

This ſort of eloquence he carried with him into the national aſſembly, where he already began to exerciſe his addreſs, by training the galleries to particular expreſſions of applauſe and diſapprobation; a manœuvre which afterwards ſubjected the deliberative body entirely to the dominion of the audience, or more properly to that of a party of ſcreaming *poiſſardes* and vociferous *ſans-culottes*, whom the leaders of the day took care to aſſemble. In the conſtituent aſſembly this evil was firſt felt: the tribunes were uſed to hum applauſe, or grumble diſlike, at the uſe of certain phraſes uttered in a certain ſenſe. This ſecret was ſoon diſcovered by the *right ſide*, they learned, at every interval of diſapprobation diſplayed againſt them, to correct the ferment by the introduction of popular phraſeology, no matter however *mal à propos*. This facility of counteraction was not agreeable to the *left ſide*; they prepared another manœuvre; they hired companies of people to fill the tribunes, who were under the command of certain leaders; theſe again were directed to keep their eye on particular members of the aſſembly; and at a preconcerted ſignal, of the diſplay of part of the pocket-handkerchief, the elevation or depreſſion of that part of the hat in which the national cockade was placed, or other equally ſimple and apparently unimportant movements, they were to communicate the token of applauſe or cenſure to their band, who were thus inſtructed to cry up or hoot down ſome particular perſons. The *right ſide* ſoon diſcovered this plan, and availed

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" motives of the people are always pure; they cannot do otherwiſe " than love the public good, ſince the public good is but another " word for the intereſt of the people: but certain intriguers, who are " as cunning as the people are ingenuous, as perverſe as the people " are juſt, ſeek ſometimes to make an ill uſe even of their virtues and " their juſt indignation." Vol. ii. p. 285. " The errors of the people " are rare and impermanent; they are always the fault of fatal circum- " ſtances or perverſe individuals." Vol. ii. p. 291.

themſelves

themſelves of the diſcovery, by hiring their groups to oppoſe the friends of the *left ſide*: this introduced a great confuſion; applauſe and cenſure were frequently beſtowed at the ſame time by the oppoſite parties, and this diſcordance produced animoſities and contentions which it was the diſgrace of the aſſembly to ſuffer. At other times, the ſame ſet of men would be hired by both parties, and when contrary ſignals were given, remain in a confuſed ſtate of ſuſpenſe, undecided whether they ought to applaud or murmur; an embarraſſment which has frequently occaſioned the different journaliſts, in reporting the ſame ſpeech, to attribute to the audience *violent murmurs*, and *loud and frequent applauſes* [b]. This conteſt continued during the ſitting of the conſtituent aſſembly: in the legiſlative aſſembly the *left ſide* managed better; and in the convention, the Mountain generally took care to have the tribunes filled with friends of their own, for which purpoſe the parties frequently came and took their places by break of day, and often ſtayed all night. Robeſpierre's known intrigues in this buſineſs cauſed a royaliſt writer to ſtyle him the general of the *ſans-culottes*, a title with which he was not diſpleaſed.

During the whole ſitting of the conſtituent aſſembly, he was remarked for his exertions on every queſtion in which the king's influence or authority was concerned. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſame perſonal rancour which he afterwards diſplayed in the convention with ſuch baleful effect. It is unneceſſary to particulariſe inſtances, they occurred almoſt daily. He voted and ſpoke in favour of almoſt every propoſition tending to narrow the king's authority, and throw contempt on his perſon and government. He greatly increaſed his popularity by the ſtyle of his ſpeech in oppoſition to la Fayette's propoſal of a martial law. He ſaid, "He enter-

Adverſarious to the king.

Oct. 1789. Oppoſes martial law.

[b] See Moore's View, vol. i. p. 422. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 29.

" tained a cordial affection for the good people of " Paris; that their diſpoſitions were excellent; they " were ſeldom in the wrong, always meant well, and " could not in juſtice be puniſhed for miſtakes they " might commit when pinched with hunger." This, and a great deal more of the ſame contemptible cant, not only procured him the entire good-will of the mob, but effectually deceived many who thought themſelves profound politicians; they ſaid, " He might be a very well-meaning patriot, but was " far *too tender-hearted* for a ſtateſman [c]."

Apr. 1791. Two of his ſpeeches printed. Independently of his exertions againſt the king, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the national aſſembly by his ſpeeches on the re-union of Avignon, and on the organization of the national guard, both which were ordered to be printed [d]. He ſtrenuouſly ſupported the right of petitioning, over which he maintained that the legiſlature had no juriſdiction; and that it reſided in every individual of whatever claſs
15th May. or country. He was no leſs perſevering in his efforts in favour of the people of colour, and in the
24th Sept. end obtained that fatal decree which ſpread deſolation over the face of the French colony of St. Domingo, though it was afterwards repealed by the
16th May. ſame aſſembly [e]. He moved that the members of one legiſlature ſhould not be eligible to ſit in the next, and maintained the propoſition with ſuch jealouſy, that it was finally decreed. Two points in his conduct deſerve particular notice; he was a violent defender of the right of univerſal ſuffrage, and an affected declaimer *againſt the puniſhment of death*
30th May. *in any caſe*. On this ſubject he affected to prove, that " the puniſhment of death was eſſentially un- " juſt; that it was not the moſt impreſſive in its " execution, but, on the contrary, that it tended to

[c] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 72.
[d] Wilde's Addreſs, p. 479. Mercure François Litteraire du 14 Mai 1791.
[e] Edwards's Hiſtory of St. Domingo, p. 89.

" multiply

"multiply crimes inſtead of preventing them. A "man can only kill an enemy when that effort is "abſolutely neceſſary for the ſaving of his own life; "now ſociety at large can have nothing to fear from "a criminal whom it puniſhes; the criminal is to- "tally unable to do any further miſchief, and is "tried in all the ſecurity of peace. A conqueror "who kills his priſoners is called a barbarian; a "grown man who kills a perverſe child, whom it "is in his power to diſarm and puniſh, is deemed a "monſter." Theſe and many other arguments in the ſame ſpirit were unſucceſsful with the aſſembly, though warmly applauded by the galleries and populace [f].

Frequents madame Roland's houſe.

At this period he frequented the houſe of Roland, then neither miniſter or deputy, but the confidant of Briſſot, with whom, and Petion, and a few more, Robeſpierre met four evenings in every week, to arrange plans for the buſineſs in the aſſembly on the enſuing days. He acquired the eſteem of madame Roland, who thought him an honeſt man and firm patriot, but rather *too baſhful*. He uſed at theſe meetings to ſay little; he advanced a few principles, without maintaining them by arguments, but carefully treaſured up the ideas which fell from the more informed men of the party, and retailed them as his own in the aſſembly and the Jacobin club; ſtill eluding the reproaches this conduct drew on him, by an affectation of pleaſantry and good-humoured frivolity [g].

Alarm at the king's eſcape.

The king's departure from the capital alarmed Robeſpierre beyond meaſure; he thought Louis would not have taken that ſtep, unleſs he was ſure of a party in the capital who would murder all the patriots and diſſolve the aſſembly. This panic was diſpelled by the arreſt and return of the king. It was in this interval that, at Petion's houſe,

[f] For all theſe particulars, ſee Debates.
[g] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 56.

Briſſot and ſome others firſt ſtarted the idea of a republic, and propoſed to publiſh a paper under the title of *le Republicain.* Robeſpierre was preſent at the conſultation, and probably foreſaw in this new ſyſtem a ſchiſm amongſt the partiſans of Orleans, which would be beneficial to his intereſts: he wiſhed to act in a ſphere where he ſhould not be thwarted by their ſuperior talents, and would not therefore bind himſelf to proſecute their plan, but contented himſelf with inquiring, with a ſneer, after they had been long diſcuſſing the ſubject, "*And "pray what is a republic*[h]*?*"

Conduct on his arreſt. 23d June.

His violence againſt the king on his arreſt was proportioned to the terror experienced previous to that event. He moved, that thoſe who ſtopped the coach ſhould receive a civic crown; oppoſed the meaſures ſuggeſted for ſecuring the king's perſon, by an obſervation, that the plan introduced to the aſſembly for that purpoſe ſeemed to prejudge a great queſtion, which he wiſhed to hear ſolemnly diſcuſſed.

26th June.

He alſo moved, that the king and queen ſhould be interrogated by the juſtices of peace of the circle of the Tuilleries; that as they were now to be conſidered ſimply as citizens, they ought to be treated

14th July.

without any diſtinguiſhing forms of reſpect. On the ſame occaſion, he ſtrenuouſly combated the inviolability of the king, and declared he ſhould ſpeak of Louis XVI. with the ſame indifference as the emperor of China[i].

Petition of the Champ de Mars.

The event of the aſſembly's deciſion on the queſtion of the king's abdication of the throne, was ſo contrary to his hopes as to deprive him of all prudence; he ran from the hall through the ſtreets, exclaiming to the groups of politicians who were aſſembled, "*My friends, all is loſt; the king is to "be reſtored*[k]*!*" He was ſo convinced that the

[h] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58.
[i] Debates.
[k] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 406. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 142.

queſtion

queſtion would be carried conformably to the wiſhes of his party, that he had omitted the precaution of ſecuring the tribunes. After the diſperſal of the tumultuous petitioners by the military, ſince called the maſſacre of the *Champ de Mars*, his panic returned with aggravated force; he was afraid of being impeached and put on his trial, and alarmed at a ſuppoſed plot of the *Feuillans*, and a dreaded defection of the Jacobins from his intereſt. Roland and his wife, affected at his ſituation, went to his lodgings in the Marſh to offer him an aſylum, but he had already quitted them. He conſulted Petion on the propriety of eſcaping to London [l]. His fears, however, were groundleſs; the court knew not how to puniſh; the conſtitution was completed, and the aſſembly diſſolved [m].

Robeſpierre did not quit the firſt legiſlature with contempt, as M. de Montgaillard has erroneouſly aſſerted: it is true that he never was conſidered a great leader of a party; he was never preſident, and but once ſecretary: during the latter part of the ſittings, he, Buzot, and Petion, were left almoſt alone on the left ſide [n]. His name was on the favourable ſide of the pillar at St. Genon [o], he was conſtantly a great favourite of the audience in the galleries, and the populace of Paris, who had intended, on the day of the *Champ de Mars*, to have carried his buſt, crowned with laurel, in proceſſion through the city [p]. This predilection he greatly augmented the day before the diſſolution of the aſſembly, by his defence of the clubs. When the members quitted the hall, he and Petion were hailed with the acclamations of the populace, a civic crown was placed on their brows, and the people would have taken off their horſes and drawn them home, but they declined that proof of their attachment [q].

Diſſolution of the aſſembly.

29th Sept.

30th.

[l] Briſſot à tous les Republicains, p. 192.
[m] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 62.
[n] Ibid. p. 56.
[o] See BAILLY. Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 339.
[p] Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 383.
[q] Mercure François, N° du 8 Octobre 1791, p. 125.

Robeſpierre

Public accuſer.

Robeſpierre now occupied the place of public accuſer, which he ſoon reſigned, without having ever exerciſed its functions; a circumſtance which has excited ſome aſtoniſhment, and threw for the time ſome diſgrace on his civiſm [r]. It is to be ſuppoſed that the attention neceſſary to the duties of this office was too great a drawback on the time he wiſhed to beſtow on his other avocations. He continued unremittingly his attendance at the Jacobins, where he was a principal ſpeaker, and where his party carried every point; they commanded the applauſe of the tribunes, and ſilenced all ſpeakers whoſe ſentiments were oppoſite to theirs, by clamour and vociferation. The moſt popular journaliſts were members of this club, and ſpread the renown of Robeſpierre and the other chiefs all over the country. They deſpiſed la Fayette's impotent and ill-concerted efforts to diſperſe them: in fact they governed the country; they gave officers to the police, generals to the armies, and miniſters to the crown. On the reſignation of Bailly, Robeſpierre was candidate for the mayoralty; but the place being already diſpoſed of to Petion, he obtained only a hundred votes [s].

Quarrels with Briſſot.

25th April 1792.

He was ſoon involved in diſputes with the Girondiſt faction, and although on good terms with Petion, was denounced by Briſſot and Gaudet at the Jacobin club. It is to be preſumed that the deſire entertained by the Briſſotine party to involve the country in war was the cauſe of their diſagreement; for it is well known that all the members of that cabal were reſolute for war, while Robeſpierre was a ſtrenuous oppoſer of it, and for a long time afterwards retained a wiſh to avoid giving unneceſſary offence to foreign powers [t]. The attack made on him was however attended with little ſucceſs; he

[r] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 116. Etat de la France, p. 9.
[s] Mercure François, N° du 26 Novembre 1791, p. 289.
[t] Pagès, vol. i. p. 456. Mercure François, N° du 7 Avril 1792, p. 67. See alſo Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 326.

anſwered

anſwered it the next day but one, and his ſpeech was printed and diſtributed at the expence of the ſociety [u].

About this time he commenced a weekly publication, called *le Defenſeur de la Conſtitution*, in which he diſcuſſed, as occaſion required, all public meaſures and events, occaſionally attacking his adverſaries, and explaining his own conduct. When the conſtitution was no longer thought worth defending, and he was elected deputy to the national convention, he changed its appellation, and called it *Lettres de Maximilien Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans*, under which title he continued it for ſome time after the king's death. From an attentive peruſal of theſe publications, I have formed my judgment of Robeſpierre's ſtyle, which I think very far above mediocrity. His oratory, ſubjected to the diſadvantages of a bad voice, and an unconquerable provincial accent [x], might fail of producing a graceful effect in diſcourſe, but his expreſſions were not ill choſen, nor did they betray poverty of language or barrenneſs of imagination; his logic is frequently faulty in its concluſions, and he is extremely negligent of truth in his narratives; his forte is humorous reaſoning, where gravity ſeems hardly maintainable from the ludicrouſneſs of the ſubject; his ſarcaſms are forcible and appoſite, and his irony ſpritely and effectual [y].

Writes a periodical work.

During the reign of the legiſlative aſſembly, the conteſt was changed from its former ground. In

10th Aug. His conduct.

[u] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, p. 37.

[x] Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 57.

[y] One of his beſt efforts in this ſtyle, his letter to Jerome Petion, is given in the Appendix (N° X.). Camille Deſmoulins does not ſcruple to ſay that, for its attic wit, it is equal to the beſt Provincials *; and it has been already, in part, introduced to the acquaintance of the Engliſh reader, by the extract from it in Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 396. That, and his ſpeech in anſwer to Louvet's accuſation abridged, will form a ſufficient ſpecimen of his powers in either ſpecies of compoſition.

* The Provincials are celebrated Letters by Father Paſcal againſt the Jeſuits. See Camille Deſmoulins' Hiſtory of the Briſſotines, p. 66.

the

the conſtituent aſſembly, the *Conſtitutionels* waged war againſt the royaliſts, in the preſent theſe were attacked in their turn by the republicans. The writers and orators of that party had contrived to render their doctrine ſo palatable, that Orleans and Robeſpierre were obliged to accede to the general opinion, and affect to be zealous republicans. Republicaniſm became the order of the day at the Jacobins, and every thing yielded to the impulſe. To reduce the royal power ſo much as to prevent all oppoſition to their ſcheme, the republicans planned and executed the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt. It was much to the diſadvantage of the Briſſotines to be obliged to call in the aid of Danton, who was ſo intimately connected with Robeſpierre their declared enemy, but their weakneſs and his energy rendered it unavoidable. Though the cowardice of Robeſpierre kept him from being an actor in that ſcene; though, as Louvet afterwards told him [z], he concealed himſelf, like Soſia in the play, till the battle was over, yet he was named one of the council-general of the *commune*, as without the aid of his popularity their meaſures would have been but imperfect [a]. He was alſo appointed one of the judges of a tribunal erected to try criminals involved in the imputed guilt of the court on that day [b]. His exultation in the event of the conteſt may be learned by the account of the
14th Aug. tranſaction which he gave to the public [c]; and by the propoſition he made in the aſſembly, for the erection of a column to the memory of thoſe who

[z] See his ſpeech againſt Robeſpierre.

[a] It ſeems agreed, on all hands, that Robeſpierre was not perſonally engaged in attack on the Tuilleries, or deliberating with the new council-general, on the 9th of Auguſt. See Pagès, vol. i. p. 478. 486. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 477. Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 497. Etat de la France, p. 10.

[b] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 208. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 220, &c.

[c] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, p. 567.

fell

fell in the aſſault, on the place where the ſtatue of Louis XIV. had formerly ſtood [d].

The events of the 10th of Auguſt placed the miniſterial junto ſo firmly in poſſeſſion of the public eſteem, and appeared to inveſt them with ſo great a command over the populace by means of their Marſeillois, that it became a point of the higheſt importance to Robeſpierre to counteract their influence. It has already been mentioned that he declared open war againſt Briſſot; the quarrel involved Condorcet and all their party [e]. To ſnatch from the hands of this faction as much of the power of influencing the populace as they could, and to place as much as poſſible in the reach of perſons devoted to them, was the principal aim of thoſe who perpetrated the maſſacres of September. Robeſpierre was undoubtedly a principal contriver of theſe ſanguinary executions. Previous to the fatal day, he had been very active in making domiciliary viſits [f]; and the day preceding the maſſacre, he had denounced Briſſot at the Jacobin club for having ſold the country to the duke of Brunſwick [g]. But though Robeſpierre had ſo great a ſhare in arranging the horrible plan of the day [h]; yet on that occaſion, like the former, his puſillanimity kept him from the ſcene of action, and he did not make his appearance till the carnage was ended. The event, however, confirmed his

2d Sept. His exertions.

1ſt Sept.

[d] Debates.

[e] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution, p. 96. 99. Mercure François, N° du 19 Mai 1792, p. 208.

[f] Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 479.

[g] Briſſot à tous les Republicains, p. 183. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 294. See alſo Louvet's Narrative, p. 17.

[h] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 433. Briſſot à tous les Republicains, p. 184. Etat de la France, p. 10. It occaſioned ſome ſurpriſe when I ſaw in the New Annual Regiſter for 1794, p. 382. the following expreſſion: "He certainly had no part in the events of "the 10th of Auguſt; and the count de Montgaillard acquits him "even of any principal ſhare in the maſſacres of September." Montgaillard ſpeaks of him in theſe terms: "Robeſpierre diſparût pendant "cette criſe déciſive (le 10 Août). On lui a reproché ſouvent la "prudence avec laquelle il ſe derobait aux dangers; *il paroit auſſi avoir "eu beaucoup de part aux maſſacres du 2 Septembre.*"

power,

power, and enabled the *commune* to domineer over the aſſembly with aſtoniſhing inſolence [l].

Elected member of the convention.

In the interval between the 10th Auguſt and the 2d September, the aſſembly had decreed its own diſſolution, and the calling of a national convention. In this new aſſembly, Robeſpierre's popularity, aided by the purſe of Orleans, procured the return of a powerful party. The ſinks of infamy and vice were raked, the retreats of obſcure dabblers in literature explored, and even the refuſe of foreign countries reſorted to for legiſlators, for men whoſe firſt buſineſs it was to decide whether France ſhould be a monarchy or not. Robeſpierre was returned for Paris, during the height of the carnage in the priſons [k]. The convention decreed, immediately on their meeting, that France was a republic. Since the 2d of September, the ſchiſm foreſeen by Robeſpierre had taken place amongſt the friends of Orleans: the contrivers of the 10th of Auguſt, jealous of the overweening influence of the men of the 2d of September, formed themſelves into a party under the banners of Briſſot and Roland, from whom they were called Briſſotines or Rolandiſts. Theſe men, depending on their influence in ſome of the departments, were accuſed of a project to form what they called a federal republic; or a republic, where the different provinces, having each ſeparate intereſts and rights, ſhould be repreſented in one general aſſembly. Robeſpierre, on the other hand, inflated with his extenſive popularity, and little attached to Orleans, whom he deſpiſed, now aſpired to the dictatorſhip. His party, from their occupying the higheſt ſeats in the hall, were called the Mountain. The habits of intimacy which had ſubſiſted between his colleagues and the Briſſotines laid open to him all their plans, and the indiſcreet efforts

21ſt Sept. 1792.

[l] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 365. Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 141. Hiſtories and Journals.

[k] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 214.

of

of Robeſpierre's partiſans in ſounding different members of the convention, occaſioned a diſcloſure of his views to the other party.

They met in the convention prepared for hoſtility and mutual crimination. The Briſſotines had the advantage of ſuperior talents, miniſterial influence, and the *fédérés* from Marſeilles. The Mountain oppoſed to theſe advantages, clamour, activity, the Jacobin club, the armed *ſans-culottes*, and the journaliſts. But, perhaps, what principally turned the ſcale in favour of the latter was, that the Briſſotines, ſeeing no farther advantage to be derived to them from riot and popular inſurrection, were become the advocates of obedience to the laws, and preachers of regularity and ſubordination; while the Mountain, the majority of whom rather wiſhed to perpetuate anarchy and plunder, than for any particular form of government, reſiſted all theſe efforts, and conſtantly ſecured the good-will of a clamorous populace. The Mountain gained the firſt prize of popularity, as the propoſition for the abolition of monarchy came from them. A few days after the meeting of the convention, a regular attack was made on Robeſpierre, Danton, and Marat: this hoſtility was perſevered in for a long time, and conducted with ſo much acrimony as to form an intereſting criſis in the life of Maximilian.

Animoſity againſt the Briſſotines.

It was commenced by Kerſaint, who, after ſtating in a ſpeech of conſiderable eloquence, that aſſaſſinations were encouraged in all the departments, and blood profuſely ſhed at the call of private animoſity and revenge, continued to obſerve, that ſuch crimes were not to be charged on anarchy or the want of ſocial regulation, but that tyrants of a new deſcription were cauſing citizens to butcher their fellows; brothers to murder each other: that the walls of Paris were conſtantly covered with poſting-bills, inſtigating maſſacre and pillage; and that freſh liſts of proſcriptions were publiſhed every day.—

24th Sept. Kerſaint's motion.

 "I know

" I know (he concluded) that there is ſome teme-
" rity in riſing up againſt theſe aſſaſſins; but,
" ſhould I periſh by their daggers, I will ſhew my-
" ſelf worthy the confidence of my fellow-citizens."
He then moved, that a committee ſhould be ap-
pointed to frame a law againſt aſſaſſination; and
that a guard for the convention ſhould be furniſhed
by the eighty-three departments, to prevent the ty-
ranny of the council-general of the *commune* of
Paris. This motion, though violently oppoſed by
the Mountain, was at length carried, and commiſ-
ſioners appointed to frame the propoſed law.

25th Sept. Accuſed by la Source.

This attack on the murderous principles of the
party, was only a prelude to others on their ambi-
tion, tyranny, and fraud. The next day, Merlin of
Thionville ſtated to the aſſembly, that la Source had
informed him that there was a faction in the con-
vention who had it in view to eſtabliſh a dictator.
La Source, though a Briſſotine, evaded a perſonal
explanation, but Rebecqui and Barbaroux, both of
Marſeilles, brought the matter home to Robeſ-
pierre, and accuſed Marat and Panis of having
founded them on the ſubject. Danton, alarmed for
his party, endeavoured to avert the diſcuſſion, by
moving that death ſhould be the puniſhment of
thoſe who attempted to make of France a federal
republic. This obſervation, meant to intimidate the
Briſſotines, was parried by Buzot, and Robeſpierre
was obliged to aſcend the tribune to defend himſelf:
inſtead, however, of ſpeaking to the point, he entered
into an eulogium of his own conduct while he ſat in
the conſtituent aſſembly. Tired of his egotiſms, a
member at length exclaimed, " Do, pray, Robeſ-
" pierre, finiſh this tedious bead-roll, and give us
" in a few words your opinions on the point in
" queſtion, not a hiſtory of your whole life." This
brought him a little nearer to the point; he touched
on the acts of the ſecond and third of September;
but ſtill prevaricated as to the dictatorſhip: he
alleged

alleged generally the improbability of his conſpiring againſt liberty; and after reflecting on thoſe who wiſhed to federalize the country, finiſhed by ſeconding the motion of Danton. The inconcluſiveneſs of this reaſoning called up Danton again; but he merely defended himſelf againſt the charge of encouraging the incendiary *placards* which were ſtuck on the walls, and left the dictatorſhip entirely unnoticed. The avowal of this intention ſurpaſſed the effrontery of both theſe men; they durſt not ſtate ſuch a wiſh in the face of the convention, and yet would not appear contemptible in the eyes of the other conſpirators by totally diſavowing it. But what effort of impudence was too great for Marat? He aſcended the tribune, and acknowledged that the idea of a dictator had originated with him, and that he ſtill maintained the neceſſity of having one to counterpoiſe the intrigues of the court, and the exertions of certain corrupt deputies. This avowal turned the courſe of the debate; it became a perſonal diſcuſſion relative to Marat, and Robeſpierre was forgotten [1].

29th Oct. Accuſed by Louvet.

But a third attack, better concerted and combined, and executed with much more ability, was made on him and his party. Roland, the miniſter of the interior, laid before the convention a memorial on the ſtate of Paris, in which he enumerated the crimes of the commune ſince the tenth of Auguſt, and plainly intimated that they had embezzled the money and other valuables ſeized at Senlis, Chantilly, l'Hotel de Coigny and other hotels, of which he had frequently demanded an account without ſucceſs. He accuſed them of having violated public and private property; of having inſtigated the murders of September; and of meditating further projects of blood and deſtruction, to gratify their ambition and rapacity. In ſupport of theſe

[1] See MARAT.

allegations he produced a letter addreſſed to the miniſter of juſtice, in which information was given, that it had been inſinuated by certain perſons, that the buſineſs begun in September was yet incomplete; that the whole faction of Roland and Briſſot ſhould be cut off; that Vergniaud, Gaudet, Buzot, la Source, and others, were obnoxious to the real patriots; and that Robeſpierre was the propereſt perſon to direct the helm of government. The reading of theſe papers occaſioned a violent uproar, and a motion that the memorial ſhould be printed. Robeſpierre aſcended the tribune, but remained a long time before he could obtain a hearing, which at laſt was only granted him on the ground of the manifeſt injuſtice of decreeing any meaſure without permitting the parties intereſted to be heard againſt it. His diſcourſe, inſtead of a defence, was an eulogium on himſelf; inſtead of oppoſing the printing of the memorial, he hardly noticed it; the admonitions of the preſident, and the boiſterous impatience of the aſſembly, were equally ineffectual to reſtrain this propenſity to ſelf-commendation: he perſevered till, animated by his own applauſes, he loſt all fear, and from the ſtores of his newly-acquired confidence drew a boaſtful challenge, which involved him in ſerious danger.—"A ſyſtem of ca-"lumny is eſtabliſhed, (he ſaid,) and againſt whom "is it directed?—A zealous patriot.—Yet who "is there amongſt you who dares riſe and accuſe "me to my face?"—"I," exclaimed ſome one at the end of the hall. A profound ſilence enſued. The ſpeaker ſtalked ſolemnly along the hall, ſtopped oppoſite the tribune, and preſented to the eyes of the confuſed and aſtoniſhed challenger, the perſon of Louvet. "Yes, Robeſpierre, (ſaid he,) it is I "who accuſe you." Pronouncing theſe words, he aſcended the tribune; while Maximilian, pale and terror-ſtruck, ſhrunk from ſight. In vain Danton endeavoured by words of encouragement to rally his

his ſpirits; in vain he appeared in the tribune, and endeavoured, by expreſſing a diſlike of Marat, to divert the attention of the aſſembly; their curioſity was thoroughly arouſed; and Louvet, determined to proceed, drew from his pocket a long, written oration, which he read to the aſſembly [m].

In his exordium he craved an uninterrupted hearing. "I am about to denounce (he ſaid) a plot "which will aſtoniſh you; to trace ſcenes of woe "which will make your humanity groan; and to "unveil the guilt of men, againſt whom I muſt beg "you to ſuſpend for a time your indignation. I "ſhall ſpare nobody, but ſpeak the direct truth: "I ſhall touch the ſore without heſitation, and undoubtedly thoſe who are hurt will be apt to "ſcream."—"Put your finger in the wound, (ſaid "Danton,) never mind thoſe who are ſore."—"I intend to probe it to the quick (replied Louvet); "but why do you, Danton, ſcream beforehand." In the progreſs of his ſpeech he related, that a conſpiracy was formed to perpetuate anarchy, to vilify the repreſentatives of the people, to ſubvert liberty, and to found on its ruins the authority of a dictator: that the means uſed to ſecure applauſe at the Jacobin club, by a clamorous gallery, had firſt led to a ſuſpicion that Robeſpierre, the vain-glorious Robeſpierre, was the head of a party, and his ſubſequent conduct had fully demonſtrated it, and proved that he had formed a ſyſtem of diſorganization, by which he hoped to attain ſovereign power. "The "memorable revolution of the 10th of Auguſt "(continued Louvet) belongs to the people of "Paris; Robeſpierre and his party have attempted "to arrogate to themſeves the honour of that day, "to ſay that it belonged only to them:—to you!—"treacherous conſpirators! the 2d of September "only belongs to you; it is ſtamped with your

[m] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p 282.

" characteriſtics. The people of Paris know how " to fight, but they do not know the vile trade of " aſſaſſination. All Paris was at the Tuilleries on " the 10th of Auguſt; but who were witneſſes of " the murders in September?—Some two or three " hundred perſons drawn together before the pri- " ſons by an incomprehenſible curioſity. It may " be aſked, why then did not the citizens of Paris " prevent them?—Why! becauſe they were ſtruck " with terror, the alarm-guns had been fired, the " tocſin had been ſounded, their ears were im- " poſed upon by falſe reports, their eyes aſtoniſhed " by the ſight of officers in their municipal ſcarfs " preſiding at the executions; becauſe Roland ex- " claimed in vain; becauſe Danton, the miniſter " of juſtice, was ſilent; and Santerre, the com- " mander of the national guard, remained inactive. " Soon after theſe lamentable ſcenes, the legiſlative " aſſembly was frequently calumniated, inſulted, " and even threatened, by this inſolent dema- " gogue."

At this period, Robeſpierre's friends, who had before endeavoured to interrupt the ſpeaker, could contain themſelves no longer: a ſcene of clamour and diſorder enſued, during which Lacroix and ſeveral other members atteſted the truth of Louvet's aſſertions. Robeſpierre attempted to obtain poſſeſſion of the tribune; but was told that he ought to apply to be heard at the bar; and that, at all events, the accuſer ſhould firſt be permitted to conclude.

Louvet proceeded to remark, that this inſolent demagogue, with proſcriptions eternally in his mouth, accuſed ſome of the moſt deſerving repreſentatives of the people, of having ſold the nation to Brunſwick; and made that accuſation the very day before the aſſaſſinations began. In all his bloody proſcriptions the new miniſters were always included, *except one*, and that one always the ſame. " Will " it

" it be in thy power, Danton, (he added, darting his " eyes on the late miniſter of juſtice,) to juſtify thy " character to poſterity for ſuch an exception? Do " not think, Robeſpierre, to blind us by diſavowing " Marat, that *enfant perdu de l'aſſaſſinat;* it was through " your influence, by your harangues at the electoral " aſſemblies, where you blackened Prieſtley, and " white-waſhed Marat, that he is now a member of " the convention." Louvet then, after relating the oppoſition he made to Marat's nomination, and the danger he incurred by it from the pike and bludgeon-men who formed the body-guard of the dictator, continued; " I accuſe you, Robeſpierre, of " having calumniated the beſt patriots, at a time " when your calumnies amounted to proſcriptions. " I accuſe you of having, as much as in you lay, " degraded the national repreſentation. I accuſe " you of having held yourſelf out as an object of " popular idolatry; of having given out, and " cauſed it to be repeated, that you were the only " virtuous man in the republic. I accuſe you of " having tyranniſed over the electoral aſſemblies. " I accuſe you of having aimed at ſovereign autho- " rity by all means in your power." In concluſion, he implicated Marat in the charges he had advanced; required that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the conduct of Robeſpierre; that a decree ſhould be pronounced againſt thoſe monſters who excited murders and aſſaſſinations, againſt a faction which, from motives of perſonal ambition, was tearing the republic to pieces; and that the executive power ſhould be inveſted with authority, in all caſes of civil commotion, to call in the aid of the military force in the department of Paris, to be employed as they ſhould judge expedient.

Though Robeſpierre, by his ſilly vanity, had drawn this attack on himſelf, he was ſo unprepared for a defence, that he was confuſed, deſtitute of

preſence of mind, or words to expreſs himſelf. The convention was agitated with the moſt violent indignation, and the galleries, not having received any inſtructions, remained neuter. When Louvet had finiſhed, Robeſpierre appeared in the tribune; ſome members ſaid he ought not to be heard but at the bar; ſome wiſhed to adjourn till the morrow; Louvet voted that he ſhould be heard immediately; but Robeſpierre ſaid he only appeared there to requeſt that he might be permitted to make his defence on the fifth of November, which was granted. Louvet avers that in this ſpace, the coward, thinking his laſt hour was come, waited on him to ſolicit mercy, and complains that Petion, Briſſot, and ſome others did not ſecond his efforts with ſufficient ardour [n]. He was not apprized that their connexions with Orleans were ſuch as not to permit them to commit themſelves too far in the proſecution of any of his partiſans, and that, though they now ranked as virtuous republicans, they were, in fact, worthleſs intriguers. Barbaroux, however, ſeconded Louvet's efforts by a freſh denunciation againſt Robeſpierre, which he made in the interval preceding the fifth of November, but it had no other effect than attacks made out of time and place generally have, that of exciting uſeleſs indignation on one part, and producing a vigorous defence on the other.

5th Nov. Robeſpierre's precautions.

At length the day ſo important to the welfare, and even to the life of Robeſpierre arrived. He omitted no precaution to inſure ſucceſs; the galleries were filled with women properly inſtructed how to act; the public walks and gardens were crowded with orators, who harangued in his praiſe, and ſome fellows carried tripe on a pole, which they ſwore they would compel thoſe to eat who ſhould vote againſt ſo diſtinguiſhed a patriot [o]. There is little reaſon to doubt that gold and terror

[n] Louvet's Narrative, p. 23.
[o] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 234.

had

had alſo been employed to ſway the deciſion of the members. It was, in fact, not the particular cauſe of Robeſpierre that was depending, but the cauſe of all his party; the coffers of Orleans, and the plunder of the murdered priſoners were devoted to the neceſſary expences of bribery within the aſſembly, and agitation without.

Robeſpierre took his place in the tribune, with reſtored ſpirits and confidence, and with a prepared ſpeech, in which he propoſed to vindicate his conduct from all aſperſion. His defence.

After a ſhort exordium, in which he demanded from the convention the ſame patience and attention they had beſtowed on the voluminous charge of his adverſary; he ſaid:

"Of what am I accuſed? Of conſpiring to be a "dictator, a triumvir, or a tribune; my adverſaries "ſeem to have no decided opinion which of theſe "I aim at, but theſe Roman words, which are in "themſelves mutually repugnant, may be tranſlated "ſupreme power, a phraſe which my accuſer has "uſed on another occaſion. Now it muſt be allowed, that if ſuch a project were criminal, it "was ſtill more audacious; for, to give it effect, "it would be neceſſary not only to ſubvert the "throne, but to annihilate the legiſlature, and, "above all, to have prevented its being replaced "by a national convention; but in that caſe, how "happens it that I was the firſt who, in ſpeeches "and in writing, invoked a national convention "as the only remedy for the ills which aſſailed the "country? This propoſition was denounced by my "preſent adverſaries as incendiary, but the revolution of the tenth of Auguſt more than ſanctioned, "it realized the project. Need I obſerve, that in "order to obtain the dictatorſhip, it was not enough "for me to make myſelf maſter of Paris, I muſt "alſo ſubjugate the remaining eighty-two departments? Where were my treaſures; where my "armies?

" armies? Where the fortified places which I muſt
" have ſecured? All power was lodged in the hands
" of my enemies. The moſt moderate deduction
" I can make from theſe premiſes is, that before
" this accuſation can acquire a character of proba-
" bility, it muſt be demonſtrated that I am abſo-
" lutely mad: nor do I ſee that my enemies
" would be great gainers by this fact; for then it
" would remain for them to account how ſo many
" wiſe men ſhould have given themſelves the trouble
" to write ſo many fine diſcourſes, ſo many elegant
" poſting-bills; in ſhort to uſe ſo many exertions in
" order to expoſe me to the national convention,
" and to all France as the moſt formidable of con-
" ſpirators."

Robeſpierre then ſpoke of his connection with Marat; " This, I ſhall not deny, is one of the moſt " dreadful reproaches againſt me; I ſhall give my " profeſſion of faith reſpecting Marat, but without " ſaying any thing againſt him or in his favour, " more than I actually believe, for I am incapable " of betraying my own conſcience to captivate the " public opinion." He then proceeded to relate the circumſtances of their acquaintance, which he pretended began only in January 1792, and that Marat was ſo diſſatisfied with his opinions, that he ſpoke of him with contempt, as poſſeſſing neither the views or the audacity of a ſtateſman, and, on one occaſion, denounced him as a Feuillant, for not having ſaid in a periodical paper (*le Defenſeur de la Conſtitution*) that it was neceſſary to ſubvert the conſtitution.

" From the period of Marat's viſit in January, " (Robeſpierre continued,) I never ſaw him again " till we met in the electoral aſſembly, and here " too I meet with M. Louvet, who accuſes me of " having pointed out Marat for a deputy, and " calumniated Prieſtley, in ſhort, of having ty-
" rannized over the electoral body by means of in-

" trigue and terror." In anſwer to this accuſation he ſays, that ſo far from propoſing Marat as a deputy, he propoſed no one, but following the example of ſome of his colleagues, he conſidered himſelf as performing an uſeful taſk in ſubmitting ſome general obſervations on the rules which ought to guide the electors in the exerciſe of their functions. " I did not ſpeak ill of Prieſtley; I could " not ſpeak ill of a man known to me only by his " literary reputation, and by an inſult which ren- " dered him intereſting to every friend of the " French revolution [P]. Do you wiſh to know the " real cauſe which united the voters in favour of " Marat? In that critical moment, when the heat " of patriotiſm was inflamed to the higheſt degree, " when Paris was threatened by the approach of " the armies of tyrants, men were leſs affected by " certain exaggerated or extravagant opinions with " which he was reproached, than by the attempts " of thoſe treacherous enemies whom he had de- " nounced, and the preſence of thoſe woes, which " he had foretold."

The orator then adverted to Louvet's charges reſpecting his conduct in the Jacobin club, and in the council-general of the *commune*. " I exerciſed, " if my accuſer is to be believed, a deſpotiſm of " opinion at the Jacobin club, which could only be " contemplated as the forerunner of a dictatorſhip. " In the firſt place, I do not know what is meant " by a deſpotiſm of opinion, particularly in a ſociety " of free men, unleſs it be the natural domination " of principles. Now this domination is not peculiar " to a man who happens to utter thoſe principles, " but belongs to univerſal Reaſon, and to all thoſe " who liſten to her voice. You ſay, that ſince laſt " January the club has been entirely governed by

[P] Alluding to the burning of Dr. Prieſtley's houſe, and to his being hanged in effigy by the populace of Birmingham.

" a faction,

" a faction, ſmall in number, but loaded with
" crimes and immoralities, of whom I was the head,
" while all prudent and virtuous men, *like yourſelf*,
" ſighed in ſilence at their oppreſſed condition.
" But if, ſince this month of January, the Jacobin
" club has not forfeited the eſteem and confidence
" of the nation, and has never ſuſpended its exer-
" tions in the cauſe of liberty; if, ſince that period
" it has diſplayed an increaſe of courage againſt the
" court and la Fayette; if, ſince that period, it has
" incurred the hatred of Auſtria and Pruſſia; if,
" ſince that period, it has received into its boſom
" the federates aſſembled to combat tyranny, and
" with them prepared the holy inſurrection of the
" 10th of Auguſt, what is the obvious concluſion
" to be drawn from your aſſertions, but that this
" handful of ſcoundrels have overthrown deſpotiſm,
" and that you and your party were too prudent,
" and too much friends of good order to engage in
" ſuch conſpiracies. Suppoſing it then to be true,
" though I am far from admitting it, that I had, in
" fact, obtained that influence among the Jacobins,
" which you ſo liberally impute to me, what de-
" duction could you make againſt me from that
" circumſtance? You have adopted a very effec-
" tual and commodious method of ſecuring your
" own triumph; you laviſh the names of ſcoundrels
" and monſters on your adverſaries, and diſplay
" your own adherents as models of patriotiſm;
" thus you cruſh us at once with the weight of our
" own vices, and of your virtues. But by what
" right do you affect to make uſe of the national
" convention itſelf to revenge the injuries offered to
" your ſelf-love, or to your ſyſtems? I will not
" require you to emulate the ſentiments of repub-
" lican ſouls, but, at leaſt, be as generous as a
" king, imitate Louis XII. and let the *legiſlator*
" forget the injuries ſuſtained by *Monſieur Louvet*."

In

In treating of his conduct in the council-general of the *commune*, Robespierre took a rapid, but partial survey of the operations of that body, which he defended by ingenious hypotheses, and fallacious deductions. He said: "Intrigues vanish "with the pitiful passions to which they owe their "existence. Great actions and great characters "alone remain. We know not the names of the "factious wretches who pelted Cato in the tribune; "the eyes of posterity are fixed only on the god-"like image of that great man. I will not con-"descend to observe, that I was never charged "with any kind of commission, that I never, in any "manner, meddled with any peculiar operation, "that I never, for an instant, was president of the "*commune*, and never had the slightest connection "with the committee of inspection, so foully ca-"lumniated; I do not insist on these circumstances, "for taking the whole series of facts collectively, I "would cheerfully consent to take upon myself all "the good as well as the evil deeds attributed to "that body, who have been so often attacked, for "the sake of involving me in the inculpation.

"They are reproached with arrests which are "styled arbitrary, though not one was made with-"out a previous interrogatory. When the consul "of Rome had suppressed Catilina's conspiracy, "Clodius accused him of having violated the laws. "When the consul gave an account of his ad-"ministration to the people, he swore that he had "saved the republic, and the people applauded. "I have seen at this bar certain citizens, who are "not Clodiuses, but who, some time before the "revolution of the 10th of August, prudently "sought refuge at Rouen, emphatically denouncing "the conduct of the council of the *commune* "of Paris. Illegal arrests! Is it then with the "criminal code in hand, that we are to appreciate "the salutary precautions which the public weal

"requires

" requires in thoſe critical emergencies which ariſe " from the impotency of the laws? Why do you " not reproach us with having *illegally* deſtroyed " the pens of thoſe mercenaries whoſe trade it was " to propagate impoſture, and blaſpheme againſt " liberty? Why do you not inſtitute a commiſſion " to collect the complaints of ariſtocratic and " royaliſt writers? Why do you not reproach us " for having confined all the conſpirators within " the gates of this great city? Why do you not " reproach us for diſarming ſuſpected citizens; " for baniſhing from the councils, where we deli- " berated for the public good, the avowed enemies " of the revolution? Why do you not, at once, " criminate the municipality, the electoral aſſem- " blies, the ſections of Paris, and the primary aſ- " ſemblies, even in the provinces? In ſhort, why " not criminate all public bodies who have imitated " us? for their conduct has been in every reſpect " *illegal*, as much *illegal* as the revolution, the over- " throw of the throne, and of the Baſtille; in a " word, *illegal* as liberty itſelf. But what do I ſay? " What I depicted as an abſurd hypotheſis, is a too " certain reality. We are, in effect, accuſed of all " theſe things, and many more. Are we not ac- " cuſed of having, in concert with the executive " power, ſent commiſſaries into various depart- " ments, to propagate our principles, and determine " the people to unite with the Pariſians againſt the " common enemy?

" What an idea muſt theſe men have formed of " the laſt revolution? Did the fall of the throne " appear ſo eaſy before it was accompliſhed? Was " nothing neceſſary but a *coup-de-main* at the Tuil- " leries? Was it not alſo requiſite to annihilate, " throughout France, the partiſans of tyranny, " and, in courſe, to communicate to all the de- " partments the ſalutary commotion with which " Paris had been recently electrified? But who,

" after

" after having ſanctioned inſurrection, can mark " the preciſe point where the waves of popular " tumult ſhall begin to ſubſide? At this rate, what " people could ever ſhake off the yoke of de- " ſpotiſm? For if it be true that a great nation " cannot riſe by a ſimultaneous movement, and " that tyranny can only be ſtruck by the portion of " citizens neareſt to it, how ſhall theſe dare com- " mence an attack, if, after the victory, the dele- " gates, coming from the remote corners of the " ſtate, are authorized to make them reſponſible " for the duration or violence of the political hurri- " cane which ſaved the country. The world, and " poſterity will only ſurvey in theſe events their juſt " cauſe and ſublime effect; you ought to ſurvey " them in the ſame manner. You ſhould judge " them, not as judges of a petty tribunal, but as " ſtateſmen, and *legiſlators of the univerſe.* But do " not imagine that I invoke theſe eternal principles, " for want of a veil to cover certain reprehenſible " actions; no, we have no ſuch need; I ſwear it, " by the ſubverted throne and riſing republic."

Robeſpierre next treated of the maſſacres in September, in reſpect of which he obſerved, that Louvet's charges were vague and general. Speaking of Roland, he ſaid, " As to the man who " (depending on the ſucceſs of defamation, the " whole ſyſtem of which he had previouſly ar- " ranged) thought he might, with impunity, aſſert " in print that I directed theſe events, I could be " content to leave him to his own remorſe, but re- " morſe implies the poſſeſſion of a ſoul. For the " ſake of thoſe whom his impoſtures may have " miſled, I will ſtate that, before the period when " theſe tranſactions took place, I had left off fre- " quenting the council-general of the *commune*; the " electoral aſſembly, of which I was a member, " had commenced its ſittings; and I only learned " what was paſſing in the priſons by public report,

" and

" and much later than moſt other citizens. To " form a correct idea of theſe events, the truth " muſt be ſought, not in thoſe calumnious writings " and ſpeeches which have totally miſrepreſented " them, but in the hiſtory of the laſt revolution." He then proceeded to account for, and recapitulate the events of the ſecond of September in a fallacious and partial manner, borrowing according to Dr. Moore, his principal ſtatements from a book written by Tallien, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed aſſaſſins on that day, intitled, *La Vérité ſur les Evénemens du 2 Septembre* [q].

Availing himſelf of the inconſiſtency of his accuſers, he ſaid: " The moſt ardent zeal for the " execution of the laws cannot juſtify exaggeration " or calumny; beſides, on this occaſion, I can " cite againſt the declamations of M. Louvet, a moſt " unqueſtionable witneſs, the miniſter of the in- " terior himſelf, who, while blaming popular exe- " cutions in general, was not afraid to ſpeak of the " ſpirit of prudence and juſtice which the people " (I uſe his own words) had ſhewn in theſe illegal " tranſactions. What do I ſay? I can cite in fa- " vour of the council-general of the *commune*, M. " Louvet himſelf, who began one of his numbers " of the *Centinel* in theſe words, 'Honour to the " council-general of the *commune*, they cauſed the " *tocſin* to be rung and ſaved the country!' This " was in the time of the elections."

" I am aſſured," ſaid Robeſpierre, with the moſt audacious hypocriſy, " that *one* innocent perſon " periſhed, people have choſen to augment the " number; weep, citizens, for this cruel miſtake, I " have long wept for it: a good citizen! he was " then my friend! Weep, even for the guilty " victims reſerved for the ſword of the law, who " fell beneath the blade of popular juſtice; but let

[q] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 333.

" your

" your grief, like every other earthly thing, have " an end. That ſenſibility which deplores, almoſt " excluſively, the enemies of liberty, appears ſuſ- " picious. Ceaſe to wave the bloody robe of the " tyrant before my eyes, or I ſhall think you are " deſirous to put Rome again in chains. In hear- " ing theſe pathetic lamentations over the Lam- " balles and Montmorins, ſuch touching deſcrip- " tions of the conſternation of worthleſs citizens, " and ſuch furious declamations againſt men, " known by a mode of conduct the exact reverſe, " did you not think you heard a manifeſto of " Brunſwick or of Condé?

" To theſe alarming pictures my accuſer has " annexed the project which he imputes to me of " *vilifying* the legiſlative body, *which*, he ſays, *was* " *perpetually tormented, diſgraced, and inſulted by an* " *inſolent demagogue, who came to the bar to dictate* " *its decrees.* This is a kind of rhetorical figure by " which M. Louvet has diſguiſed two petitions, " which I was inſtructed to preſent to the legiſlative " aſſembly, in the name of the council-general of " the *commune*, relative to the formation of the new " department of Paris. *Vilify* the legiſlative body! " What grovelling idea had you formed of its " dignity? Learn that an aſſembly in which the " majeſty of the French people reſides, can never " be *vilified*, not even by its own acts. When it " riſes to the elevation of its ſublime miſſion, how " do you conceive that it can be *vilified* by the in- " ſenſate diſcourſes of an inſolent demagogue? It " can no more be *vilified*, than the Divinity can be " degraded by the blaſphemies of atheiſm; no " more than the luſtre of that planet which ani- " mates all nature, can be dimmed by the clamours " of the ſavage hordes of Aſia."

Robeſpierre then proceeded to narrate the cir- cumſtances which attended the preſenting of the two petitions, in which he inſiſted ſtrongly on the

correctneſs of his own proceedings, and ridiculed the timid conduct and vain-glorious language of his adverſaries. He ſaid, "Citizens, if ever, after the "example of the Lacedemonians, we erect a tem-"ple to fear, I am of opinion that the miniſters of "his worſhip ſhould be choſen among thoſe who "are for ever boaſting of their courage and the "dangers to which they have been expoſed."

After animadverting on ſome other leſs important points of accuſation, and expoſing the miſconduct of his opponents, he concluded thus: "Inde-"pendent of the decree reſpecting an armed force, "which you have uſed ſo many efforts to extort; "independent of that tyrannical law againſt the "liberty of individuals and the liberty of the preſs, "which you have diſguiſed under ſpecious pre-"tences of repreſſing excitements to murder, you "demand for the miniſtry a kind of military dic-"tatorſhip, you demand a law of proſcription "againſt thoſe citizens who diſpleaſe you, under "the name of an oſtraciſm. Thus you no longer "bluſh openly to avow the ſhameful motives of ſo "many impoſtures and intrigues; thus you ſpeak "of a dictatorſhip only to exerciſe it yourſelves "without reſtraint; thus you declaim againſt "proſcription and tyranny, that you, yourſelves, "may proſcribe and tyrannize; thus you have "imagined, that in order to make the national "convention blind inſtruments of your guilty de-"ſigns, it would be ſufficient to pronounce a crafty, "romantic declamation, and move that they ſhould, "without adjournment, decree the deſtruction of "liberty and their own diſgrace! What need is "there for me to accuſe men who accuſe them-"ſelves? Let us, if poſſible, bury theſe contempti-"ble manœuvres in everlaſting oblivion. May we "conceal from the eyes of poſterity theſe inglorious "days of our hiſtory, when the repreſentatives of "the people, deluded by baſe intrigues, have

"ſeemed

" ſeemed to forget the exalted deſtiny to which " they were called. As for me, I ſhall make no " concluſion relating perſonally to myſelf. I have " renounced the eaſy advantage of replying to the " calumnies of my adverſaries by more formidable " denunciations. I renounce the juſt vengeance " which I had a right to claim againſt my accuſers. " I aſk no revenge but the return of peace and the " triumph of liberty. Citizens, preſs forward with " a firm and rapid ſtep in your glorious career; " and may I, at the expence of my life, and even " of my reputation, contribute with you, to the " glory and welfare of our country."

This defence was heard with profound attention; it gained the applauſe of the galleries, and of a party in the convention. Robeſpierre's adverſaries were by no means intimidated: after the printing of his ſpeech had been decreed, ſeveral of them preſented themſelves in the tribune and at the bar, to be heard in ſupport of the accuſation; but his party were ſtrenuous in calling for the order of the day. Some who appeared on the other ſide were apprehenſive leſt a diſcuſſion might produce a diſcloſure of truths injurious to their cauſe; ſome dreaded the length of debate which was like to enſue from the number of intended ſpeakers, and the known tediouſneſs of ſome of them. Louvet profeſſed himſelf ready to anſwer every averment, and to combat all the arguments advanced by Robeſpierre; but both Girondiſts and Mountain roſe to prevent his ſpeaking. Barrere took advantage of this circumſtance: he ſaid, theſe petty undertakers of great revolutions ought to be more juſtly appreciated, and the convention no longer troubled with their manœuvres; the littleneſs of their abilities formed the beſt guaranty that they would never become Syllas or Cromwells; and concluded by the old obſervation, that their attention ought to be reſerved for the great queſtions which intereſted the republic. The order

Its effect.

of the day was voted. Thus terminated this great buſineſs: the Mountain obviouſly gained an important advantage in ſilencing the accuſation: the printing of Robeſpierre's ſpeech, which contained ſo many points *ad captandum vulgus*, and which was profuſely diſtributed, confirmed his popularity, and extended the influence of his faction in the departments. The Briſſotines, whom fear had induced to accede to the meaſure, affected to conſider it a triumph; and Condorcet, in his paper, rather blamed Louvet for bringing the buſineſs forward. Louvet, however, though not informed as to particular facts relating to his own party, ſaw the matter in a juſt light. "Briſſot, Vergniaud, Condorcet, and Gen- "ſonné (he ſays) thought that paſſing to the order of "the day, if it ſaved Robeſpierre, would diſgrace "him ſo completely, as to to deprive him of all "influence for the future: as if diſgrace had any "weight with that ſanguinary faction, and as if phy- "ſical impunity could have any other effect than to "harden him in guilt. This aſtoniſhing ſtep of the "republican party grieved me to the heart. From "that moment I foreſaw that ſooner or later the "poignard-men would prevail over the men of prin- "ciple: that moment I announced to my dear Lo- "doiſka, that we muſt prepare for baniſhment or "the ſcaffold[7]." The event, inſtead of tending to the diſgrace of Robeſpierre, produced an immediate acceſſion of popularity and reſpect. The manner in which Barrere treated the poſſibility of his ever becoming a dictator, by removing fear and ſuſpicion, gained him a large portion of public confidence[8]. A report of the proceedings in the convention was made the ſame night at the Jacobin club, the members of which were rendered furious with indigna-

[7] Louvet's Narrative, p. 23.

[8] For a very ample and ſpirited account of theſe attacks on Robeſpierre, ſee Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 30 to 344. See alſo Debates and Hiſtories.

tion

tion againſt the Girondiſts, and the names of Louvet, Roland, Barbaroux, Lanthenas, Rebecqui, and Girey-Dupré, were ordered to be inſtantly ſtruck off from the liſts of the ſociety; while the dwellings of Robeſpierre and Danton were conſtantly guarded by a numerous patrole, under pretence that the *fédérés* of Marſeilles, inſtigated by the deputies, intended to murder them [t]. Louvet ſoon publiſhed the reply he had been prevented from delivering in the tribune, under the title, "*A Maximilien Robeſpierre et "ſes Royaliſtes.*" Roland, ſenſible of the miſtake his partiſans had committed, repaired it as far as lay in his power, by a profuſe diſtribution of this pamphlet [u]. Briſſot, too late aware of his error in ſanctioning the motion for the order of the day, expreſſed himſelf violently againſt the meaſure, contemptuouſly of Robeſpierre's defence, and favourably of Louvet's publication [x]. Petion publiſhed a letter on the ſubject, addreſſed to the Jacobin club [y], which occaſioned Robeſpierre's celebrated anſwer. Petion had reſigned the mayoralty of Paris, and Robeſpierre was again candidate for the office, but gained only one hundred and thirty-nine votes [z].

The popularity of the Mountain, and the diſgrace of the other party, were much increaſed by the propoſed trial of the king, to which the former were urging the convention with unexampled diligence and rancour, while the others oppoſed and delayed it by all means in their power. The populace, excited by the Jacobins, were clamorous and impatient for the event: Robeſpierre was indefatigable in proſecution of the buſineſs: he ſurmounted difficulties, and repelled objections: he made motions, decrees, and ſpeeches. One of his orations on this occaſion has been much celebrated; Garat ſays that

His exertions on the king's trial.

3d Dec. 1792.

[t] Louvet's Narrative, p. 27. [u] Idem, p. 26.
[x] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 15.
[y] See Appendix, N° IX.
[z] Mercure François, N° du 3 Novembre 1792, p. 48.

" it rapidly brought the ſcale of condemnation to " preponderate in the balance of national juſtice." He adds, relating a converſation between himſelf and Robeſpierre, and deſcribing himſelf as the ſpeaker: " Of all the ſpeeches delivered on that " occaſion, yours made incomparably the moſt " powerful impreſſion on my mind. Your funda- " mental idea is new and unexpected, and abſo- " lutely confounds with aſtoniſhment the judg- " ment of the hearer or reader: the ſtyle is bold " and elegant; it abounds in paſſages glowing with " paſſion, and in ſkilful tranſitions; it is an effort " of genius; but, I confeſs, the logic of it appears " to me very extraordinary, and entirely falſe.— " You prove ſucceſsfully enough, that it would " have been lawful to put Capet to death on the " 10th of Auguſt, either at the *Caſtle*, or in the " box of the *Logographe*, in the national aſſem- " bly, in which he took refuge. It would have " been but the exerciſe of the right of war. But " the right which war gives of putting an enemy to " death, is confined in its operation to the time of " battle. When the battle is over, the right of " ſlaughter ceaſes. None but Tartars think them- " ſelves at liberty to butcher their priſoners in cold " blood: none but the ſavages of the American " foreſts think they have a right to devour their " captives taken in war. Your ſpeech may be a " model of eloquence, but it is, nevertheleſs, a ſpeci- " men of inconcluſive logic: to your leading prin- " ciples there muſt be other principles added, in " order to prove that the law condemning Capet " to the block was a grand act of national juſtice " on the part of France; and to the whole world " a great and conſpicuous example, more lawful, " more neceſſary, more uſeful, than the example of " the trial and execution of Charles I. of England[a]."

[a] Garat's Memoirs, p. 71.

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This criticiſm, which, it muſt be remembered, comes from the pen of a republican, is very candid and correct. Montjoye's judgment, though a ſtaunch royaliſt, is far more favourable to Robeſpierre. He ſpeaks of the oration in theſe words: "The ſpeech which Robeſpierre made at this memorable epoch is perhaps the leaſt faulty of his productions: it is far ſuperior to all thoſe which he had produced hitherto: the ſtyle of it is correct; the ideas are not gigantic; it is not infected with that affectation which is a certain proof of the depravation of taſte, and which alone gave reputation to Mirabeau [b]."

Robeſpierre exerted himſelf inceſſantly during the whole courſe of the trial, and uſed all his influence to make the people partake in his ideas of precipitation and violence. The whole ferocity of his character ſeems to have diſplayed itſelf. He complained of the intrigues to avert the propoſed end of the trial. "Louis ought to be tried (he ſays) as a tyrant condemned by the inſurrection of the people: a proceſs is inſtituted againſt him, as in the caſe of an accuſed citizen whoſe criminality is doubtful. The revolution ought to have been cemented by his death: the revolution itſelf is put in litigation. He ought to have been tried by the principles of the rights of man: his trial is founded on forms not applicable either to natural right or ancient law; but an equivocal and monſtrous jumble of both. He is tried, not according to the ſpirit of republicaniſm, but according to the prejudices of monarchy [c]." He oppoſed every propoſition advanced in the convention, tending to ſecure to the king the advantage of a fair hearing, or of a trial according to the forms of the conſtitution. He at

[b] Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 98. See the ſpeech at length. Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p. 193.
[c] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. i. p. 423.

firſt propoſed, that after the king had ſubmitted to an interrogatory, the convention ſhould decide on his fate in twenty-four hours, without ſeparating [d]. When the convention decreed that the king ſhould have counſel, a deputation from the commune preſented the plan of a decree which would have deprived him of every benefit of their aſſiſtance; the convention felt indignant at the brutality of the propoſal, but Robeſpierre, in ſpite of the prevailing clamours, defended it, and even maintained that it was too mild for the occaſion [e]. He argued and voted for the immediate death of the king; oppoſed the hearing of his counſel on the ſubject of an appeal to the people; and, after they had been heard, oppoſed the purport of their obſervations. But what enabled the convention to perpetrate this atrocious act, was a decree obtained by Robeſpierre, altering the exiſting law that two thirds of the voices ſhould be neceſſary to the condemnation of an accuſed perſon, and enabling a ſingle caſting vote to decide it [f]. That Robeſpierre's ambition urged him to many of theſe meaſures, is not to be doubted; but fear had moſt probably its ſhare in influencing him, ſince he declared at the Jacobin ſociety, that if the king were acquitted, the members of the legiſlative aſſembly, and the convention, muſt of courſe be conſidered and puniſhed as rebels [g].

16th Jan. 1793.

10th Mar. Suppoſed plot.

The popularity and influence of Robeſpierre increaſed very much after the death of the king, yet it is not aſcertained that his views led to the eſtabliſhment of a dictatorſhip; on the contrary, though it is much againſt probability, he is accuſed of ſtill entertaining intentions of placing Orleans on the throne. It is aſſerted, that a project was formed for that purpoſe, in which he was to have been aſſiſted by Dumouriez, and by a general inſurrec-

[d] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 495. Debates. [e] Idem, p. 523.
[f] Debates. [g] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 612.

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tion and maſſacre in Paris. What renders this very improbable is, that Orleans at the time was loaded with general execration, as much diſliked by the republicans as the royaliſts, menaced, deteſted, and miſerably impoveriſhed. Robeſpierre had too much cunning, and too little generoſity, to continue his attachment to a man in his circumſtances; and as to Dumouriez, his army was in want of every thing, and the perſevering libeliſts of Paris, the Marats, the Chaumettes, &c. had rendered his character ſuſpicious to all, and abhorred by many. The conſpiracy of the 10th of March is one of the inexplicable myſteries of the French revolution. To what preciſe end it was directed, or how fruſtrated, are points equally unknown. A great alarm prevailed reſpecting it; the Briſſotines aſſert that the aim of the conſpirators was, to murder all their opponents, to ſtrengthen their own power and the domineering influence of the city of Paris over the reſt of the republic [h]. Whatever the ſcheme was, it failed, ſome aſſert by reaſon of the cowardice of the duke of Orleans; others, by means of the vigilance and reſolution of the Girondiſts. But the project was not without effect, it gave the party of anarchiſts an opportunity of obtaining a decree for organizing the *revolutionary tribunal*, that infernal engine of tyranny and horrors; of renewing the terrible outrage of *domiciliary viſits*, to diſcover, as it was pretended, concealed traitors; and of deſtroying the liberty of the preſs.

The conteſt between the rival parties was now drawing to a criſis: the Jacobins had reſolved the deſtruction of the Briſſotines, and though fruſtrated in ſeveral of their plans, their determination was too ſtrongly taken for diſappointment to deter them from exerting every means for its final execution.

31ſt May. Decree of accuſation againſt the Briſſotines.

[h] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 41. Louvet's Narrative, p. 19. 32 to 38. See alſo Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 246. Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, p. 102.

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The eloquence, the knowledge of public affairs, the intereſt theſe men had in the departments, and the majority they generally retained in the convention, rendered them dangerous to their rivals, and made it extremely probable that calamity or popular verſatility would reſtore to them the ſuperiority they had once attained over the public mind. Roland, in retiring from office immediately after the death of the king, had left a very forcible memorial on the ſtate of affairs during and at the cloſe of his adminiſtration; this, if taken into conſideration by the convention, would in all probability have been publiſhed, a thing the Mountain had no reaſon to wiſh; and therefore, in ſpite of the ex-miniſter's repeated letters, refuſed to permit it to be reported. Marat, as preſident of the Jacobin club, publiſhed an addreſs inviting all the popular ſocieties to exert themſelves in procuring the expulſion of thoſe unfaithful deputies, who betrayed their truſt in not voting for the death of the tyrant. This produced a decree for his commitment to the Abbaye priſon: he was tried and acquitted, and reſumed his ſeat in triumph [1]. It is aſſerted by an author of the Briſſotine faction, that there was a bargain between the crowned heads in alliance againſt the republic, and the chiefs of the Mountain, that twenty-two of the Briſſotines ſhould be maſſacred: and he adds, that this plot was to be carried into execution the 20th of May: they were then to have been arreſted, conveyed to a houſe in the ſuburb of Montmartre, and murdered. A forged correſpondence between them and Cobourg was prepared, which after their death was to have been brought forward, and a ſtory circulated of their having emigrated. He ſays they had abundant proofs of this conſpiracy; but as none of theſe appear, as the ſtory itſelf is extremely improbable, and no account given of the

[1] See MARAT.

means

means by which the plan was diſcloſed and fruſtrated, it is not entitled to credit [k]. There is no doubt Louvet believed ſome ſuch plot to be in agitation, and the miſerably haraſſed ſtate of the party during this conteſt is expreſſively deſcribed by his obſervation that, from the 10th of March to the 30th of May, they ſlept from home perhaps fifty times, that is, every other night [l]. A committee of twelve had been appointed to examine into the cauſes of the projected inſurrection of the 10th of March; their report was ready, Rabaud de St. Etienne was to preſent it to the convention, and Hebert, one of the municipality, had been arreſted by their orders. The Mountain were ſenſible that it was their intereſt to oppoſe theſe proceedings, and made arrangements, in private committees held at Charenton, to inſure a victory. Revolutionary committees had been formed, who, under pretence of ſearching for foreigners and traitors, committed the moſt barefaced and impudent robberies; great numbers were ſent to priſon, and it was freely intimated to them, that the ſcenes of September were to be renewed. This induced many to ſacrifice part of their fortune to obtain their freedom, and the plunder increaſed the power of the Jacobins. A central committee, compoſed of Marat and ſeveral other furious ruffians, many of them foreigners, exerted a control over the revolutionary committees, from which they were ſelected, and finally uſurped the whole powers of government. This committee reſolved to effect the impriſonment and death of the Briſſotines; and, as a preliminary ſtep, demanded of the convention a ſuppreſſion of the committee of twelve; which was decreed, but its report was firſt to be made on the 31ſt of May. On that day the central committee gave the command of the national guard to Henriot, a creature of theirs; who, at the head of ſixty

[k] Louvet. See his Narrative, p. 53.
[l] Louvet's Narrative, p. 46.

thouſand

thouſand men, with cannon, and furnaces for heating balls, ſurrounded the convention. The tocſin had been rung, the *generale* beat, and the whole city put into a ſtate of conſternation and inſurrection. The priſoners, who thought they were to be immediately maſſacred, filled the air with dreadful cries. The Girondiſts were in the greateſt confuſion and alarm; ſome repaired to their poſts in the convention; ſome ſought ſafety in concealment and flight. Rabaud ſtood with his report in his hand, but not being able to obtain a hearing, left the hall. A deputation appeared from the *commune*, who preſented a petition, demanding the heads of twenty-two members of the convention, beſides the committee of twelve. The convention referred this to the committee of public ſafety, requiring them to
28 June. make a report in three days. Though the Mountain were not entirely ſucceſsful in this attempt, they would not give up the point. The central committee, the next day, of their own authority arreſted the ex-miniſters, le Brun and Roland, and the wife of the latter. At three in the afternoon, they marched at the head of the armed force again to inveſt the hall of the convention, and renewed the petition of the day before. The convention had ſtill firmneſs ſufficient to paſs to the order of the day, and required the petitioners to ſupport their denunciation by proofs. But this kind of proceeding was not ſatisfactory to the inſurgents, they gave Henriot more decided inſtructions, and reſolved on the morrow to bring the affair to a termi-
2d June. nation. Accordingly the tocſin was again ſounded, the whole city under arms, and Henriot, with a conſiderable reinforcement, ſurrounded the hall. The galleries were filled with revolutionary women, armed with daggers, with which they threatened the obnoxious deputies; and all the avenues to the hall were filled with armed people, who prevented the members from retiring. It is probable that many

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of the orders given by the revolutionary committee were extremely vague and uncertain, or perhaps kept ſecret from ſome of the apparent heads of the Mountain, for in many inſtances they diſplayed a want of unanimity which would have ruined them, had the other party been at their poſts, and ready to have taken advantage of circumſtances. The central committee renewed their demand: the convention again paſſed to the order of the day. Immediately the inſurrection aſſumed a moſt formidable appearance: the cannon were pointed towards the avenues, and the members forbid to leave the place. Several battalions ſeized the inner poſts of the hall, and prevented all communication between the deputies within and the people without. The preſident ordered Henriot to draw off his troops, but he returned for anſwer, that as ſoon as he had fulfilled the orders of the people, he would attend to thoſe of the convention; but that if they refuſed to deliver up the traitors, he would order the cannon to be fired upon them. Danton, unacquainted with all the ſecrets of his party, burſt into a rage at this inſolence, and demanded the death of the ruffian Henriot. The convention ordered the officers next to the entrance of the hall to be called to the bar: they appeared, but gave no information towards unravelling the conſpiracy. Barrere, ſeeing the Gironde like to be overcome, made an inſidious propoſal to the proſcribed deputies, for the ſake of peace and the good of the country, to ſubmit, and ſuſpend themſelves from their functions. Some of them were weak enough to fall into ſo groſs a ſnare; but Barbaroux and Lanjuinais reſiſted it, and expoſed the tyranny exerciſed over them with ſo much force, that it is extremely probable, if all the reſt of the deputies had been in their places, if the eloquence and credit of Briſſot, Rabaud, and the others had been exerciſed, they would have obtained the

victory, by diſuniting the Mountain. The combuſtible ſoul of Danton had already caught fire; and Lacroix, another Mountaineer, had proteſted with vehemence againſt the tyranny of making the members priſoners in their own hall. The feebleneſs of the Briſſotines afforded the preſident, Herault de Sechelles, a Jacobin, an opportunity to prevent the diſunion of his party, by a childiſh trick: he inſiſted that the whole aſſembly ſhould demonſtrate how much they were at liberty, by leaving the hall. They did ſo; and he marched with them in the garden, till Henriot, at the head of ſome troops, and with his hat on, informed him he ſhould not paſs, and ordered the cannoneers to their guns. They returned to their hall, where Herault told them, that after ſo ſtriking a proof, the convention could no longer have reaſon to complain of their want of freedom. Immediately on their return they did the very act they had ſo long refuſed, they decreed the arreſt of the proſcribed deputies, and the inſurrection was at an end [m].

Increaſing power of Robeſpierre.

This victory and the ſubſequent impriſonment of the deputies attached to the Girondiſts, gave Robeſpierre a decided aſcendancy in the convention. The departments, excited by the deputies who had taken refuge there, were, ſome of them, in a ſtate of formidable inſurrection, but the activity, the tremendous means, and the prevailing influence of the Mountain, increaſed by ſome timely acts of apparent patriotiſm, at length ſucceeded in ſtifling the commotion; the deputies were hunted from place to place, ſome fell into the hands of their enemies, and ſuffered on the ſcaffold, ſome appear to have periſhed by famine, ſome were driven to the deſperate

[m] For an account of theſe tranſactions, ſee the Hiſtories; New Annual Regiſter for 1793, p. 176.; Miſs Williams's Letters, vol. i. p. 73.; Louvet's Narrative, p. 41 to 50.; Peltier's late Picture, vol. ii. p. 530.; Garat's Memoirs, p. 171.

reſource

reſource of ſuicide, and a few eſcaped, after encountering difficulties of every kind almoſt incredible.

The unlimited aſcendancy of Robeſpierre aroſe not ſo much from his majority, or rather from his having deſtroyed all parties in the convention but his own, as from his having contrived to annihilate all remains of authority in that body. This he effected by means of the committee of public ſafety, which, at firſt, was renewable at the end of every month, but he having been appointed one of its members, and having a majority entirely devoted to him, obtained a decree from the convention to render the committee permanent, and thus perpetuate the reign of twelve tyrants, whom, as he ſwayed in the moſt abſolute manner, he, in fact, was the ſole ruler of the country. This atrocious body, ſecure of ſupport from Robeſpierre, uſurped many of the powers of legiſlation, they promulgated decrees, ſent agents or viceroys into the departments, inveſted with unlimited authority, and ſeveral times refuſed to give an account of their motives to the convention. The duties of that body ſoon became limited to the hearing of reports from the miniſters who formed the committee, which, from their fallacy, and the affectation of their ſtyle, were called *Carmagnols à la Barrere*[n], to the regiſtration of decrees without conſidering of their probable effect on the country, to a patient acquieſcence in, or ſubmiſſive reverberation of the applauſes beſtowed on the committee, and on Robeſpierre. Their number, by reaſon of proſcriptions, committees, miſſions to the departments and armies, and ſeceſſions, ſeldom exceeded two hundred [o]. To the original powers of the committee of public ſafety, Robeſpierre added others by means

His tyranny.

[n] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 61.
[o] See Etat de la France, p. 2, et paſſim.

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of decrees gained from the complaiſant convention, which ſeemed to promiſe a perpetual ſlavery to France. He obtained a decree, that the country ſhould be in a ſtate of revolution till a general peace. He obtained the appointment of a revolutionary army, with a guillotine for part of its equipage, which being compoſed of ruffians of his own ſelection, and for whom he procured a pay of forty ſous a-day, was entirely at his devotion. He obtained a decree, the moſt extraordinary, perhaps, ever made by a legiſlative body, authorizing the apprehenſion of ſuſpected perſons, and making the ſuſpicion of his enemies a crime in the individual, for which he ſuſtained impriſonment and death. Prieſts, nobles, and foreigners were perſecuted without mercy or remorſe; tranſported, put to death without trial, buried in dungeons in daily fear of aſſaſſination, or murder under colour of the law; many thouſands of theſe unfortunate claſſes invoked the vengeance of Heaven on their inhuman perſecutor. The people imbibed, or were taught to aſſume an air of ferocity. One of the ſections of Paris preſented an addreſs to the convention, in which it requeſted them to ſacrifice *nine hundred thouſand heads*, and the revolution would be perfectly eſtabliſhed. The Jacobins, ſtill the obedient and ready tools of Robeſpierre, required of the convention that terror ſhould be declared the order of the day, and that the law that members ſhould be heard before the paſſing of an accuſation againſt them ſhould be repealed. Will it be believed by poſterity?—The ſtupid and enſlaved convention actually paſſed this ſelf-murdering decree. They eſtabliſhed as principles, that pity was a ſign of treaſon; that the exiſtence of a republic could not be maintained without the power of deſtroying every thing which oppoſed it. This extended alike to perſons and opinions, to ſentiments avowed and acted upon, and to thoſe only imputed by ſiniſter jealouſy,

jealouſy, or intereſted ſurmiſe. It was decreed, that death ſhould be the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould conſpire to change the republican form of government; of thoſe who ſhould reſiſt the revolutionary government, of thoſe who ſhould harbour perſons accuſed of conſpiracies after their denunciation; of thoſe who ſhould correſpond verbally or by writing with priſoners, and of the jailors who aſſiſted or permitted ſuch correſpondence. All exnobles were baniſhed from Paris, and obliged to ſubmit to ſuch ſtrict forms of regiſtration, as left them every hour at the mercy of the committee of public ſafety. It was decreed that tranſportation to the coaſt of Africa ſhould be the puniſhment of thoſe who complained of the revolution, which was extended to mean of any of the acts done by the ruling party [p].

The revolutionary tribunal.

Theſe extraordinary powers were not granted all at once, but were never withheld when an application was made to the convention. The revolutionary tribunal, entirely devoted to the party from whom it derived its exiſtence and authority, made with the moſt ſavage indifference, and even pleaſantry, all the ſacrifices required of them. The forms of inculpation, defence, and evidence were totally diſregarded, and the perſons whoſe lives were required, were merely inſulted by the pretence of a trial by jury. It is, in fact, a cruel mockery to give the name of jury to a number of men permanently eſtabliſhed in their ſituation; not elected by the priſoner, or ſubject to be challenged; deliberating in public, and pronouncing ſeparately their opinions aloud [q]. Their deliberation was a mere farce, for one of the judges daily attended Robeſpierre with a liſt, from which he marked out a certain number with a croſs, and they were devoted to certain de-

[p] On theſe ſubjects, ſee Debates and Proceedings of the Convention; Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 438.; Pagès, vol. i. p. 186. 190.; Etat de la France & Suite de l'Etat de la France, paſſim.

[q] See Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 37.

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ſtruction [r]. The powers of this tribunal were ſo extenſive, and the decrees on which they were founded of ſuch extraordinary latitude, that it was almoſt impoſſible for innocence to eſcape. The only puniſhment they pronounced was death, and that was applied to ſuch indefinite crimes as *favouring the impunity of ariſtocracy; calumniating patriotiſm; ſeeking to vilify the revolutionary tribunal; to corrupt the public mind and conſcience;* and *ſtopping the progreſs of revolutionary principles.* The neceſſary proofs conſiſted of every deſcription of document, whether material, verbal, or written, which carries in itſelf a ſelf-evidence, and when there were material or moral proofs, no witneſſes were to be heard. *The rule of the ſentence was the conſcience of the jurors*; and the proceſs the means which good ſenſe ſhould indicate to eſtabliſh the ſolidity of the facts [s]. No perſon denouncing another was obliged to aſſign his motives, to diſcover his name or place of abode. The party denounced, was arreſted without proof, interrogated without attention to form, inſulted by the court, and condemned without mercy or hope of pardon [t].

Puniſhment of ſeveral members of the convention.

Inveſted, by the concurrence of circumſtances rather than any effort of premeditation or contrivance on his part, with powers ſo unlimited, it was perfectly natural for Robeſpierre to ſeek his own ſecurity, in the deſtruction of thoſe who could make any reſiſtance to his authority. The Briſſotine deputies were early victims to this principle. The unfortunate queen, and the worthleſs Egalité, the perſecuted and the perſecutor, fell under the ſame puniſhment, and ſo entirely was Robeſpierre maſter of the public opinion, that equal applauſes attended theſe two acts, ſo apprently contradictory. But it

[r] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 433.

[s] See Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 447. Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. vii. p. 23.

[t] Suite de l'État de la France, p. 29.

was

was not ſufficient to rid himſelf of thoſe who had conſtantly been his opponents, ſome of his aſſociates were too *volcanic* to be truſted long. Bazire, who, unconſcious that he was digging his own grave, had applauded and ſupported the decree which deprived deputies of the privilege of being heard, was one of the earlieſt objects of its oppreſſion. He, together with Chabot, Thuriot, and ſeveral others, was ſent to jail, and from thence to the ſcaffold. But a more important operation demanded a greater exertion; Hebert, jealous of Robeſpierre's power, and anxious to extend his own, maſter of the club of Cordeliers, as Robeſpierre was of the Jacobins, meditated his impeachment. Maximilien, informed of the fact, reſolved Hebert's deſtruction; yet he proceeded with caution: he firſt employed Camille Deſmoulins to write him down, which he did with conſiderable wit and humour. Hebert, ſeeing by this that ſomething was in agitation againſt him, took advantage of an illneſs with which his rival was attacked [u], to excite the Cordeliers to inſurrection. He made a ſpeech againſt Robeſpierre, in which he declared that tyranny exiſted; he cauſed a veil to be thrown over the table of the Rights of Man, and actually ſucceeded in cauſing one of the ſections of Paris to declare itſelf in a ſtate of inſurrection, but his triumph was ſhort, he, with eighteen of his accomplices, was apprehended, delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, and from them, in natural courſe, to the guillotine. The club was diſſolved [x].

18th Nov. 1793.

16th Mar. 1794.

15th Mar. 1794.

Of Hebert.

The atrocities committed and excited by theſe people, made their deſtruction an act of great popularity. All who retained any reſpect for religion; all who wiſhed for the re-union of their countrymen in the accuſtomed bonds of ſocial intercourſe; all who felt ſolicitous for the termination of thoſe ſcenes of murder and horror which daily inſulted humanity,

Hopes of the people.

[u] Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 615.
[x] See Hiſtories. Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 64.

manity, hailed this epoch as the dawn of that day which was to produce the accompliſhment of their hopes, and gave way to the tranſports excited by ſuch an expectation. The event proved the fallacy, religion was no farther re-eſtabliſhed than by a verbal acknowledgment of the exiſtence of a God, and a feſtival in honour of him, more like burleſque than religion; ſocial intercourſe became more dangerous than ever, from the increaſed reſerve required by ſanguinary edicts and frequent accuſations; the torrents of blood which every day flowed from the ſcaffolds demonſtrated too forcibly that the reign of Robeſpierre and that of anarchy and terror were to be coëval.

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Exceſſive cruelty of Robeſpierre.

Who ſhall deſcribe all the horrors which at this period ſtained the ſoil of France? What mode of narration can convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea? A general enumeration of victims would convey no diſtinct notion of that dreadful ſyſtem which involved guilt and innocence, which reſpected neither old age, adoleſcence, ſex, ſickneſs, pregnancy, courage, or paſt ſervices; while a ſeparate recapitulation of the caſes of the various ſufferers would fill volumes with records of cruelty unparalleled in the annals of tyranny, without affording a clear picture of the horror, diſtraction, and deſolation which pervaded the country. Who ſhall in future times obtain belief when he relates the cruelties and aſſaſſinations practiſed at Lyons, Marſeilles, Nantz, and in la Vendée; the horrible joy with which the national convention applauded and repeated the revolutionary jokes of the aſſaſſins and encouraged their bloody progreſs; and the indifference with which that body ſuffered their own members to be ſnatched from them, and the citizens of Paris ſaw their relations and friends daily conſigned to the executioner by wretches, who outraged juſtice by an utter contempt of all forms of juriſprudential proceeding, and humanity by the

ſavage

ſavage indifference, and even affected pleaſantry with which they committed their murders[y]? Will it be believed, that the wives and children of innocent priſoners, when they went to the houſes of deputies, to ſolicit in their behalf, were turned to indecent ridicule, and compelled to drink and dance[z]? Will it be believed, that in one of the departments, all the unmarried young women, and even all the children of a town, down to ſeven years old, were compelled to march in proceſſion to the Temple of Reaſon, and take an oath never to marry any but true republicans[a]? "The complete portrait of "Robeſpierre's political life (ſays Freron) is re- "ſerved for hiſtory, but we may now briefly touch "upon the oppreſſion which he extended over us, "and over all the republic. How, in a ſociety of "brothers and friends, a word, a geſture of his "was ſufficient to procure any man's expulſion "from the Jacobin club, and how the man who was "ſtruck out from the liſt of that ſocicty, was ſoon "ſtruck out from the liſt of the living. How, "under the pretence of a revolutionary govern- "ment, he artfully contrived to ſet the convention "above principles, the two committees above the "convention, the committee of public ſafety above "the committee of general ſafety, and himſelf above "the committee of public ſafety. How, in this "hall, to deliver an opinion contrary to that of "Robeſpierre, was to obtain a paſſport to the "guillotine; how he filled all the priſons with "excellent republicans; how he corrupted the re- "volutionary tribunal, where judgments of death "were pronounced in terms of jocularity[b]."

To what did all this tend, or what were the ſpecific objects of his views? becomes a natural queſtion. Examination of his views.

[y] See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 191.
[z] Briſſot à ſes Commettans, p. 84.
[a] Tench's Correſpondence, p. 128.
[b] Speech on the Liberty of the Preſs. See Debates, Aug. 1794.

He has been accuſed by ſome of a conſpiracy with the combined powers to diſmember France; by others of royaliſm, or a view to reſtore ſome branch of the royal family; but either of theſe imputations becomes incredible when the ſucceſs of the meaſures in war which he ſanctioned, and the unabating averſion he conſtantly kept alive againſt royalty are conſidered. It is averred that he meant to aſſume the royal dignity himſelf, either as king, or under ſome other name; and that he had privately viſited the princeſs royal in priſon, with an intention to ſet her at liberty, and marry her [c]; but this and many other reports I conſider as mere inventions of the triumphant party, and not entitled to credit. His ambition was abundantly gratified by the exalted ſituation to which he was raiſed, and in which he might have ſecured himſelf by relaxing, after the deſtruction of his opponents, the ſyſtem of terror; but this was ſo far from the caſe, that to his laſt hour his thirſt for blood ſeems to have grown more and more inſatiable. Avarice had no ſhare in his compoſition, for though he permitted the moſt iniquitous peculation in his inferior agents, his hands were clean, and he died without having amaſſed any property [d]. Luxury had few charms for him; he was refined rather than otherwiſe in his taſtes, but ſo moderate in his enjoyments as to acquire the name of the French Cato [e]. What then had he in view? Nothing; abſolutely nothing determinate. Puſhed on by accident, not contrivance, raiſed by the fortuitous occurrences of the times, and by exploſions prepared by other men, to an unexpected eminence, power had the uſual effect on

[c] Pagès, vol. ii. p. 407.

[d] He is ſaid to have encouraged the peculation of his inferior agents, that he might be enabled, at any time, to effect their deſtruction. Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 34.

[e] He is ſaid to have been addicted to liquor. See Tench's Correſpondence, p. 196.

him

him in drawing forth the latent propenſities of the heart. He was ungrateful, jealous, envious, and timid; and to theſe qualities, whetted by the ſenſe of the perilous ſtate in which he ſtood, muſt be attributed all the terrible ſcenes which marked his reign[f]. Blood was become his element, and he cauſed the effuſion as neceſſary to his exiſtence. Talents, virtue, birth, wealth, excited in him envy or fear, and marked out their poſſeſſors to his fury. Surrounded with men devoted to crimes, and whoſe ruin muſt have produced his own, he ſought in the continuance of anarchy and proſcription, the perpetuation of his own power and ſafety. Crimes were become familiar to him; and the depraved propenſities of his heart being arouſed, he no longer knew any bounds to his deſire of blood. The whole period of his exaltation afforded no one inſtance, except in the field, which was honourable to the nation. The requiſition, and riſing in a maſs, an idea of the moſt extenſive ſublimity, was converted into an engine of oppreſſion; the *maximum*, that abominable offspring of tyranny and folly, was a ſource of endleſs rapacity, plunder, proſcription, deterioration of proviſion, and famine. Religion, that corrector of the human heart, that conſoling panacea for every mental wound, was proſcribed; the torpid doctrine that "Death is an eternal ſleep," publicly avowed, extended its influence, and blighted every affection and every principle. There never was known, in the annals of man, a period where the want of virtue was encouraged as a public boaſt; where Hypocriſy dreſſed herſelf in the character of Vice inſtead of its oppoſite; yet this phænomenon diſ-

[f] Necker ſays of him, "No one hitherto has diſcloſed the reſerved "ſecrets of this unparalleled tyrant, no one has unveiled the dark "combinations of his mind: thus the ſyſtem of his ambition, the "limit of his hopes, have remained to be gueſſed at; and perhaps it "is of conſequence to the honour of human nature to conſider him as "a preternatural being, with whom, even from ſtudy and obſervation, "the mind can enter into no affinity."

tinguiſhed the reign of Robeſpierre. Every one who valued his own ſafety was forced to applaud and repeat ſentiments which made his blood run cold; and many who had incurred ſuſpicion were obliged to boaſt of actions they had never committed, and at which their hearts recoiled. How could it be otherwiſe when informing, treachery, calumny, and aſſaſſination were erected into virtues; when the ſentiments of nature were carefully extinguiſhed, and fury, perfidy, and inhumanity lighted up in their ſtead. The ſervant denounced his maſter, the friend betrayed his friend, brothers accuſed their brothers, fathers their ſons, and children their parents; they were applauded, and received the homages of their corrupted country. Men of genius and talents in every claſs excited the rage of the tyrant, they were claſſed as a new ariſtocracy; it could not, in every inſtance, be fear which occaſioned this ſentiment; men of letters might have unfolded and held him up to deteſtation, but what had he to fear from artiſts, chymiſts, and the actors of the *theatre François?* It was envy, the baſe offſpring of a cold, contracted heart, acted upon by the recollection of diſappointment in one of the roads to celebrity. The nobles were, in the moſt wanton manner, confined and moved from priſon to priſon; every avenue to the city preſented the diſguſting ſpectacle of one or more cart-loads of theſe unfortunate perſonages of both ſexes and of every age, from infancy to extreme old age, exempt from a charge of crime, tied with their hands behind them, and expoſed to the heat of the ſun, the fury of the elements, or the ſtill more diſtreſſing outrages of the hordes of revolutionary banditti, who loaded them with every diſguſting inſult language can ſupply. The inhabitants of Paris were daily ſhocked with the ſight of cart-loads of perſons ſimilarly bound, going to the guillotine; this infernal object took away the pleaſure of their beſt walk, reddened their ſtreets with the gore which adhered

adhered to the ſhoes of thoſe who had directed their ſteps near the place where it was erected, and ſhed human blood in ſuch profuſion, that the earth being incapable of abſorbing it all, it ran to diſcolour the waters of the Seine. The night was no leſs terrible than the day, for beſides the dread of domiciliary viſits, of plunder and aſſaſſination, thoſe whom illneſs or accident kept awake were alarmed with the noiſe of carts carrying people to ſome of the priſons, which were now to be found in every ſtreet, and from one to the other of which the priſoners were conveyed in the moſt outrageous and wanton manner. The guillotine ſeemed to ſuperſede or preſide over every thought; even the women are ſaid to have given to their babes, inſtead of a coral, a machine which repreſented the action of that inſtrument, and the falling of the human head under its ſtroke. The paſſage of the condemned through the ſtreets to the guillotine was embittered by every ſarcaſm and inſult brutality and malice could ſuggeſt, and it was not uncommon to ſee children of twelve years old ſucking the blood which trickled from the fatal machine [g].

Expence of government.

The expences of government were incalculable. The fabrication of aſſignats was ſo great, that the daily conſumption of paper for them alone amounted to ſix thouſand reams [h]. The committees of ſurveillance, thoſe abominable hoſts of ſpies and robbers, were maintained at an expence of near *thirty-two millions of pounds ſterling a-year* [i]. Theſe were but the leaſt conſiderable parts of the public expenditure; the convention, the armies, the navy, all other departments were adminiſtered with equal prodigality.

Miſery of the people.

The people were expoſed to all the miſeries of famine; commerce was annihilated, and induſtry ſuppreſſed: the poſſeſſion of wealth was certain de-

[g] Etat de la France, p. 77.
[h] Tench's Correſpondence, p. 177.
[i] Idem, p. 189.

ſtruction,

ſtruction, as Robeſpierre had been known to declare, that he did not think it neceſſary for the richeſt man in the republic to poſſeſs more than three thouſand livres (131*l.* 5*s.*) a-year [k]. The holding any of the neceſſaries of life ſubjected the citizen to the inſults of revolutionary plunderers, and the horrors of a breach of the law of *maximum*. Humanity ſhudders at hearing the diſtreſſes to which the poor were reduced; there was in Paris a general want of bread, meat, milk, eggs, and even fuel. The depreciated paper-money would not afford a ſufficiency of theſe articles to ſupport the wives and families of the labourers, and the difficulties ſuſtained by the poor ſurpaſs deſcription and belief. When they complained of diſtreſs at home, they were directed to turn their thoughts towards the glories of the armies of the republic, to ſuffer with patience for the good of the country, and to impoſe on themſelves voluntary faſts, or *civic lents*. Far more harſh treatment awaited them if they uttered a complaint on the ſubject of their proſcribed or impriſoned relatives: a deputation of women, in conſiderable number, came one day to the convention, to ſolicit the enlargement of parents, ſons, or huſbands, ſnatched from them and buried in dungeons. Their tears, the eloquent language of nature, which ſoftened the tribunes into ſilence, only increaſed the fury of Robeſpierre; he accuſed them of ariſtocracy; of a wiſh to oppoſe the progreſs of the revolution, by enervating the meaſures of the convention. After hearing theſe, and many more brutalities, they were diſmiſſed to devour their chagrin in retirement.

A party formed againſt Robeſpierre.

In the latter part of his life, Robeſpierre ſeems gradually to have loſt ſight of all his cunning, to have forgot the means to which he owed his elevation, and, intoxicated by a plenitude of power, to

[k] Pagès, vol. ii. p. 506.

have

have addicted himself without reserve to his most ferocious propensities, regardless of the public opinion, and indifferent to the censures of his colleagues. An opposition from any of them was, as Freron said, a passport to the scaffold; but on the slightest hint of a contrariety of opinion, he gave way to the violence of his temper, and overwhelmed them with the coarsest abuse. His ingratitude or fear triumphed over his judgment in the destruction of Danton, his constant friend and defender, and the principal engine of his elevation; Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine, to whom he owed much of his popularity. The execution of these deputies alarmed the rest; Danton had a strong party in his interests, and these reinforced by others, whom fear, jealousy, or honesty united against the tyrant, formed a conspiracy which at last freed their country from the scourge of his existence. This task was attended with difficulty and danger apparently insurmountable; the power of Robespierre exceeded that of any monarch in Europe; the Jacobins were entirely devoted to him, and by means of their affiliated societies, spread their sentiments all over France; the staff and principal officers of the national guard were of his own appointing, and the major part of the artillery of the capital was at his disposal; the *commune* of Paris was servilely devoted to his commands, and many of them were judges of the revolutionary tribunal. That execrable court, together with the revolutionary committees, and his legions of armed ruffians, insured the subjection of Paris, and the influence of that city extended over the remainder of France. The members of the committee of public safety, in their reports to the convention, loaded him with the most exaggerated praises, and the journalists extolled him above all the heroes of antiquity. Wherever he went he was surrounded by a crowd of officious flatterers, who attended to every one of his motions,

and ſeemed to place their whole happineſs in his ſmile. The Jacobins had given him the title of *incorruptible*, and this was generally annexed to his name. He received numerous addreſſes from the departments, in which all the modes and expreſſions of adulation were exhauſted. He was ſtyled, "the glorious, "incorruptible Robeſpierre, who covers the republic "by his virtues and talents, as with a ſhield; who "joins to the ſelf-denial of a Spartan or Roman of "early date, the eloquence of an Athenian. Even "the tenderneſs and humanity of his diſpoſition "were praiſed! One man congratulated himſelf "on a perſonal reſemblance to him; and another, "at the diſtance of ſix hundred miles, declared he "was haſtening to Paris to feaſt his eyes with a "ſight of him. He was compared, not by an in-"dividual, but by a body of people, to the Meſ-"ſiah, announced by the Supreme Being as the "reformer of all things; and afterwards, he was "ſaid to manifeſt himſelf, like the Almighty, by "miracles. On ſome occaſion a *Te Deum* was "performed for him, the burthen of which was "*Vive Robeſpierre—vive la Republique*[l]!"

23d May 1794. Suppoſed attempt to aſſaſſinate him.

The enthuſiaſm of admiration and ſervile adulation was carried to its extremeſt height by a reported plot to aſſaſſinate him, entered into by a woman of the name of Cecile Regnaud, and a man named Amiral. The only facts proved againſt the woman were, that ſhe demanded to ſee Robeſpierre with impatience and haughtineſs, and ſaid ſhe wiſhed to know how a tyrant was made. Amiral had attempted to piſtol Collot d'Herbois. Regnaud[m] was guillotined

[l] Tench's Correſpondence, p. 194. From Courtois' report of 16 Niveſe (5th January).

[m] AIMEE CECILE REGNAULT or REGNAUD, was daughter of a ſtationer, living in *rue la Lanterne*, in the ſection of *la Cité*. From her conduct ſhe appears to have been deranged in her intellects. She went to the houſe where Robeſpierre reſided, and demanded to ſee him: being informed he was not at home, ſhe anſwered, it was very aſtoniſhing

guillotined together with her father, mother, and aunt, who, without proof, were adjudged to be accomplices in her plot. This circumſtance afforded the ſanguinary tyrant a plea for accelerating his courſe in the race of blood; he was diſſatisfied with the tardineſs of the revolutionary tribunal, which, though it deſtroyed fifty or threeſcore a-day, with no form of trial, or any ceremony ſave that of call-

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ing that, as a public functionary, he was not at home. Poſſeſſing ſuch a place as he did, he ought always to be at home and ready to ſee thoſe who had buſineſs with him. The purport of theſe words alarmed Duplai, the maſter of the houſe, who immediately apprehended and carried her before the committee of public ſafety. In their way ſhe obſerved that, during the old government, the king was always acceſſible; and that ſhe would ſhed the laſt drop of her blood to have a king again. Being aſked by the committee if ſhe had uſed the above expreſſions, ſhe readily acknowledged them; and added, that there were then in France fifty thouſand tyrants, and ſhe wanted to ſee how a tyrant was made. On this ſhe was committed to the Conciergerie, together with her father, mother, and aunt. She underwent another examination, during which ſhe repeated her former aſſertions: her inquiſitors wanted her to add that ſhe went to Robeſpierre's houſe in conſequence of a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate him, and threatened that if ſhe did not confeſs it, all her family ſhould ſuffer. She perſiſted, nevertheleſs, in denying any ſuch intention. A new ſpecies of torture for the diſcovery of truth was invented by theſe ſapient inveſtigators: as Cecile was in the prime of youth, in her twentieth year, very handſome, and dreſſed with care and neatneſs, they had her clothes taken from her, and after making her put on ſqualid rags in their ſtead, renewed their interrogatory: ſhe perſevered in her denial of the conſpiracy, and with conſiderable effect rallied her examiners on the abſurdity of their experiment. She was then transferred to the revolutionary tribunal, and put to the bar, together with Amiral, her own relations, and upwards of threeſcore perſons beſide, moſt of whom had been in priſon ſix months before, and had never ſeen or heard of her. The jury, on hearing their names called over, declared themſelves ſufficiently inſtructed, and pronounced ſentence of death on the whole party, ſixty-nine in number, without hearing evidence or defence; they were all guillotined the 25th of May. Her two brothers, who were fighting on the frontier, were arreſted, loaded with chains, and ſent to Paris; but before the executioners had time to beſtow their attention on them, the revolution of the 27th of July deprived them of their murderous power. There is no doubt but inſanity muſt have been the cauſe of this unfortunate young woman's proceeding; that ſhe was not emulous of imitating Charlotte Corday appears by her going unprovided with offenſive weapons; that ſhe did not expect impunity appears by her having furniſhed herſelf with a bundle of linen, expreſsly becauſe it would be uſeful to her in priſon.

ing

ing over their names, ſeemed too ſlow for the rapidity of his deſtructive deſires; it was propoſed at the Jacobin club to kill three thouſand a-day with grape-ſhot, till the priſons ſhould be emptied; and orders were actually given for enlarging the court of the revolutionary tribunal, ſo that two or three hundred perſons might be diſpatched at once. Whether his fears of aſſaſſination were real or affected, he made uſe of the reports raiſed on the ſubject to
25th May. gratify his vanity as well as his cruelty; he made a pompous ſpeech in the convention, wherein he exaggerated the magnitude of his ſervices and dangers, and challenged the gratitude of his cotemporaries, and the admiration of poſterity. He alſo made uſe of it to a purpoſe ſtill more deteſtable; to obtain the decree for giving no quarter to Engliſh or Hanoverian priſoners [n].

8th June. Feaſt in honour of the Supreme Being.

In the midſt of the horrors he excited, of the executions with which he enſanguined his native land, hardened againſt the impreſſions of ſelf-abhorrence, which a conſciouſneſs of his unrelenting ſavageneſs ought to have inſpired, Robeſpierre had the incredible aſſurance to propoſe a feſtival in honour of the Supreme Being, that creative power, who even in the majeſty of offended juſtice, *deſireth not the death of a ſinner*, and to propoſe himſelf as high-prieſt on the occaſion. In a prepared ſpeech, replete with affectation, he aſſerted, as if it were a diſcovery of his own, the exiſtence of a Deity, and the immortality of the ſoul; and enforced the doctrine with thoſe trite topics which would hardly be thought worthy to fill a page of a ſchool-boy's exerciſe, expreſſed in all the florid pompoſity of ſelf-conceit, and uttered in the complacent accents of ſelf-applauſe. This feſtival actually took place;

[n] For an account of Cecile Regnault's apprehenſion and examination, ſee Jordan's Political State, vol. vi. p. 462.; Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 66.; New Annual Regiſter for 1794, p. 366.; Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 637.

David

David the painter arranged the order of the proceſſion, the decorations of the altar, the ornaments of the houſes, and the whole *ſpectacle* of the *Champ de Mars*. The following animated and accurate deſcription of it is taken from the Letters of Miſs Williams[o]. "David, ever ready to fulfil the mandates "of his maſter, Robeſpierre, ſteps forth, marſhals "the proceſſion, and, like the herald in Othello, "orders every man to put himſelf into triumph!— "At this ſpot, by David's command, the mothers "are to embrace their daughters—at that, the "fathers are to claſp their ſons—here the old are to "bleſs the young, and there the young are to kneel "to the old—upon this boulevard the people are to "ſing—upon that, they muſt dance—at noon they "muſt liſten in ſilence, and at ſun-ſet they muſt "rend the air with acclamations.——The citizens "of Paris had been invited, and the invitation "amounted to a command, to decorate their houſes "in honour of the feſtival. Accordingly Paris on "that morning, lighted up by brilliant ſun-ſhine, "preſented the moſt gay and charming ſpectacle "imaginable. Woods had been robbed of their "ſhade, and gardens, to the extent of ſome leagues, "rifled of their ſweets, in order to adorn the city. "The walls of every houſe were covered with luxu-"riant wreathes of oak and laurel blended with "flowers; civic crowns were interwoven with "national ribbands; three-coloured flags waved "over every portal; and the whole was arranged "with that light and airy grace which belongs to "Pariſian fancy. The women wore garlands of "freſh-blown roſes in their hair, and held branches "of palm or laurel in their hands; the men placed "oaken boughs in their hats, and children ſtrewed "the way with violets and myrtle. The repre-"ſentatives of the people had large three-coloured "plumes in their hats, national ſcarfs thrown acroſs

[o] Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 86.

"their

" their ſhoulders, and noſegays of blended wheat-
" ears, fruits, and flowers in their hands, as ſymbols
" of their miſſion. A great amphitheatre was
" raiſed on the garden of the Thuilleries imme-
" diately before the palace, now the ſeat of the
" convention. Upon a tribune in the centre of
" the theatre, Robeſpierre, as preſident of the con-
" vention, appeared; and having for a few hours
" diſencumbered the ſquare of the revolution of the
" guillotine, this high-prieſt of Moloch, within
" view of that very ſpot where his daily ſacrifice of
" human victims was offered up, covered with their
" blood, invoked the Parent of univerſal nature,
" talked of the charms of virtue, and breathed the
" hope of immortality. When the foul fiend had
" finiſhed this impious mockery, he deſcended from
" the tribune, and walked with great ſolemnity
" towards a groteſque kind of monument that was
" raiſed upon the baſon in the front of the palace,
" which had been covered over for that purpoſe.
" On this monument was placed a miſ-ſhapen and
" hideous figure, with aſs's ears, which for ſome
" hours ſerved as an enigma to the gaping crowd,
" who knew not how to account for this ſingular
" appearance; till Robeſpierre having ſet fire to
" this image of deformity, which was declared to be
" the ſymbol of atheiſm, its cumbrous drapery
" ſuddenly vaniſhed, and a fair and majeſtic form
" was diſcovered, emblematical of wiſdom and
" philoſophy. Atheiſm being thus happily de-
" ſtroyed, the convention, attended by a numerous
" proceſſion of people, and preceded by triumphal
" cars and banners, marched to the *Champ de Mars*,
" where, with much toil and coſt, a rocky mountain
" had been reared, upon whoſe lofty ſummit the
" tyrant and his attendants climbed, and from
" whence he once more harangued the people;
" and the feſtival cloſed with hymns and choral
" ſongs in honour of the Supreme Being."

While

While this execrable monſter, by this ſacrilegious ceremony, ſeemed to place himſelf point-blank in the very aim of the vengeance of an offended Deity; while making his puerile harangue, he waved in one of his blood-ſtained hands a noſegay, in the other his hat: doubtleſs many who had to require of him the blood of parents, children, relations, and friends, lifted up their hands to the God he profaned in ardent and pious ejaculation for an emanation of divine wrath to rid the earth of its greateſt peſt. Their prayers were heard; from that day he ſeems to have ſtood marked as a perſon on whom the ſtroke of Death was ready to deſcend. In the progreſs of the feſtival, he gave much offence by affecting to walk at the head, and at ſome diſtance from his colleagues. He had put them out of temper by a childiſh diſplay of vanity in keeping them and the impatient ſpectators waiting two hours after the appointed time before he made his appearance. A feeble attempt was made by ſome of his moſt reſolute partiſans to raiſe a cry of "*Vive Robeſpierre!*" but it was not re-echoed by the multitude. His improper conduct.

The motives of Robeſpierre's conduct during the latter part of his life are involved in a conſiderable degree of obſcurity, they form a riddle which it is not eaſy to ſolve. The power he already poſſeſſed ſo extenſive, ſo apparently ſtable, left him nothing to deſire, unleſs it were a greater name, as that of king, dictator, protector, or perpetual preſident; but to have attained that end it was neceſſary to have conciliated the affections of the people, by remitting in ſome degree the operation of terror. So far was he from doing this, that every day preſented an enlarged liſt of victims to his rage for blood, and meaſures were in agitation to increaſe ſtill more the exterminating power of the revolutionary tribunal. If his own ſafety prompted him to meaſures ſo deſtructive, he ought not to have remained ſo long as he did indifferent to the move- Efforts of his opponents.

ments of the junto he saw forming in the convention against him. It is said that a party, headed by Bentabole, and consisting of Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, and Tallien, had been leagued together for some months, and that these men had resolved, if other means failed, to assassinate Robespierre in the convention [p]; but there is much improbability in the account. Two days after the festival, an abridgment of his power took place, which ought to have convinced him of the decline of his influence, and urged him to its re-establishment by some speedy and effectual stroke. The act alluded to is that which deprived the committees of public safety and of general security, of the power of sending members of the convention to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, till that body should have framed the articles of their accusation. Robespierre's conduct on this occasion shews the littleness of his mind; incapable of preparing, combining, and maturing a conspiracy, but accustomed to lurk in a recess during the hurricane, and afterwards to come forward and assume to himself the credit, that he might derive advantage from the event, he, on this occasion, left the front of the battle to his partisans, and for four decades absented himself from the committees and the convention. His pusillanimity confounded his partisans; the committee of general security was inimical to him, and he meditated their destruction, but had not time to effect it. In the committee of public safety a strong party was formed against him, he knew their intentions, and included their names in one of his lists of proscription; this list was found in the hands of one of the revolutionary jury who had been arrested, and by alarming the fears of those whose names were inscribed in it, accelerated the event of an open rupture. The Jacobins, amongst whom were a great many of the friends of

10th June.

[p] Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 57.

Danton, and many confidants of the proſcribed deputies, were not diſpoſed to enter into all the views of Robeſpierre with ſo much ardour as he wiſhed. They maintained, on many occaſions, a torpid indifference, which drew on them the reproaches of the younger Robeſpierre. The ingratitude of Maximilian was now about to be thoroughly and ſeverely puniſhed. The energy and reſolution of Danton, the eloquence of Camille Deſmoulins, and the addreſs of Fabre d'Eglantine were wanting to him in this emergency, and very ill ſupplied by the brutality and inconſiderateneſs of Henriot, the vulgarity and heavy ignorance of Couthon and St. Juſt, and the negative aſſiſtance and ſtudiouſly concealed ſervices of the abbé Syeyes and la Clos[q]. Yet to triumph over the tyrant was not matter of facility; the habitual deference paid him, the ſtrength of his party, united by a guilty fear, and the diſunion of his opponents, occaſioned by terror, rendered the event of a conteſt extremely precarious. He was known to poſſeſs an unlimited influence over the national guard, and the camps in the vicinity of Paris were devoted to him. The party in oppoſition did not know their own ſtrength; for many who inwardly hated the tyrant, and ſaw in his deſtruction their only hope of ſafety, externally paid him the moſt ſervile homage, and, as well in his abſence as when he was preſent, made his praiſes their favourite theme.

At length, he himſelf threw down the gauntlet of hoſtility. He appeared in the tribune of the convention after a long ſeceſſion, and in a prolix, ill-connected ſpeech, complained of the treatment he received from intriguers and calumniators, both abroad and at home; at the head of thoſe abroad he placed the duke of York and Pitt; thoſe at home he would not name, but intimated ſo ſtrongly certain members of the convention, that ſeveral roſe to ex- 26th July. Conteſt in the convention.

[q] See Etat de la France, p. 15.

culpate themſelves. The other party, thus called upon, were obliged to put themſelves in a ſtate of defence; Bourdon de l'Oiſe moved that the ſpeech might be referred to the committees previous to its being printed; Cambon and Vadier complained of Robeſpierre's inſinuations againſt them: Couthon defended Robeſpierre, reprobated the ſyſtem of calumny which prevailed, inſiſted that a line of demarcation ſhould be drawn between the patriots and the intriguers, and that the ſpeech ſhould be printed without being referred to the committees. A tumultuous debate enſued, in which Freron demanded the exemption of the members from arreſt, adding, that no man could ſpeak freely while influenced by that fear. Billaud de Varennes anſwered him with a logic altogether ſingular, that he, whom fear hindered from delivering his opinion, was unworthy the title of repreſentative of the people. Barrere ſpoke a few words perfectly equivocal; in the end, however, the matter took a favourable turn for the uſurper; the printing of his ſpeech was ordered unconditionally. From the convention he haſtened to read his ſpeech at the Jacobins, where it excited a general enthuſiaſm in his favour. Couthon denounced the two committees as traitors; Coffinhal propoſed the purification of the convention, which was well underſtood to import the deſtruction of all the members except thoſe devoted to his patron; and David, embracing Robeſpierre, promiſed if he drank hemlock, to drink it with him.

27th July. Fall of Robeſpierre.

The imminence of the danger could not arouſe the opponents of Robeſpierre to a deciſive mode of conduct. The convention met the next day, and buſineſs was proceeding in its uſual channel, till St. Juſt, inſtigated by his evil genius, aſcended the tribune, and after ſtating that the committees of government had directed him to make a report on the ſtate of the country, added, that their remedies were inefficient for the exiſting grievances, and he would

would ſpeak to the convention from himſelf.—Tallien puſhed him from the tribune, complained of the audacity of individuals in attacking government, and demanded that the veil ſhould be withdrawn.—He was interrupted by Billaud de Varennes, who, from his ſeat, demanded an unequivocal explanation. He ſtated that the convention was between two precipices; the public force was in the hands of a man denounced by the committee, but who was retained in his command by an individual—that individual had for more than a month paſt plotted the diſſolution of the convention: that individual was Robeſpierre. He deprecated tyranny, and aſked if any members preſent would wiſh to live under it. Robeſpierre was, at firſt, thunderſtruck; he afterwards endeavoured to ſpeak, but was prevented by the menaces of Tallien, who drawing a dagger, and brandiſhing it in the eyes of his colleagues, ſaid he would deſtroy him with it unleſs the convention delivered him to the ſword of juſtice. After ſome amplification, he moved that the ſitting ſhould be declared permanent. His efforts were ſeconded by Delmas and Barrere, by Billaud and Collot d'Herbois, who was preſident. They obtained a decree for the arreſtation of Henriot, d'Aubigni, Lavalette, Dufraiſſe, all the ſtaff of the national guard, and a man of the name of Sijas; but they had not yet the courage to arreſt the tyrant himſelf. While the preſident was arranging theſe decrees, Robeſpierre got poſſeſſion of the tribune, but they would not permit him to utter a word: "Down with him! down with "Cromwell!" reſounded from every quarter. As he perſevered in his efforts to obtain a hearing, a member ſaid to him; "Robeſpierre, you ſhall not "ſpeak; the blood of Danton is upon your head, "it flows into your throat, it choaks you!" "Ah, "ah! (exclaimed he grinding his teeth and foaming with rage,) Ah, ah! robbers, it is Danton, "then."—He was heard no more; Vadier interrupted

rupted him, and made a ſpeech wherein he unfolded his tyranny and all his iniquities: this blow completely overpowered him; he caſt a look of piercing indignation towards the Mountain, and reproached their deſertion; he is even ſaid, in his extremity, to have turned to the *right ſide*, to ſolicit their protection, but in vain. Tallien and Billaud poured freſh accuſations on his head with unceaſing aſſiduity. He perceived the world ſliding from under him, and that he would be ſpeedily precipitated into the abyſs of deſtruction: "Well! (exclaimed he in a tone of "deſperation,) lead me, then, to inſtant death." "Execrable monſter! (exclaimed Dumont, with a "threatening geſture,) thou haſt deſerved it an "hundred times!" The decree for his accuſation was then put and carried unanimouſly, and Couthon and St. Juſt were added. The younger Robeſpierre and Lebas, indignant at what was paſſing, inſulted the convention, and threatened ſome of the members in ſuch a manner as to get included in the decree of accuſation. The officer who was ordered to take them into cuſtody, and lead them to the committee of public ſafety, impreſſed with the habitual reſpect and fear excited by the preſence of Robeſpierre, heſitated to obey the repeated commands of the preſident, and would not receive the priſoners, till the chief of them made a ſign expreſſive of his obedience to the law, when they were all led out.

Oppoſition and deſtruction of his party.

Meantime the rumour of what was doing in the convention ſpread all over Paris; Robeſpierre's partiſans loſt no time in endeavouring to oppoſe the riſing ſtorm. The Jacobins aſſembled in their hall, and ſent to put the ſections of Paris in a ſtate of inſurrection. The *tocſin* was ſounded, the *grêve* covered with armed men, and ſeveral pieces of artillery planted on the Quai Pelletier, threatening the hall of the convention; the barriers were ſhut, and Henriot, who had been arreſted and had eſcaped, was indefatigable in collecting an armed force to reſiſt the execution

execution of the decree. The keepers of the various priſons, participating in the general dread excited by his name, had refuſed to receive Robeſpierre and the other deputies, who were ſpeedily reſcued from their guard, and having opened a ſitting at the *hotel-de-ville*, outlawed the national convention. After ſpending much time in debate, which conſpirators of only moderate talents would have employed much more effectually, they ſent a part of the armed force, and Henriot at their head, to diſſolve the convention. But that body, convinced that they were ſtruggling for their lives, had in the time ſo fooliſhly waſted by their opponents, concerted meaſures againſt them; Legendre had diſperſed the Jacobin club, ſeven deputies were ſent into the various parts of the city with a proclamation, explaining the true ſtate of things; a decree of outlawry was paſſed againſt the commune, and when Henriot, at the head of his troop, made his appearance in the court-yard of the Tuilleries, they put him *out of the law* alſo. The effect operated like electricity; his ſoldiers, panic-ſtruck, refuſed to obey his orders, and the people demanded his arreſtation; confuſed and abaſhed, he haſtened to the *hotel-de-ville*, and informed his comrades of his ill-ſucceſs. The convention, ſeeing the operation of their new engine, proclaimed ſentence of outlawry againſt Robeſpierre and all his aſſociates, and ſet a price on their heads. The ſeven deputies had ſuc- 28th July.
ceeded in raiſing a party of the armed inhabitants of Paris in their favour, and with theſe, reinforced by ſome ſoldiers, who remained faithful to the national repreſentation, they found themſelves able, at about three o'clock in the morning, to march againſt the commune, having firſt perſuaded the cannoneers at the Quai Pelletier to reſiſt the commands of Henriot, who was now *out of the law*, and to join them. The *hotel-de-ville* might have made a powerful reſiſtance, and perhaps have turned the tide of ſucceſs;

but the ſoldiers of the national guard, hearing that the commune and the deputies there aſſembled were outlawed, refuſed obedience; the cannoneers were differently diſpoſed, but the curious mob had obtained poſſeſſion of the gun-carriages, and uſed them as ladders to enable them to look into the windows of the *hotel-de-ville*, to ſee how the conſpirators behaved in this emergency. Bourdon de l'Oiſe, having read to the people the proclamation of outlawry, ruſhed into the *hotel-de-ville*, armed with a ſabre and piſtols, and followed by a conſiderable force. The diſcomfited confederates were moſt of them taken on the ſpot, a few eſcaped, but were ſpeedily brought to juſtice.

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His ſecond arreſtation,

Robeſpierre was found in one of the apartments of the *hotel-de-ville*, ſitting ſquat againſt a wall with a knife in his hand, apparently intended for the purpoſe of ſelf-deſtruction, but which he durſt not uſe. A ſoldier who found him, apprehending ſome reſiſtance, fired two piſtols at him, one of which wounded him on the head, the other broke his under jaw; he was taken and conducted before the committee of general ſecurity in a Morocco-covered arm-chair, his broken jaw bound up with a cloth, paſſed under his chin, and tied at the top of his head. As he was carried along in this condition, he reſted his chin on a handkerchief which he held in his right hand, while the elbow was ſupported by his left. A meſſage was ſent to the convention to know if he ſhould be brought to the bar, but the members unanimouſly exclaimed that they would no more ſuffer their hall to be polluted by the preſence of ſuch a monſter. He lay for ſome hours in an anti-chamber of the committee of general ſecurity ſtretched on a table, motionleſs, apparently inſenſible of corporeal anguiſh, though the blood flowed in ſtreams from his eyes, mouth, and noſtrils, but torn with racking recollections, and abandoned to remorſe, he pinched his thighs with convulſive

agony, and ſcowled gloomily around the room, when he fancied himſelf unobſerved. After enduring, in this ſituation, the taunts of all who beheld him, he was replaced in the arm-chair, and carried to the hoſpital, called the *hotel-de-Dieu*, where his wounds were dreſſed, merely to prolong his exiſtence, and from thence was ſent to the priſon of the Conciergerie. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal the ſame day, together with his accomplices, in number twenty-one; as they were all out of the law, the identification of their perſons alone was neceſſary, and ſentence of death was demanded againſt them by their former friend and creature Fouquier Tainville, the public accuſer. In the evening of the ſame day, at about five o'clock, they were conducted to the place of execution, amidſt the acclamations of numerous ſpectators, who conſidered the proceſſion before them as the earneſt of future happineſs. The ſtreets, the windows, and the roofs of the houſes were crowded; even the guard who eſcorted them partook of the general tranſport; and, which they were never before known to do, joined the cry of *Vive la convention!* A group of women ſtopped the carts and danced around them to teſtify their joy.

During this fatal progreſs, Robeſpierre, pale and disfigured, held down his head on his breaſt, and never looked up except once, when a woman, decently dreſſed, approached the cart and uttered thoſe heart-piercing exclamations, and deep-drawn maledictions, which put it almoſt beyond conjecture that ſhe was a mother whom his cruelty had deprived of a ſon, or a widow from whom he had ſnatched her huſband; at hearing her horrible denunciations, Robeſpierre turned his eyes languidly towards her, and ſhrugged up his ſhoulders. He ſuffered laſt but one; when he was about to be tied to the fatal plank, the executioner ſnatched the dreſſing from his broken jaw, which immediately fell, and a profuſion of blood guſhed

and execution.

guſhed out; the horrible chaſm occaſioned by the width of his mouth, owing to this accident, rendered his head, when held up by the executioner, the moſt terrible and diſguſting ſpectacle which can be imagined [r].

Remarks on his fall.

Thus periſhed Maximilian Robeſpierre, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age. His life had been for ſome time paſt a perpetual provocation of the thunder of the Omnipotent; and his death afforded, in all its circumſtances, a moſt ample vindication of eternal juſtice. He was cut off in the prime of life, and at the height of unexpected exaltation meditating new crimes, and unrepentant of thoſe he had already committed. He who had ſhed blood with unexampled profuſion, went to the ſcaffold covered with his own blood; he who had baniſhed from France the ſentiment of humanity, was in his laſt hour overwhelmed with inſult, reproach, ſcorn, and cruelty; he whoſe life had been a ſcene of the moſt atrocious perfidy and ingratitude, died renounced by all mankind, and his death was called for by a man he himſelf had put into office, and on whom he relied as a friend; he who had abrogated every form of juriſprudential proceeding, was led to execution without the ceremony of a trial. Even the minuter circumſtances of his fate were not without a moral. In the priſon of the Conciergerie, could he avoid thinking of the perſecuted queen whom he had ſo long ſhut up there? Muſt not the ſight of the guillotine have conjured up to his imagination an immenſe crowd of innocent victims, with his murdered ſovereigns at their head, clamouring to heaven for vengeance? It is even worthy of obſervation, that the coat he wore when he was thus called before his

[r] For the account of Robeſpierre's decline and fall, with all the antecedent and attendant circumſtances, ſee Conſpiracy of Robeſpierre; Debates; Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 158. 168, et ſeq.; Pagès, vol. ii. p. 201 to 223; New Annual Regiſter for 1794, p. 369 to 381.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 35 to 44.; Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 680 to 699.

Maker,

Maker, with "his crimes full blown, and all his "imperfections on his head," was the ſame he had worn when wantonly and ſacrilegiouſly he obtruded himſelf into his ſacred preſence, and profaned the land where chriſtianity had been profeſſed, with a mock-feſtival.

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His perſon, manners, and abilities.

The perſon of Robeſpierre was ſhort and puny, and he was of a tender conſtitution. His complexion was livid and cadaverous, his features harſh and forbidding. The ſmile of confidence never reſted on his lips, but they were almoſt always contracted by the ſour grin of envy aiming to appear diſdain. His eye was dead and ſunk, except when his iraſcible propenſities were arouſed by oppoſition or the deſire of vengeance, and then his look aſſumed a ferocity ſo ſingular, as to lead an accurate obſerver to compare his general aſpect to that of the cattyger. Reſerved in his temper, and rarely addicted to exceſs, he never was betrayed into any of thoſe weak efforts of confidence which ariſe from an unreſerved indulgence in love and friendſhip, and very ſeldom into thoſe which reſult from conviviality. His diſſimulation was exceſſive; and he was ſo apprehenſive of the ſentiments of his mind being read in his eyes, that he commonly wore green ſpectacles, and, on ſome occaſions, covered his eyes with his hands. Ever deſirous of admiration, he would not, even when the rage of equality was at its greateſt pitch, degrade himſelf by aſſuming the blue pantaloon, red cap, and dirty linen; on the contrary, though the word *muſcadin* was a term of proſcription, he was always well dreſſed, and ſometimes elegantly. Though forbid by nature to riot in the exceſſes of ſenſual enjoyment, he was ambitious, even to coquetry, of being admired by the fair ſex; and ſucceeded ſo far that they were amongſt his moſt zealous partiſans. In the earlier part of his life he was ſupple, inſinuating, and complaiſant, but latterly uncontrolled power had carried the ferocity of his temper

temper to the exceſs of unreſtrained violence in ſpeech. Whoever contradicted or diſpleaſed him was aſſailed with the coareſt invective; an indecorum which, acting on Gallic ſenſibility, probably increaſed the rage of his enemies, and accelerated his fall. Of the extent and nature of his abilities, his life affords a ſufficient diſplay. Condorcet eſtimated them juſtly when he ſaid, "The French revolution "is a religion, in which Robeſpierre is the leader of "a ſect; he has all the characteriſtics, not of the "founder of a religion, but the leader of a ſchiſm." He poſſeſſed conſiderable vigour of mind, though not ſufficient to entitle him to a compariſon with Cromwell. His eloquence has been already noticed; its characteriſtic is elegance rather than cloſeneſs of reaſoning; he had improved very much from the time of his coming to Paris as a deputy; his enemies, therefore, choſe to characteriſe him by his earlier efforts, rather than thoſe made at a more advanced period. He is deſcribed, in the New Annual Regiſter, as being more a ſtateſman than an orator[*]; I think exactly the reverſe: his ideas on negro emancipation, on the penalty of death, on ſubſiſtence, and in almoſt every other particular where he affected to legiſlate, will ſufficiently prove that his rhetoric was ſuperior to his judgment. His ingratitude, and the facility and indifference with which he abandoned, and even ſacrificed his friends and former coadjutors, were his conſtant characteriſtics. His want of perſonal courage was remarkable, and bore an exact proportion to his ſavage and unrelenting cruelty. He was diſintereſted to a certain degree; that is to ſay, without children, without affections, he took no pleaſure in the ſordid folly of amaſſing unneceſſary wealth; but in his life he maintained much more ſplendor and elegance than a man without patrimony or employment could derive

[*] For 1794, p. 283.

from

from the ſalary allowed to a deputy; and though he did not outrage decency by a diſplay of inordinate luxury, he lived in a ſtyle equal to his exaltation in other reſpects. His ſelf-denial in matters of ſenſuality, ariſing from the formation of his perſon, and made conſpicuous by an affectation of auſterity, procured him the name of Cato; after his fall he was denominated Catiline, and has been compared to Cromwell; but he is not worthy to aſſociate with either character [t]. He owed his elevation to accident rather than deſign, and loſt it through his vanity, treachery, and cowardice. His vanity and treachery made him, thinking himſelf all-ſufficient, deſtroy his only friends; his cowardice rendered him incapable of thoſe exertions which might have turned the impending ſtorm on the heads of his adverſaries. His conduct in the great criſis which decided his fate was aſtoniſhingly weak and imprudent. When he went to the convention on the 26th of July, he was well appriſed of the party which was formed againſt him, yet he omitted his cuſtomary precautions; he had not prepared the tribunes to applaud his ſpeech; he had appointed no clamorous *ſans-culottes* to drown the voices of his opponents; no armed ruffians to terrify them in their approach to and paſſage from the hall. On the 27th, though he muſt have known that the manner in which his cauſe was taken up at the Jacobins would bring the conteſt to an iſſue, no preparations were made; even his own party were uninſtructed how to act. St. Juſt, uncalled, began a ſpeech in the tribune, which rendered the oppoſing party furious; Robeſpierre's adherents out of doors were unprepared; the voice of ru-

[t] For deſcriptions of his perſon and manners, and remarks on his character, ſee Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58.; Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 338. vol. ii. p. 239; Pages, vol. ii. p. 17. 21, 22.; New Annual Regiſter for 1794, p. 381, 382, 383.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 37. 39.; Etat de la France, p. 11. 15, 16.; Garat's Memoirs, p. 226.

mour

mour was the alarm-bell of the Jacobins; and, when they were assembled, the armed force was yet to provide, and yet to seduce. This surprising want of foresight proves that Robespierre owed his elevation to accident and the operations of others, and that he was deficient in the genius, courage, and conduct requisite to form an illustrious chief of a party.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

The KING's LETTER *to the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, *when required to ſanction certain Articles of the Conſtitution; read the 5th October* 1789.

Gentlemen,

NEW conſtitutional laws can only be properly judged of by being acquainted with the whole of them; for in ſo great and important a work, every part is connected intimately with the whole. It appears, however, to me natural that, at a time when we invite the nation to come to the aſſiſtance of the ſtate by a ſignal act of its confidence and patriotiſm, we ſhould aſſure it of our attention to the principal object of its intereſt. So on the perſuaſion that the firſt articles of the conſtitution which you have preſented to me, when added to the reſt of your labours, will fulfil the deſire of the people, and inſure the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom, I grant, according to your deſire, my conſent to theſe articles; but under the expreſs condition, from which I mean never to depart, that by the general reſult of your deliberations, the executive power ſhall be wholly lodged in the hands of the monarch. A ſeries of facts and obſervations, a particular account of which ſhall be preſented to you, will convince you that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, I cannot inſure either the raiſing of the legal impoſts, or the free communication of proviſion, or the individual ſafety of the citizens. It is my wiſh to fulfil theſe eſſential duties of royalty. The happineſs of my ſubjects, the public tranquillity, and the maintenance

maintenance of ſocial order depend upon it: I therefore demand that we ſhould, in common, level all the obſtacles that may croſs the execution of ſo deſirable and neceſſary an end.

You cannot but be ſenſible that the exiſting inſtitutions and judicial forms ought to undergo no change till they are replaced by the new order of things; I have therefore no need to make any obſervations on this head.

It remains that I ſhould frankly aſſure you, that though I conſent to the different articles of the conſtitution which you have offered, it is not that all of them without diſtinction preſent to me the idea of perfection, but becauſe I do not think it adviſable to delay acceding to the preſent wiſh of the national deputies, and to the preſſure of thoſe alarming circumſtances which ſo powerfully invites us to wiſh, above all, for the immediate re-eſtabliſhment of peace, order, and confidence. I make no remarks on your declaration of the rights of man and a citizen; it contains ſome excellent maxims, very proper to regulate your labours; but principles ſuſceptible of different applications, and even interpretations, cannot be juſtly appreciated, neither do they require being ſo, till their true meaning is fixed by thoſe laws to which they ſerve as the baſe.

No. II.

Letter from M. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE *to the* PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, *containing a Defence of* THE KING.

Mr. Preſident,

I HAD the honour of announcing, in my laſt letter, that I ſhould, without delay, addreſs to you an exact declaration of all the important and unknown facts with which I am acquainted, and which have any relation to the preſent circumſtances. I am the more eager to fulfil this engagement, ſince I learn, from the public papers, that the great queſtion, Whether Louis the Sixteenth ought to be tried?

tried? is at present open for discussion; and that the national convention are disposed to receive lights and proofs from every quarter on that momentous subject. I flatter myself it will receive with satisfaction those I now have the honour of addressing to you, because I am firmly convinced that it seeks nothing but truth, and desires nothing but justice. This conviction alone is sufficient to allay the inquietudes of good citizens, and to keep up the hopes of those who, having had opportunities of nearly observing the conduct of Lewis the Sixteenth, and of knowing his virtues, cannot help taking a great interest in his misfortunes.

The following then are the facts, the truth of which I attest, and of which I can either give or point out proofs.

On the pretended favours and assistance given to the emigrants.

It is published in all the journals and all the pamphlets, and has been repeated a thousand times from the tribune, that the *king* always approved of and favoured emigration. This opinion, unsupported by proof, has become general in the kingdom, and is the principal motive of the regicide addresses daily received.

Towards the end of October 1791, one of the ministers having informed the king, in full council, of a report generally circulated, that the emigrants in arms against France, and particularly the body guards, were in the pay of the civil list; "This (replied the king, in the firmest tone) is "an egregious calumny; for I have, on the contrary, "given the most express orders to M. de la Porte, that "none should receive pay but those who were able to "shew the certificate required by the decree of last July "(1791). I am certain this order is put in execution. "It was proposed to me to make an exception in favour "of the *gardes du corps*, but I refused."

Notwithstanding this order, the existence of which can be attested by many deputies to whom it was originally communicated, and which must have been found among the papers of M. de Septeuil, they have continued to give out that the emigrated *gardes du corps* were paid by the civil list: and this is affirmed as certain, in the 10th and 11th pages of the report made to the assembly at the sitting of the 27th of September last. The reporter was not aware, that the only writings cited by him in support of his assertion, clearly demonstrate its falsehood. The first is a

memorial found in the king's writing-desk, in which M. de Poix proposed the paying the whole corps of *gardes du corps* up to the 1st of January 1792. If the king had approved this proposal, he would have affixed his assent to the memorial, and sent it to the intendant of the civil list. Thus from the circumstance alone of this memorial being found in the king's writing-desk, without any mark of his approbation, is a complete proof that the payment proposed by M. de Poix had not been ordered by the king. As to those orders of payment signed by the king at the bottom of the general lists of the four companies of his guards, it is sufficient to compare those lists with the registers of payments, to be convinced that in reality only those of the *gardes du corps*, who proved their residence according to the form prescribed by the decree, were paid; and that if the ordinance lists contained all the names, it proceeded entirely from an ignorance of who had and who had not emigrated. For the same reason, the ministers of war and marine, in their respective departments, regulated in a similar manner the general lists of the officers of the different corps, without violating the decree concerning the certificates of residence, because its execution was always guaranteed by the vigilance and personal responsibility of the treasurers, conformably to the regulations of this decree. It is also proved by a letter of M. de Poix, in the 16th page of the thirteenth collection of papers found in the house of M. de la Porte, that the execution of these orders for payment of the *gardes du corps* was so much retarded, that on the 28th of last January there had been nothing paid of the arrears due for the first six months of 1791.

Were I now to cite the letters written by the king, in the beginning of October 1791, to the officers of the army and of the corps of marines, to induce those who had left the kingdom to return, and to retain those who had intended to emigrate, I should undoubtedly be told, that these letters being the works of the ministers, no conclusion could be drawn from them: but I declare, that the minute written to the officers of marine remained two days in the king's possession, who with his own hand made many corrections in it, some in the margin, others interlined; and this minute, with many other important papers, must have been found in a red port-folio, which the commissioners of the committee of *surveillance de la commune* carried away from my house with my other papers.

pers. I muſt preſume that this writing has been ſuppreſſed, ſince there is no mention made of it in the report made to the aſſembly the 6th of this month. It would, however, be of the more importance to produce this paper, becauſe the corrections in it being the king's own, the free and pure expreſſion of his ſentiments may there be found. I have no doubt, therefore, but the national convention feels the neceſſity of ordering that paper to be ſearched for and produced.

The king expreſsly commanded me to employ, in his name, every method of perſuaſion and authority to prevent the emigration of the officers of marine; and if the execution of this order had not all the ſucceſs I could have deſired, I at leaſt uſed every exertion in my power, and am not afraid on this point to call upon the teſtimony of the chief clerks of my office. I cannot indeed quote many written proofs, but ſhall mention one of ſufficient weight to render any other unneceſſary from me.

A ſuperior officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, having been forced by frequent outrages to give up his command, came to Paris laſt February with the intention of leaving the kingdom. After having in vain attempted by my advice and exhortations to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, I mentioned the affair to the king, who authoriſed me to ſend him an order, couched almoſt in ſimilar terms with the old *lettres de cachet*. The words follow:

" Sir,

" Being informed that your knowledge and experience " enable you to give important information concerning " the marine ſervice, my pleaſure is, that you hold your- " ſelf in readineſs to furniſh the miniſter of that depart- " ment with the informations he may require from you. " On this account I prohibit you from leaving Paris until " further order, under pain of diſobedience.

(Signed) " Louis.

(And under,) " De Bertrand."

The minutes of this order, addreſſed to M. de Marigni, ſhould be found in my office, (*bureau des officiers*,) amongſt the minutes of the month of February. If it has been accidentally withdrawn, M. de Marigni, who has not left Paris, will produce the original.

I muſt here declare, that amongſt the officers whom I perſuaded to ſtay at Paris to inſure their not leaving the

kingdom, there were ſome unable to ſupport themſelves; to whom the king ordered different ſums of money to be paid, ſometimes by me, at other times by M. de la Porte. The laſt which was ſent to me by the king for this purpoſe was the ſum of 12,000 livres, in the beginning of March 1792. If the national convention be deſirous minutely to examine this matter, I can point out to whom the money was given.

How then is it poſſible to reconcile the reproaches which are thrown out againſt the king, relative to the emigrants, with all theſe facts, none of which can be diſputed?

On the treaſons and conſpiracies in which it is pretended the king had a ſhare.

Theſe names certainly cannot be given to the meaſures, always weak and inſufficient, taken for the perſonal ſecurity of the king; and of which he never failed to prevent the effect, when he obſerved the avowed aſſaſſins accompanied by a party of the people; becauſe while ſurrounded by them he was always confident that he had no danger to fear. We ſaw him, on the 20th of June, remove from his perſon thoſe faithful ſervants who were ready to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in his defence, and preſent himſelf, accompanied by four national guards, to the armed multitude who had come to force open the gates of the palace.

It is impoſſible at this day to doubt that a formidable conſpiracy was formed againſt the court. The deputies *Louvet* and *Barbaroux* arrived, and atteſted this important fact in the tribune, in the ſitting of the 30th of October. "It was at Charenton (ſaid they) that the conſpiracy "againſt the court was fixed to be executed, on the 29th "of July, but which did not take place until the 10th of "Auguſt." (Moniteur of the 1ſt of November, p. 1298, col. 3.) The king having been informed of this, did undoubtedly take ſome precautions to defend the palace from the impending attack: but as ſoon as he knew, from the members of the directory of the department, that thouſands of the citizens and national guards had joined the conſpirators who ſurrounded the palace, he did not heſitate to deliver himſelf and family to the national aſſembly, leaving orders for the Swiſs not to fire [a]. It is indeed certain,

[a] When the king had determined to deliver himſelf up to the aſſembly, he ſpoke to the miniſters and others who were around him theſe

tain, that the gates of the court royal were forced without any resistance on the part of the Swiss, who did not fire until five of their companions had been massacred at the bottom of the great stairs. The events of the 10th of August can, no more than those of the 20th of June, furnish the slightest cause of accusation against the king. It is therefore necessary to look for proofs in his conduct prior to these periods. But it is impossible, with any share of candour, to form conclusions against him from letters, memorials, or plans, addressed to him, and which were found, or said to be found, either in the palace or the house of M. de la Porte. If treasonable or criminal writings could involve the persons to whom they are addressed, the lives of the most innocent and most virtuous of mankind would always be in the power of the most wicked.

With regard to the numerous writings, the impressions of which were paid out of the civil list, and which are quoted as so many proofs of treason, it is sufficient to remark, that before the abolition of royalty, the anti-republican writings were so much the less reprehensible, that at the memorable sitting of the 7th of July last, the assembly decreed unanimously, and by acclamation, that those who should propose a republican government, or the establishment of two chambers, should be devoted to public execration. The violent writers on both sides were indeed equally distant from the spirit and principles of the con-

these memorable, though too little known words: "Let us depart, "gentlemen; there is nothing for us to do here." This was certainly giving the clearest and most positive order to stay no longer at the palace, since nothing was to be done there. And if this order had (as it ought) been officially conveyed to the Swiss officers and guards, they would have all retired; the entry to the palace would have been left open; and though perhaps it might have been demolished, yet not a musket would have been fired, or a drop of blood shed. Unfortunately this order was not conveyed to the Swiss. From thence it followed, on the one hand, that the Swiss, the national guards, and all those who had repaired to the palace to defend the king, believed he was only anxious about his personal safety, and complained that he had abandoned them; while, on the other, the people believed that the king, at his departure, had ordered the resistance and firing which happened. Such is the origin of the suspicions and clamours against the pretended treasons of the king, and the conspiracies of the court. These details are corroborated by so many ocular witnesses, that it is impossible I can ever call their truth in question. They prove that the reproaches against the king are not better founded on one side than on the other.

ſtitution; and their incendiary productions ſupported and maintained the agitation of the people. It was incumbent on the king to turn his attention to the ſerious inconveniences which muſt have reſulted from hence. Obliged by his oath to maintain the conſtitution by every poſſible means, his authority and his duty prompted him to chooſe as one of thoſe means, the inſtructing of the people by prudent conſtitutional writings, which might operate as antidotes to the dangerous pamphlets daily publiſhed. It is, however certain, that both my colleagues and myſelf conſidered it as our duty to give this advice to the king, and accordingly we did often give it. Thus it is very poſſible ſuch an order was given to the intendant of the civil liſt. As to the method in which it was executed, every body muſt be ſenſible the king could not poſſibly enter into all the detail of the buſineſs. Beſides, it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that the moſt culpable execution of a lawful order can never involve the perſon who gives that order, but only him who executes it. An order to diſtribute prudent and conſtitutional writings was certainly legal. The king had the right of giving ſuch an order, and he aſſuredly gave no other. But the following facts perſonally concern the king, and from them we can judge of his true ſentiments.

First Fact.

I ſhewed the greateſt reluctance to accept the miniſtry, and I cannot deny that my principal reaſon for this reluctance was my uncertainty of the real ſentiments of the king relative to the conſtitution. He was informed of this; and when I was preſented to him on the 3d of October, by the miniſter of the home department, he addreſſed me in his preſence, in the very words which follow:

"I know your uneaſineſs, and do not blame your deſiring "to know how it is expected that you ſhould conduct "yourſelf. I now inform you, that I do not pretend to "conſider the conſtitution as unexceptionable. I am even "convinced, that had not the aſſembly prohibited the "receiving my obſervations, it would have adopted the "principal alterations which I would have propoſed. But "that is now over. I have accepted the conſtitution in "its preſent form. The general opinion is in its favour; "we can, therefore, no longer think of changes until ex-"perience ſhall make us feel the neceſſity of them; for "force

" force can do nothing againſt opinion. The ſucceſs of " this experience depends upon the fidelity with which " the conſtitution is carried into execution; and it is my " intention to execute it as completely and as well as " poſſible. Such, then, is the line of conduct I have " marked out for *myſelf*, and I require my miniſters not " to depart from it. If the means for carrying it into " execution may appear inſufficient, or if they experience " embarraſſments, let them appeal to the aſſembly."

The queen, to whom I was preſented the ſame day, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; and concluded with ſaying, " Obſerve the plan the king has adopted; I think it is " the only reaſonable one, and hope you will not make " him change it."

I affirm this fact upon my honour and conſcience, and will ſupport the affirmation with my oath, which I offer to renew before whatever perſon, and in whatever form the aſſembly ſhall think proper to preſcribe. Upon my return home, I immediately made a memorandum of what the king and queen had ſaid. The memorandum dated the 3d of October, was in the ſame red port-folio which the commiſſioners of the committee *de ſurveillance de la commune* carried away. If the national convention think proper to order that it ſhould be ſearched for, it will not be difficult to have it laid before them.

Second Fact.

Towards the end of December laſt, or the beginning of January, an old officer, retired from the ſervice, came to conſult me, at the office of marine, upon a propoſal which had been made to him the evening before, to enter into an aſſociation with ſome gentlemen to eſcort the king, who intended, as they ſaid, ſoon to leave the kingdom. The perſon who made this propoſal to him, introduced himſelf at his houſe under the title of a marechal-de-camp, and gave him twenty-four hours to reflect on the ſubject. I adviſed the perſon who gave me this information to ſhew a diſpoſition to join the aſſociation, provided they would explain to him the whole of their plan, their means of executing it, and inform him of the perſons who were engaged in it. I expreſsly enjoined him to forget nothing they might tell him, and particularly to make himſelf acquainted with the name and reſidence of this marechal-de-camp. He promiſed ſoon to acquaint me with the reſult

of his ſecond converſation. He accordingly gave me, the very next day, a detached account of what paſſed. I took an exact memorandum of it, which I read the ſame night at the council. The king was full of indignation, and ordered the miniſter of the home department immediately to denounce the aſſociation to the directory of the department, and to enjoin him to make every poſſible ſearch after this pretended marechal-de-camp, to watch him narrowly, and even to ſeize his perſon, if there ſhould be occaſion. As this letter was inſtantly written by M. Cahier de Gerville, and ſent directly after the council, it is poſſible that he did not keep a memorandum of it; but the original may be eaſily found among the papers of the directory of the department. The inquiries ordered by the king were carefully made. They diſcovered the uſual reſidence of this man, but he had concealed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was not poſſible to ſeize him. It appeared, moreover, by the accounts obtained at the police office concerning him, that he was a worthleſs, wrong-headed fellow. But whatever truth there is in this, the conduct of the king in this affair proves, at leaſt, that he did not favour aſſociations formed under pretence of conſulting his perſonal ſafety.

Third Fact.

In January laſt, M. Cahier de Gerville, reading in the council a rough draught of a proclamation, the *king* interrupted him at the expreſſion "*the love of my people,*" and deſired him to correct it by inſerting the words "the "love of the *French people.* I can no longer," added he, with emotion, and his eyes ſwelled with tears, "I can no "longer ſay *my* people: but they cannot prevent that "from being the expreſſion of my heart."

This intereſting fact can be atteſted by the miniſters who then compoſed the council; and I require all thoſe who have been in it, either before or ſince, to declare whether they did not obſerve, in many inſtances, that one of the moſt prevailing ſentiments with the king, was that of a moſt tender and affectionate attachment to the French people. It is not yet forgotten, that on the day of his arrival from Varennes, one of the principal officers of his houſehold, expreſſing his regret at the ill ſucceſs of that expedition, and particularly at the increaſe of credit and power which it would give to the aſſembly, the king immediately

diately made this remarkable anſwer, "So much the "better, a thouſand times; ſo much the better, provided "it conduces to the happineſs of my people."

Fourth Fact.

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At the ſitting of the 6th of this month, the reporter *Valazé* read a note found in my houſe, concerning a new order of knighthood, called that of the *queen*; and in order to give this writing (which juſtly excited the riſibility of the aſſembly) more importance, he ſaid it was found in my port-folio. The reporter Valazé is miſtaken; and if the aſſembly will order the verbal proceſs, which took place at the examination of my papers, to be looked into, it will appear that this writing was not found in any of my port-folios, but in a different place, which I ſhall not name. It would have been difficult to have read it, had they not ſeparated it from a letter which was incloſed under the ſame ſeal. This letter, dated the beginning of September or October 1790, was nearly in the following terms:

"I ſend you the note which I mentioned the day "before yeſterday. I muſt forewarn you, that I had it "from one whoſe fancy is a little exalted; ſo you may "believe what you pleaſe of it."

The place in which it was found proves that I had formed the ſame judgment concerning it with the national convention.

The members of the committee *de Surveillance de la commune*, who ſpent nine hours in examining theſe papers, found alſo a liſt of an Auſtrian committee, compoſed of about thirty fictitious names. They were eager to ſeize that writing, which they at firſt conſidered as a moſt important diſcovery. Fortunately, however, the key to thoſe names was written in the ſecond column of the ſame page, and contained the names of M. M. Syéyes, Condorcet, Briſſot, Robeſpierre, &c. &c. But had this key been written upon a different ſheet, and could they have as eaſily ſeparated it from this liſt as they did the note concerning the order of *Chevalier de la Reine*, from the letter above mentioned, they might then have employed the liſt as a ſtrong proof of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee.

Such then are the facts which I thought it incumbent on me to make known to the aſſembly. Their accuracy

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will be eſtabliſhed by the proofs which I cite, which can be verified by the witneſſes whom I point out. I ſhould have had a much greater number to preſent, if the cataſtrophe of the month of September had not driven from France, or deſtroyed, the perſons who could have atteſted the truth.

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(Signed) DE BERTRAND.

No. III.

Denunciation of Prevarications committed in the Trial of LOUIS XVI. *addreſſed to the* NATIONAL CONVENTION, *by* M. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE, *Miniſter of State in France.*

M. Preſident,

I DENOUNCE to the national convention, to the people of France, and to all Europe, the odious prevarications which have taken place in the trial of Louis XVI. of which I ſhall here point out the proofs, in order to have juſtice adminiſtered againſt the guilty.

In the courſe of laſt month, I ſent papers for the defence of Louis XVI. to the *garde du ſceau*, with formal requiſition to have them delivered to the king. I thought that the ſureſt means of having them conveyed to their ſacred deſtination, was to addreſs them to that miniſter of juſtice. I accordingly wrote the following letter to him:

" Sir,

" As it is one of the moſt ſacred duties of a miniſter of " juſtice to protect thoſe who are under accuſation, and to " ſecure to them every means of clearing their innocence, " I addreſs theſe papers to you, ſolemnly requeſting that " they may be delivered into the hands of Louis XVI. " As the king's ancient miniſter, I feel not only autho- " rized, but obliged in duty to point out thoſe circum- " ſtances during my adminiſtration, that tend to overſet " the principal articles of the accuſation brought againſt " him. Such is the object of my demand; and you muſt

" be

" be ſenſible, Sir, that you cannot reject it, without ſhew-
" ing yourſelf the accomplice of one of the moſt atrocious
" crimes of which there is any example."

A few days afterwards, I ſent under cover to the ſame miniſter a packet for M. de Maleſherbes, intitled, " Papers " for the juſtification of Louis XVI." I wrote at the ſame time to advertiſe M. de Maleſherbes of my ſending them as above mentioned to the *garde du ſceau*, and requiring that he ſhould aſk them from that miniſter.

I am this day informed, that when, in conſequence of that letter, M. de Maleſherbes went himſelf to claim theſe packets, he was anſwered by the miniſter of juſtice, that, on finding they contained papers for the juſtification of Louis XVI. he had thought himſelf obliged to ſend them to the national convention.

I muſt obſerve here, that the conduct of the miniſter of juſtice upon this occaſion is of a piece with the barbarous practice of the keepers and jailors of priſons under the ancient government, in ſending all letters or papers addreſſed to the priſoner, to the magiſtrate ſuperintending the priſons. There was then, however, one ſure means of having letters, &c. remitted to the priſoner, namely, by addreſſing them directly to that magiſtrate. Nevertheleſs the conſtituent aſſembly, juſtly indignant at the ſlowneſs of this means, and the inhumanity of theſe precautions, formally aboliſhed this cuſtom by the new criminal code. It decreed, that the priſoner ſhould not only receive all papers and memorials which might aſſiſt in their defence, but that a copy of their indictment, and of the procedure, ſhould be given them in twenty-four hours after it was demanded; either by themſelves or their counſel. But when I ſolemnly addreſs myſelf to the miniſter ſpecially appointed to maintain the execution of this law, he does not ſcruple to infringe it, under pretence that he has no communication with the priſoner.

If ſuch a pretext is admitted, every law made for the protection of the accuſed may be equally violated by his judges themſelves, as there is not one of them who has any communication with the priſoner.

The conduct of the miniſter of juſtice is ſtill more unjuſtifiable with regard to M. de Maleſherbes. Could he poſſibly imagine it was his duty to deprive the defender of Louis XVI. of papers ſent for his client's juſtification? So that the ſuperſcription which I wrote upon the packet,

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as a ſecurity for its being delivered, was exactly what determined the miniſter of juſtice not only to keep it up from M. de Maleſherbes, but to ſend it to the very committee which conducted the proceſs againſt the king.

Could we ſuppoſe a legal court of aſſaſſins, what conduct could more naturally be expected from the principal agent of ſuch a court, than to deliver the papers tranſmitted to him for the defence of the accuſed, into the hands of the accuſers?

I ſubmit the above conſiderations to the juſtice of the national convention, and ſhall proceed in my ſtatement of facts.

M. de Maleſherbes went to the committee, and claimed the packets. He found that both had been opened; they contained printed and written papers. The printed papers were delivered to him; but he was informed that he could not have the others without an order from the convention. A member of the committee went with the papers to the convention to demand this order. He returned, and told M. de Maleſherbes, that, upon his demand, the aſſembly had paſſed to the order of the day. The member did not bring back the papers, he left them on the bureau.

M. de Maleſherbes aſked what means he could take to obtain theſe papers? The members of the committee looked at each other, but nobody anſwered him.

The ſtriking injuſtice of refuſing to allow M. de Maleſherbes ſo much as to read thoſe papers, muſt be imputed to the ignorance or guilt of ſome inferior agent of the committee; for certainly none of its members would have been acceſſory to ſuch illegal conduct.

I am equally convinced that the aſſembly would not have paſſed to the order of the day, on the demand of M. de Maleſherbes, had the nature of the requeſt been clearly repreſented. The fact however is, that thoſe intruſted with the king's defence were obliged to make it without the aſſiſtance of theſe papers. Unfortunately they were not the only papers which were kept up; for it is known, that when the papers in the king's cabinet were ſeized and carried away, none of the formalities which the law exacts, and the particulars can loudly called for, were uſed to prevent ſubtraction, alteration, or ſubſtitution; of courſe none of thoſe papers can, with the leaſt colour of law or juſtice, be produced againſt the king; yet they are produced

duced and urged againſt him, as if all thoſe formalities had been obſerved; and beſides, a collection, falſely called complete, of the papers found in his majeſty's cabinet, was, by orders of the committee, printed, and profuſely diſtributed over the kingdom; but this collection, ſo far from being complete, conſiſted only of ſuch papers as admitted of malignant interpretations, which were with much aſſiduity given to them, enforced and illuſtrated by calumnious notes. It is to be hoped, that the authors of theſe notes are not of the number of the king's judges, no more than thoſe deputies who have betrayed ſuch a thirſt for the king's blood, that they have anticipated their votes for his death by printing and publiſhing their opinions. According to the laws of all civiliſed countries, a judge who condemns a perſon accuſed, without having heard his defence, thereby loſes the right of finally judging him, and is conſidered as on the ſame footing with the accuſers. Were it poſſible to ſuppoſe that this law could be violated in the caſe of Louis XVI. the French nation, fired with indignation againſt ſuch flagrant injuſtice, would undoubtedly riſe like one man, and pour vengeance on the baſe infringers of a principle ſo ſelf-evident and ſacred. Truſting to the juſtice of the national convention, I demand that the papers for the juſtification of Louis XVI. which I ſend under cover to the miniſter of juſtice, may be remitted to the king's defenders; and as to the papers found in the king's cabinet, but which the authors of the printed collection thought it expedient to ſuppreſs, I can, from my own certain knowledge, only point out the following:

1ſt, A copy of a letter to the king from three deputies of the legiſlative aſſembly, of great influence, dated in the month of July laſt. This letter contained a prediction of the 10th of Auguſt; and the recall of Servan, Claviere, and Roland, was propoſed as the only means of preventing that cataſtrophe. As I ſaw the king in public only after my retreat from the miniſtry, I had not an opportunity of reading the letter myſelf, but I was informed of its contents by perſons who have read it. I ſhall name theſe perſons, and likewiſe the deputies, as ſoon as the proofs ſhall be taken into conſideration, and the witneſſes in favour of the king are to be heard, according to the indiſpenſable form in all criminal cauſes.

The letter of thoſe three deputies may at leaſt ſerve to prove, that the torrents of blood ſhed on the 10th of Auguſt

guſt ought not to be attributed to Louis XVI. but to the faction who wiſhed to dethrone him, in order that Servan, Claviere, and Roland might be recalled to adminiſtration. Thyerry, the king's firſt *valet de chambre*, who received the letter from them, and delivered it to the king, was afterwards aſſaſſinated, though he was abſent from the palace on the 10th of Auguſt.

2d, A copy of a plan, conſiſting of twenty one articles, ſecretly agreed on at Mantua, in the month of May 1791, by the emperor Leopold; the object of which was the re-eſtabliſhment of the king's ancient and legal authority. For this end the emperor propoſed to enter France with his army, in the beginning of the month of July following, a period in which neither our armies nor frontiers were in a ſtate of defence.

The king alone could have prevented the execution of this plan, and he did prevent it. All exacted from him was his conſent, which was to be kept ſecret. He refuſed this, without conſulting any body; he needed no advice when the tranquillity of his people was at ſtake; and he ſaw that this plan could not be executed without bloodſhed.

The two only miniſters who had knowledge of theſe facts, and of an infinity of others equally important for the king's juſtification, were Meſſrs. Montmorin and de Leſſart, who unfortunately have both periſhed. It is difficult to attribute to chance either the ſelection of the victims ſacrificed on the 2d of September, or that of the king's papers which have been ſuppreſſed. However that may be, if Leopold's plan is not found, I ſhall, as ſoon as the king's proceſs is commenced, name three perſons who had a complete knowledge of all the particulars of that plan, and can aſcertain the contents in as ſatisfactory a manner as if the original plan itſelf were laid before the convention.

3d, A journal written by the king himſelf for his own private uſe, containing every thing of conſequence he has done ſince he aſcended the throne; his projects, views, and even the faults he has to reproach himſelf with, are there inſerted. This journal, which may be conſidered as a faithful picture of Louis XVI. drawn by himſelf only, would be a moſt intereſting part of the intended proceſs. Even in the faults with which he reproaches himſelf, his virtues, and uniform attachment to his people, would evidently appear.

That this journal was amongſt the king's papers, is proved by a letter which M. de Maleſherbes has juſt received from M. de Liancourt.

Theſe, Sir, are the facts on which I call for the animadverſion of the national convention, and the attention of all Europe; and for this purpoſe I have thought it my duty to render this application as public as poſſible, by confiding it in the hands of the lord mayor of London, and directing it to be publiſhed in the newſpapers. And I now ſolemnly call on you, Sir, as preſident, to communicate it to the convention, otherwiſe you become perſonally anſwerable for the conſequences of thoſe important facts remaining unknown to them.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND.

No. IV.

JEAN SILVAIN BAILLY, *to his Fellow-citizens.*

I WAS ſummoned as a witneſs on the trial of Marie Antoinette; I found myſelf named and inculpated in the act of accuſation directed againſt her. In the courſe of my depoſition, I was interrogated reſpecting the events of the 17th of July at the *Champ de Mars*; I was alſo queſtioned reſpecting my connections with la Fayette and la Rochefoucault. It was ſuggeſted that I had had criminal relations with the *ci-devant* court; and I was aſked concerning certain ſecret meetings ſaid to have been held at the caſtle. My anſwers, ſatisfactory as they were, could only be heard by the citizens preſent at the trial.

He who has occupied an important poſt owes to the people an account of his conduct in the exerciſe of thoſe functions with which they have intruſted him. I am going, therefore, at preſent to diſcharge the duty.

The act of accuſation againſt Marie Antoinette contained the following paſſage: "It is manifeſt, from the "declarations of Louis Charles Capet, and of the girl "Capet,

" Capet, that la Fayette, a favourite, *in every ſenſe of the* " *word* *, of the widow Capet, and Bailly, then mayor, " were preſent at the flight from the palace of the Thuil- " leries; and that they favoured it with all their power." It is falſe, that I was at the Thuilleries on the day of the 20th of June. It is falſe, that I in any manner facilitated the flight of Louis's family. It is true, on the contrary, that I did every thing in my power to prevent it.

Upon being informed of the declaration made by young Louis and his ſiſter, I requeſted the preſident of the tribunal to demand of the accuſed, 1ſt, At what hour ſhe and Louis left the Thuilleries on the 20th of June? 2dly, If I were preſent? The preſident replied, that the accuſed had in her examination anticipated my queſtions, by declaring, 1ſt, That they had ſet off between eleven and twelve o'clock at night; and 2dly, That I was not preſent. Thus the teſtimony of the mother overthrew that of the children.

For ſeveral months it had been rumoured, that the flight of Louis was at hand. I had conſtantly tranſmitted to the committee of reſearch all the information that I received. Theſe rumours were renewed on the 19th and 20th. I had been for ſeventeen days ill of a quinſey, from which I was beginning to recover. On the evening of Monday I received freſh information, which induced me to ſend for three of the neareſt municipal officers to my houſe, that I might not have to decide alone on the exigencies of the moment.

I ſent for the commander in chief of the national guards; and in the meanwhile dreſſed myſelf at all events. The citizen Cochon de l'Apparent, at that time member of the conſtituent aſſembly and of the committee of reſearch, came to communicate to me what he knew: he was witneſs to what paſſed at my houſe, and can give teſtimony of my conduct. Upon the arrival of the commander in chief, we communicated to him the information which we had received, and the apprehenſion which we

* Any one would conclude from this expreſſion, that la Fayette was very much in the queen's good graces. She could not endure him, and often uſed to ſay to her friends, " Muſt I always have that " coxcomb before my eyes?" I have this anecdote from perſons of veracity. Recourſe was had to la Fayette only becauſe he was commander of the national guard, and might have diſconcerted their projects.

had entertained. We reminded him that it was his duty to guard the Thuilleries. He anſwered, that he was going to the palace; that he would give the ſtricteſt orders; and that, though he thought the ſuppoſed project very improbable, he would take care to prevent the poſſibility of its execution. La Fayette went in fact to the palace, and returned a little after twelve o'clock to my houſe. He aſſured us that all the gates were faſt; and that he had himſelf renewed the watch-word at all the entrances; he added (an expreſſion which I very well remember), that a mouſe could not get out of the palace. He further ſaid, that Gouvion, the major-general, would paſs the night at the gate of Villequier. Theſe are the facts which are in the knowledge of the perſons before-mentioned; beſides which, the ſteward and porter of the houſe, Jean Baptiſte Mouſſon, my preſent ſervant, my former coachman (named Bellanger), François the inſpector of the lights, and all thoſe who were in my ſervice on the 20th of June, can atteſt that I did not leave my houſe on that day.

Louis and his family, it is well known, travelled with a paſſport given by Montmorin, for a perſon named, if I recollect right, the baroneſs de Kroff. Some days before the flight in looking over my letters, I found that M. Simolin, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, had applied to me for a paſſport for the baroneſs de Kroff. I had ſome paſſports ready ſigned, which were delivered to me by the miniſter. After a moment's reflection, I ſaid, "But why does the "Ruſſian ambaſſador deſire a paſſport for a foreigner? "He ought to apply to the miniſter for foreign affairs." I referred him, therefore, to that miniſter, and thus eſcaped, by good fortune, the ſnare which was laid for me. Montmorin, it is known, declared that he gave two paſſports, on an aſſurance that the firſt was burnt.

It is, therefore, falſe that I was preſent at the flight of Louis, and that I favoured with all my power the libérticide project. It is, on the contrary, moſt indiſputable, that I did every thing in my power to prevent it.

I was interrogated reſpecting certain private meetings ſaid to have been held at the Thuilleries, and compoſed, as it was aſſerted, of intriguers and members of the conſtituent aſſembly, Mirabeau, Barnave, Lameth, &c.: it ſeemed that I was ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted at them. I affirm that I never had any knowledge of ſuch meetings; that I never aſſiſted at them; that I never was connected

with any of thoſe who were conſidered as party-leaders, ſuch as Mirabeau, Barnave, and the two Lameths; that my connections with la Fayette neceſſarily reſulted from the mutual relation of our offices; that the confidence which I had in him, eſpecially during the firſt year, was dictated by the whole nation; but that thoſe connections were only official, and that I never poſſeſſed his peculiar confidence.

It was aſſerted that ſome of their meetings were held at la Rochefoucault's. I anſwered, that I knew ſeveral deputies, and amongſt others la Fayette, often met in the evening at the houſe of la Rochefoucault; but that I was never there myſelf.

The unfortunate day of the Champ de Mars was mentioned; and it was termed a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the true patriots. The national aſſembly being informed that mobs were collecting to reſiſt the decree paſſed the preceding evening, and judging that every appearance of reſiſtance againſt the law was criminal, ordered the department and the municipality to reſtrain thoſe mobs by all the means with which the conſtitution had inveſted them. The official accounts, which are preſerved among the archives of the national aſſembly, and of the municipality, prove that the municipal body had in the morning employed all the means of perſuaſion to diſperſe the multitude.

When the municipality in a body afterwards entered the Champ de la Federation, every one knows the magiſtrates had not time to make the ſummonſes preſcribed by the law; but that the municipality and the national guard were aſſailed with a ſhower of ſtones; that one of the rioters fired a piſtol-ſhot againſt the municipality; and that the ball, after paſſing by me, ſtruck the thigh of a dragoon of the troops of the line who had joined the national guards, and who afterwards died of the wound.

It has been ſaid that the authors of theſe diſorders, and of this murder, were not at all connected with the citizens aſſembled round the altar of their country. But, in fact, the national guard only fired upon the bank from whence the ſtones and the piſtol-ſhots had proceeded. It is added, that the men who occupied this bank had been ſent by la Fayette and me. This accuſation is without proof; and it is abſolutely falſe. I make this affirmation as far as regards myſelf. It is, moreover, evident that if theſe men

had been our agents they would doubtleſs have avoided firing on me or on the municipality.

But it is ſaid, la Fayette was reconciled, in June 1791, with Lameth and the others, and they altogether plotted the downfal of liberty. I know not what plots may have been formed by men with whom I never had any connection. I remarked indeed that reconciliation, and I was ſurpriſed at it; but it cannot be ſaid that I was reconciled with the Lameths, ſince I had neither any quarrel or connection with them. I do not recollect that I have ſpoken with either of them for two minutes together ſince the revolution. I have never had a continued intercourſe with any of the deputies, unleſs it was what the affairs of the city gave me in the different committees. If la Fayette engaged in any intrigues, he was too well acquainted with my patriotiſm to make me his confidant.

With regard to my connections with the court, a circumſtance which fully proves my innocence, is, that among the numerous papers belonging to Louis, which were found both at the houſe of la Porte and in the iron cloſet, papers in which a great number of perſons are implicated in affairs more or leſs culpable, there is not one which can draw on me the ſmalleſt reproach. What is more, I am named in ſome of thoſe papers, but it is as an enemy. Some attack me by ſarcaſm, and endeavour to place me in a ridiculous point of view (ſee Cazotte's letters); others, ſuch as Talon, ſay, "Sire, if you make "ſuch ſacrifices, Bailly will come and make you a fine "harangue." Others ſay, and that of the date of 1791, "the mayor of Paris will be managed, ſo as to prevent "him from giving us any further trouble." Finally, ſome of them talk of the neceſſity of taking off my head.

I have gained nothing in the revolution; on the contrary, it has cauſed me to loſe ſome valuable places; and it has almoſt entirely deſtroyed my fortune. I have need, my dear fellow-citizens, of your eſteem; I am ſure that you will ſooner or later do me juſtice, but I have need of that juſtice whilſt I am alive and in the midſt of you. I had previouſly deſerved it by fifty years of continued probity; and my claim cannot but be augmented and confirmed by nearly three years of entire devotion to your intereſts, with no other recompence than your eſteem.

(Signed) BAILLY.

No. V.

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Letter from CHARLOTTE CORDAY *to* BARBAROUX.

In the priſon of the Abbaye, from the room formerly occupied by Briſſot, the ſecond day of my preparation for peace.

YOU requeſted, citizen, an account of my journey; I will not excuſe you from a detail of the ſlighteſt anecdote. I travelled with good mountaineers, whom I ſuffered to talk as much as they pleaſed, and their diſcourſe, which was as abſurd as their perſons were diſagreeable, contributed not a little to lull me to ſleep. I was not perfectly awake till I came to Paris. One of my fellow-travellers, who undoubtedly is an admirer of ſleepy women, took me for the daughter of one of his old friends, ſuppoſed me poſſeſſed of a fortune which I have not, gave me a name which I had never heard, and in concluſion, offered me his fortune and his hand. When I was tired of his converſation, I ſaid, "We are admirable comedians, "what a pity, that with ſuch talents, we have no ſpecta-"tors: I will go and fetch our fellow-travellers, that "they may have their ſhare of amuſement." I left him in a very ill humour; all night he ſung plaintive ſongs, excellent provocatives of ſleep. At length I parted with him at Paris, refuſing to give him my addreſs or that of my father, of whom he wiſhed to aſk me in marriage. He left me evidently diſpleaſed.

I did not know that the people here had interrogated my fellow-travellers, and I maintained that I knew none of them, that I might ſpare them the diſagreeable taſk of undergoing interrogatories reſpecting me. In this, I followed my oracle, Raynal, who ſays, it is not our duty to tell truth to our tyrants. The lady who travelled with me, gave them the information that I was acquainted with you, and had ſpoke to Duperret.

You know the firmneſs of Duperret's mind; in his anſwers he told them the exact truth, and his depoſition was corroborated by mine, nothing appears againſt him, but his courage is a crime. I confeſs, I was apprehenſive that my having ſpoke to him would be diſcovered, and repented

pented it when too late. I wiſhed to repair my fault by inducing him to go and join you, but he was too reſolute to take my advice. Sure of his innocence, and of the innocence of every one elſe, I reſolved to execute my project. Would you believe it? Fauchet is in priſon as my accomplice; he who did not even know of my exiſtence.

But the people are not content to have only an unimportant woman ſacrificed to the manes of that *great* man. Pardon me, my fellow-creatures! for ſuch an uſe of this word as diſhonours your ſpecies; he was a ferocious beaſt, who intended to deſtroy the reſt of France by the flames of civil war. Now, peace for ever!

Four members were preſent at my firſt interrogatory. Chabot looked like a madman; Legendre inſiſted that he had ſeen me in the morning at his houſe; I who never thought of the man; I do not conſider him poſſeſſed of ſufficient abilities to be the tyrant of his country, and it was not my deſign to puniſh every body. All who ſee me pretend that they have known me a long while, though, in fact, they never ſaw me before.

I believe that the *dying words* of Marat have been printed. I doubt whether he uttered any, but theſe are the laſt he ſaid to me. After having written down all your names, and thoſe of the adminiſtration of Calvados who are at Evreux, he ſaid, for my comfort, "In a few "days, I will have them all guillotined at Paris." If the department places his buſt oppoſite to that of St. Fargeau, they may have theſe words engraven on it in letters of gold.

I will give you no details of this great event, the journals will be ſufficiently explicit. I confeſs that my reſolution was rendered complete, by my obſerving the courageous manner in which our volunteers inrolled themſelves on the ſeventh of July; you may recollect the delight I felt, and I promiſed myſelf that I would make Petion repent of the ſuſpicions he had manifeſted reſpecting my ſentiments. In ſhort, I reflected that all thoſe brave fellows were ſetting out to obtain the head of one ſingle man, that they would be diſappointed, or that his deſtruction would have occaſioned the death of many good citizens. He did not deſerve ſo diſtinguiſhed a fate; the hand of a woman was ſufficient.

I acknowledge that I uſed a treacherous artifice to induce him to admit me: all expedients are juſtifiable in

ſuch a cauſe. I intended, when I left Calvados, to have ſacrificed him on the ſummit of the Mountain, but he no longer attended the convention.

I wiſh I had kept your letter, it would have proved that I had no accomplices; but time will elucidate that point.

We are ſuch good republicans at Paris, that it is not conceived how an uſeleſs woman, who, if ſhe lived her longeſt poſſible term, would do no good, could, in cold blood, ſacrifice herſelf to ſave her country. I expected to have been inſtantly put to death, but ſome men, truly courageous, and ſuperior to all commendation, preſerved me from the excuſable rage of thoſe whom I had rendered unhappy. As I really retained my preſence of mind, I felt hurt at the exclamations of ſome women, but thoſe who ſave their country think nothing of the price it coſts them. May peace be eſtabliſhed as ſoon as I wiſh it! This, however, is a grand preliminary, without which it would never have been obtained. For theſe two days I have enjoyed a delicious ſtate of peace. The happineſs of my country conſtitutes mine; there is no act of ſelf-devotion which does not over-pay in pleaſure, the pain of reſolving to adopt it

I have no doubt that my father will be tormented on my account: the loſs of me will be a ſufficient affliction. If my letters are found in his poſſeſſion, the greater part of them are portraits of you; if they contain any pleaſantries reflecting on you, I beg you to forgive me, and impute them to my levity. In my laſt letter I led my father to believe that, apprehenſive of the horrors of a civil war, I intended retiring to England. My project then was to remain *incognita*, to kill Marat publicly, and, by an immediate death, leave the people of Paris to an unavailing inquiry after my name.

I beg, citizen, that you and your colleagues will take care to defend my relations and friends, if they are moleſted; I ſay nothing of my dear friends the ariſtocrats, the remembrance of whom I preſerve in my heart; I never hated but one ſingle being, and I have demonſtrated how violent that hatred was; but there are thouſands whom I love with ſtill more warmth than I hated him. A lively imagination and a feeling heart promiſe but a ſtormy life; I beg thoſe who may regret my fate to think of this, and they will rejoice at ſeeing me enjoy repoſe in the Elyſian fields with Brutus and a few of the ancients.

As

As for the moderns, there are few real patriots, who know how to die for their country; they are almoſt all ſelfiſh. What a diſmal people to form a republic!

It is neceſſary, in the firſt place, to eſtabliſh peace, and a government will afterwards come as it can: at leaſt, if my advice may be taken, the Mountain would not be permitted to reign.

I am exceedingly well accommodated in my priſon; the jailors are the beſt kind of people in the world; to keep away *ennui* they have placed military men in my room. I like that very well by day, and very ill by night. I have complained of the indecency, but no one has thought fit to pay any attention to my remonſtrance: I believe this muſt be an invention of Chabot; none but a Capuchin could have ſuch ideas.

I paſs my time in writing ſongs; I give the laſt ſtanza of one written by Validi to all who will accept of it; I aſſure all the Pariſians that we only take up arms againſt anarchy, which is the exact truth.

* * * * * * * * *

[At the time of writing this part of her letter, Charlotte Corday had undergone her firſt examination; when ſhe had proceeded thus far, ſhe was interrogated a ſecond time, and committed to the Conciergerie, from which priſon ſhe continued her epiſtle to Barbaroux in theſe words:]

Here am I, committed to the Conciergerie, and the gentlemen of the jury having promiſed to ſend you my letter, I proceed.

I have undergone a long interrogatory, which, if it is publiſhed, I beg you will obtain. I had in my poſſeſſion, when arreſted, an addreſs to the friends of peace; I cannot ſend it to you, and it would be in vain for me to demand that it ſhould be publiſhed. I had thought yeſterday of making a preſent of my portrait to the department of Calvados; but the committee of public ſafety, of whom I demanded it, returned no anſwer, and it is now too late.

I deſire, citizen, that you will communicate this letter to citizen Bougon, *procureur-general ſyndic* of the department. I do not write to him for ſeveral reaſons; I am not certain, in the firſt place, that he is now at Evreux. I fear, moreover, that being naturally compaſſionate, he

will be affected at my death, yet I believe him good citizen enough to conſole himſelf in the hope of peace; I know how ſincerely he deſires it, and hope that in facilitating its return I have fulfilled his wiſhes. If any of my friends deſire to ſee this letter, I hope you will not refuſe them.

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I muſt have a defender, for it is a rule; I have choſen one from the Mountain, Guſtavus Doulcet; I ſuppoſe he will refuſe me the honour, it would, however, coſt him but little trouble. I thought of aſking Robeſpierre or Chabot. I ſhall require leave to diſpoſe of the remainder of my money, which, if I obtain, I will devote it to the wives and children of the brave inhabitants of Caen who have marched to the deliverance of Paris.

It is aſtoniſhing, that the people ſuffered me to be conducted from the Abbaye to the Conciergerie, it is another proof of their moderation; mention the circumſtance to the good inhabitants of Caen. They indulge themſelves with occaſional inſurrections, and are not ſo eaſily reſtrained.

My trial comes on to-morrow at eight; probably at noon, according to the Roman phraſe *I ſhall have lived.* I cannot ſay how I ſhall encounter my laſt moments: I have no need to affect inſenſibility, for I never yet knew the fear of death, I never loved life but in proportion to its poſſible utility.

I hope Duperret and Fauchet will be ſet at liberty to-morrow; they aſſert that Fauchet conducted me to the convention, and placed me in the gallery. What buſineſs could he have to take women there? As a deputy he ought not to have been in the galleries, and as a biſhop, he ought not to have been with a woman; thus there is ſomewhat of a charge againſt him, but Duperret is totally exempt.

Marat will not be placed in the Pantheon, yet he was highly deſerving of it. I beg you will collect the proper documents to make his funeral eulogy.

I hope you will not loſe ſight of madame Forbin's intereſt; this is her addreſs in caſe you ſhould wiſh to write —To Alexandrine Forbin, Mandreſie, near Zurich, Switzerland. I beg you will inform her that I love her with all my heart. I am going to write a line to papa; I ſay nothing to the reſt of my friends, I aſk nothing of them but a ſpeedy forgetfulneſs; grief would diſgrace my memory.

memory. Tell general Wimpfen that I think I have helped him to gain more than one battle by facilitating peace.

Adieu, citizen. I recommend myself to the memory of all true friends of peace.

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The priſoners in the Conciergerie, far from inſulting me like the people in the ſtreets, looked as if they pitied me: misfortune ever renders men compaſſionate; this is my laſt reflection.

M. C. CORDAY.

Tueſday the 16th, at 8 o'clock at night.

No. VI.

FORM *of Admiſſion in a* LODGE *of* FREE-MASONS *in Palermo.*

ALL' Oriente di Palermo luogo Illuminato ove regna il Silenzio & la pace & l'unione & l'amicizia l'anno del lume 5766, & li 17 del ſeſto meſe
A' tutti le R. R. LL. ſparſe ſu la ſuperficie della terra.

(S. S. S.)

Noj. V. M. della R. L. di S. Gio: di Scozia di Palermo, figlia della R. L. di S. Gio: di Scozia di Marſiglia aſſiſtito da tutti li noſtri fili regolarmente aſſociati pelli numeri miſterioſi & ſacri certifichiamo, ed atteſtiamo che il carifº fiłoᵉ. A. B. è ſtato per noi ricevuto al grado d'apprendente di cui egli ha ſofferto li prove neceſſarie, in teſtimonio di che la R. L. li ha accordato il preſente certifichato fatto pma controſignare per lui ſteſſo pregando & ricercando le R. R. L. L. regolari ove egli ſi preſentera d'ammetterlo in queſta qualita nel loro Oriente offerendo loro in ſimile caſo l'iteſſo. Dato all Oriente di Palᵒ in Loggia & col ſigello generale.

C. D.
E. F.
G. H.

L. S.
A. B.

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No. VII.

Tranſlation of the Introduction, and a general Account of MIRABEAU's ESSAY *on the Sect of* ILLUMINATI.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I wrote this book, I did not flatter myſelf with the hope of obtaining belief, and, conſequently, did not flatter myſelf that I ſhould impart conviction. The man who diſcloſes facts ſo extraordinary muſt be reſigned, and expect to paſs for a mere declaimer. When that character is once given of an author, no perſon troubles himſelf to examine his work. But if the importance of the ſubject alone has inflamed his imagination, if the knowledge of iniquity has ſoured his judgment, if the noble deſire of ſaving his fellow-creatures has armed him with thoſe ſublime powers of eloquence which overwhelm error with the force of thunder, if he has only ſtepped beyond the line of his character from a conviction of imminent danger, the impartial reader ought at leaſt to obey that ſalutary impulſe of fear which diſturbs a treacherous ſecurity, and judge for himſelf, whether the evils pointed out are merely chimerical, or whether prudence demands that they ſhould be attended to.

The ſimple are alarmed, the lukewarm doubt, the guilty deny, the wiſe reflect; theſe then I invoke on the preſent occaſion, theſe are the men whoſe zeal I wiſh to ſtimulate.

This myſtical machination would be ſufficiently deteſted; but its exiſtence is not believed. To obtain general belief, it would be neceſſary to ſpecify facts, to afford means of proof, to name agents, accuſe impoſtors, produce witneſſes, publiſh writings, commence a regular ſuit, and follow it to conviction. All this might be done; but the *Coriphées* of the ſect ſtifle every voice which raiſes itſelf in thoſe countries where the ſovereign is the pontiff of this new church.

I know

I know not by what magic it happens that princes, who in general are divided between the love of pleaſure and the deſire of a brilliant reputation, have been the firſt to accede to a confederacy by which they muſt infallibly be loſers. In Europe there are no leſs than thirty, reigning and not reigning, ſo imbued with theſe abſurdities, that they are inacceſſible to reaſon however recommended by moderation. If an attempt is made to compromiſe differences of opinion, and the reaſoner proceeds by moſt obvious modes of argumentation, they ſoon miſtruſt, and finally avoid him. Some of them, who would be the outcaſts of mankind but for the reſpect attached to the names they bear, turn preachers, and diffuſe the dogmas of the *illuminati*, in an inſipid jargon. Others conſtitute themſelves fanatical protectors of a religion they do not underſtand, and open their dominions (which they call ſtates) to all the adventurers employed by the ſect for the furtherance of their views. The greater part of them court with a fanatical eagerneſs every one who wears the livery of Swedenburg or Schrœpffer.

The court of France is unacquainted with the elements of this theoſophy. The rapidity of thoſe motions by which their minds are agitated does not afford leiſure for any religious ſyſtem to unfold itſelf. The literary bodies deride it; the middle claſs, fully employed, and (fortunately) little informed, are as yet inacceſſible to this kind of ſeduction: but there exiſts a number of little anti-philoſophical parties, compoſed of learned ladies, theological *abbés*, and a few pretended wiſe men. Each of theſe parties has its creed, its prodigies, its *hierophantes*, its miſſionaries, its adepts, its detractors. Thus Paris, the centre of all deception, as well as of all knowledge, affords a ſpecimen of every claſs of viſionaries. Every one affects to explain the Bible in favour of his own ſyſtem, to found his own religion, to fill his temple, and increaſe his cathecumens. Here Jeſus Chriſt acts a conſpicuous part; there 'tis the Devil; in another place it is Nature; a little farther it is Faith. They all agree that reaſon is a nullity, knowledge uſeleſs, and experience chimerical. Barbarin ſomnambulizes, Caglioſtro performs cures, Lavater adminiſters conſolation, Saint Martin affords inſtruction, d'E**** †,—*res ſacra miſer*. All of them uſe deceit to

† He was, at the time this was written, ſuffering the horrors of exile in the iſles of Saint Marguerite.

acquire

acquire a profitable reputation; and, if we except Lavater, who, by means of a medley of genius and ſimplicity, makes his dupes with the utmoſt ſincerity, their viſions are to the others a ſpring, the movements of which they regulate with the greateſt addreſs.

In Germany, the courts give an impulſe to the public mind. The people are characteriſed by ſolidity rather than by refinement, and are therefore convinced by untruths put into the form of ſyllogiſms. When their ſimplicity has once received a bias towards their idol, called philanthropy, there are few paradoxes which they are not ready to adopt. The petty princes who are infected with the mania of being praiſed, and whoſe names would eaſily be forgotten amidſt the important diſcuſſions by which Europe is continually agitated, ſuffer themſelves to be gained by the ſweet incenſe with which the prieſts of the *illuminati*, men prodigal of eulogium even to ſatiety, are ever ready to regale them in books which every body begins, but nobody peruſes. The ladies alſo encourage this myſtic illuſion, in the hope of recalling the happy days of their original innocency; the courtiers embrace the intereſts of the new ſect, becauſe, between the protectors and the adepts, there is a conſtant commerce kept up in penſions, preſents, and titles, which are given in exchange for initiations, revelation of myſteries, and conſolatory predictions; this accounts for their great fidelity to theſe remuneratory dogmas.

In Poland and Ruſſia they gain many proſelytes; eſpecially in Ruſſia, where the eſtabliſhed religion affords countenance to myſtic ſyſtems, and to every thing tending to excite enthuſiaſm. There many great perſonages become apoſtles, and though the empreſs rejects every thing which can enfeeble the human mind, there are theoſophers under her very eye, who evade detection, or brave ſcrutiny. May her ſucceſſor inherit her philoſophy! May her vaſt dominions never experience any other ſlavery than that to which they were doomed by their original maſters!

Will it be believed that England, *the country where men think*, is not totally free from this degrading ſuperſtition? There is not a complete ſyſtem as in Germany, but there are certain confraternities, where the adepts dogmatiſe, and keep up the zeal of the initiated by the charm of ſecrets. Their progreſs, however, is not ſo rapid as in other

other countries, becauſe the Engliſh travel a great deal; and though the greater part of them travel to very little purpoſe, yet they learn to appreciate the maſs of mankind, and at leaſt acquire this knowledge, that, in all countries, the vileſt and moſt contemptible of the ſpecies are thoſe who make a trade of deceiving and degrading their fellow creatures.

We were long undecided on the ſubject of publiſhing this work. We ſhall be told that it is ſounding an alarm, and giving conſiſtency to a ſect juſt ſtruggling into life, and which is compoſed of a hundred times more dupes than impoſtors. None of the great bodies, the depoſitaries of knowledge, have as yet embraced theſe new dogmas; and if the ſect were diſtinguiſhed but by one juſt man, yet for his ſake favour ought to be ſhewn to ſo great a number of individuals, whoſe only crime is that of not being endowed by nature with a fortunate and uncommon perſpicacity, which forms an effectual barrier againſt deceit.

Far from us be ſuch a principle! It is puſillanimity, under the maſk of commiſeration. What! muſt we be ſilent for fear of being exclaimed at for calumny, libelling, and malignity?—Calumny!—But there are men whom it is not poſſible to calumniate. The atrocity of their projects forms a mephitic abyſs into which vulgar mortals are unable to penetrate, and which would have remained ſtill undiſcovered, but for its treacherous exhalations, which, unhappily for mankind, ſpread themſelves far and wide. —A libel!—Yes, undoubtedly, thoſe parts of the work wherein they are mentioned may be ſo denominated, for they will be occupied in the detection of vice, the diſplay of guilt, and the expoſure of hypocriſy.—Malignity!— Who is moſt obvious to the charge?—He who coolly beholds the deſtruction of his fellow-citizens, or he who places centinels in the path which leads to the precipice? No delicacy, conſideration, or politeneſs, can be claimed by an iron-hearted race, who with the dagger in their hands are marking out their victims.

Follow, follow this baſe principle, you whoſe trade it is to offer adulation to kings, to excuſe their failings, to extol the ſlighteſt indications of beneficence, and to immortalize a few equivocal virtues. Purchaſe, at this price, I will not even ſay diſtinctions, vain as they are, but a ſmall quantity of gold, a preſent worthy of your ſordid ſouls,

and

and do not come to us with declarations of your love of truth, of your philanthropy, and your attachment to virtue; take back your inſulting eſteem for theſe daughters of heaven, and reſerve it for the divinities of your ſect.

When they are addreſſed in this ſtyle, they cannot reply, much leſs confute. Then they commence perſecutors, and ſubſtitute a tyrannical uſe of the authority lodged in their hands, for the force of reaſon, which would but feebly aſſiſt them. To eſcape the ſtigma attached to perſecutors, they divert the ſtream of favour, nay of juſtice; for the employment of modeſt men of ability is no more than the diſcharge of a debt. They divert, I ſay, the ſtream of favour from their adverſaries, and ſuffer them to vegetate in that diſgraceful obſcurity which amounts to a perſecution, and which is perhaps the only perſecution capable of putting genius to the torture. Stung with contempt, ſhe goes in ſearch of climes leſs unjuſt; or if ſhe remains inflexibly attached to her penates, ſhe ſtays to maintain the combat, and diſplay the ſtandard of reaſon. Then parties are formed, quarrels ariſe, plans of defence are combined, diſcontent becomes general, ambitious neighbours take advantages, viſionary commanders are placed at the head of a neglected army, more intereſted about the money with which they are to be paid, than the defence of a country from which they are completely alienated. The higheſt poſts are occupied by men without vigour, without genius, or by ſome men of ability, but who have been ſtudiouſly ſubdued, and ſubjected to the inſignificant junto in favour. Freedom of thought is annihilated by an inquiſitorial watchfulneſs; the enſlaved preſs keeps back every kind of truth, or perſecutes religion, now a fugitive, and compelled to yield her pulpits and her altars to fantaſtic divinities; the lyceums are converted into extenſive ſolitudes, for, where all the branches of ſcience are ſubjected to *illuminati*, the boxes, and not the univerſities, ought to be frequented.

However charming it may be to avenge the cauſe of integrity, it was not the contemptible pleaſure of railing which induced us to take up the pen. The hope, faint as it is, yes, the hope of reſcuing a few virtuous men from the faſcinations of the *illuminati*, has animated me in this attempt. For ſome years I have preſented myſelf in the Arena under various ſhapes. Sometimes enveloped in the veil of fiction, ſometimes in the reſtricted line of academical diſputation,

disputation, but more frequently in discussions of greater profundity, I have disclosed extraordinary secrets. I now come to place the subject in a most important point of view, and to present a train of ideas, which by degrees will lead to conviction.

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Seeking the source of the evil in the fatal predilection of all mankind for the marvellous, a rapid view of the ages of our æra will demonstrate that all ages have reason to blush for incredible errors by which mankind has been continually harassed, errors which have been exposed, but never eradicated.

Men receive these errors with joy, and seem in yielding to them to shield themselves from the austere lessons of truth. Some privileged countries naturalize them, and give themselves up to their deceitful influence; all nations respect, at least, if they do not embrace them.

With what warmth has all Europe defended the Jesuits, a sect which has supplied so many resources to the theosophic system. They were formed under the diadem and under the tiara, under the helmet and under the mitre, under the president's cap and under the doctor's. The same fanaticism which preserved them has revived, within these thirty years, the languishing order of free-masons, who find no difficulty in keeping a secret, which nobody is anxious to discover.

A philosophical inquiry into the system of free-masonry has led to a still more elaborate investigation of the mysteries of the illuminati. Was it not indispensably necessary to distinguish vulgar and precipitate notions, from the judgment which ought really to prevail, respecting an inscrutable association, the mysteries of which are carefully hid from profane inspection.

It was necessary to traverse those famous circles, the true secret of the order, the grand instrument of their frauds, those laboratories of iniquity, where chains are forged for kings, and poisons distilled for mankind, and then to disclose the dreadful probations which precede those oaths, of which the wretches themselves possess no written forms, and which they would not dare to adopt for the consolidation of their plots, oaths which realize the sanguinary fable of Atreus, and would cover the whole face of the earth with a nation of assassins.

Granting these alarms to be exaggerated, yet certainly it ought to be believed that the sect of *illuminati* will necessarily

ceſſarily deſtroy every kingdom in which they find protection, and will not even reſpect the inſtitutions of ſociety. This double truth is as clearly proved as one immediately conſequent to it, namely, that kings themſelves have the greateſt intereſt in hewing down this poiſonous tree, the roots of which deſcend even to hell, while the branches caſt a gloom over their thrones.

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After the woful ſpectacle on which our eyes had dwelt too long, we ſought for a pleaſant illuſion in the means of effacing thoſe fatal impreſſions, and adverted to the notions entertained of them in ages anterior to our own. This idea alone, developed by a more able pen, would leave the mind in a ſtate of profound reflection very unfavourable to the ſectaries, a ſtate which muſt be ſtrengthened by a faithful delineation of their founder, and an impartial review of the condition of thoſe nations who have protected theſe modern errors.

The laſt diviſion of the work concludes with an offer of ſome means adapted to diminiſh their credit. We have thrown together, at the end, hiſtorical annotations. There are, amongſt them, ſome pieces tranſlated from the German, and entirely unknown in France and Italy. The greater part of the remainder is original. We might have made them more numerous, but have ſaid enough for thoſe wno really wiſh to be inſtructed.

We will not affect to conceal that moſt of our ideas are directed againſt Germany, and that we have drawn moſt of our portraits from the life. But does not even that prove the neceſſity of this book? If there do exiſt ſuch men as we have pourtrayed, we are threatened with an imminent peril. If we have only diſplayed imaginary beings, theſe ſheets will ſoon float on the tide of oblivion, and will fail to excite even that momentary curioſity which is very far from ſucceſs.

But the ſame act of ſincerity which puts the public in poſſeſſion of our intentions, will alſo guarantee the purity of our judgment with a great number of perſons of the firſt ability, conſtantly animated, like ourſelves, with a ſacred horror againſt viſionaries.

Yes, Germany, in almoſt every claſs, preſents to us men with honeſt hearts, who ſigh over the projects of theſe myſtical innovators. They feel aſtoniſhed that a people, whoſe national character is frankneſs, can be ſo altered as to give themſelves up to a ſet of pretended apoſtles

apoſtles, whoſe principal reſource is impoſture. They lament that a nation, whoſe favourite idol is reaſon, ſhould ſubmit to a few madmen, whoſe profeſſion is abſurdity, whoſe doctrine is a chimera. They uſe the two reſources committed by Heaven to the hands of the wiſe, contempt and retirement. They encourage and animate thoſe who enter the liſts.

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They are ſenſible, like ourſelves, that the efficacious remedy would be, perhaps, one of thoſe mighty convulſions which are produced by the chain of events, and which it is not in the power of kings to prevent. Involved in one of thoſe ſanguinary diſputes which agitate all Europe, a nation does not invoke the aid of ſpeculiſts, judgment and experience then become the tutelary deities of the univerſe; precepts are regenerated, the aſcendancy of valour is exerciſed, every one appears at his proper ſtation, the uſurpers of celebrity are unmaſked, men of ſtrong minds govern the country, and men whom fate had deſtined "*to the limited honours of one ſingle legion*," fly and diſappear before them, to grow old in the ſubaltern labours of ſome obſcure chanceries. What a deſtiny! by what incredible fatality are we reduced to beg of heaven as a boon, that which is the laſt effect of its wrath? To what an exceſs do our woes amount, when our only hope is in one of the moſt dreadful ſcourges? Yet nothing is more true. The evil would be tranſitory, and might, perhaps, rid the world of a cruel error which will laſt for ſeveral ages.

As to France, we may hope that in the verſatility of principle, which ſeldom permits any object to take a deep root, her theatres, her ballads, and her faſhions, will come to her aid. Occupied as ſhe is with various fermentations, theoſophy will hardly become a complete religion. It is in itſelf too heavy, too inſignificant to act on a people who ſtill preſerve ſome remains of gaiety, and who have reſiſted the dull diſputes of Janſeniſm, the diſcuſſions of their parliaments, the tedious invectives of the economiſts, and the mania of thinking, all gifts of the modern philoſophy. Beſides, that philoſophy does not afford ſo unſteady a light as ſome of her detractors would wiſh. A month ſeldom elapſes in which there is not a ſucceſsful re-production of eternal truths. It would not be difficult to demonſtrate that philoſophy has only loſt her enthuſiaſm, her ſarcaſtic bitterneſs, and her deſpotic ſtyle,

while ſhe has ſtrengthened her proofs, and increaſed her perſpicuity.

It remains to be examined how far it is proper to be explicit with reſpect to great men, and thoſe to whom they intruſt the cares of adminiſtration. They are, almoſt every where, like the ark of the Lord. Whoever touches them, is ſtruck in the moment of his preſumption. It ſeems to me, however, that a prudent warning is a duty rather than an intruſion, an homage rather than an inſult. The offer of truth to any man, implies a ſuppoſition that he is a friend of truth; not to dare to point out error, is to act as if he were an accomplice in it. So far from its being a crime to write with a courageous freedom, it would be criminal to palſy energetic pens. They weaken the vapours of that incenſe which intoxicates men in power and eſteem; they ſnatch the one from torpor, the other from thoughtleſſneſs; they plead the cauſe of the people, of virtue, of wiſdom—three ſtrangers at court, and who are treated there as impertinent intruders. If revenge dips theſe pens in the gall of ſatire, if they are degraded by being employed in the cauſe of ſelfiſhneſs, they then become unavailing arms, but ſeldom dangerous; for abuſe reflects diſhonour only on thoſe who have recourſe to it.

Ah! why are there no means of eradicating from mankind the mania of flattery! A prince ſends ten thouſand men to be butchered, he is praiſed; he overwhelms his ſubjects with ill-contrived taxes, the day of his acceſſion to the throne is hailed as a feſtival; he makes an uſeleſs and expenſive voyage, at his return he paſſes under triumphal arches; liſtleſſneſs ſends him on a periodical tour through his provinces, crowds aſſemble to laviſh on him acclamations to which he has no claim. The idol, accuſtomed to this perfidious concert of praiſe, is irritated at the voice of the ſage who tenders wholeſome inſtruction, and only appeaſed by the flattering ſounds which efface the ſombre traces left on his mind by auſtere truth.

O ſacred truth! In ſpite of this ungracious reception, do not abandon the throne of kings! Protect them, in ſpite of their irritability, againſt the illuſions with which they are ſurrounded. Reſtore to us the courage which diſarms perſecution, impreſs on our writings thy celeſtial ſtamp, and compel man to acknowledge thine empire.

All

All others disappear under the scythe of time, thine alone receives additional vigour from his trembling hand.

CHAP. I.

On the Predilection of Mankind for the Wonderful.

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In this chapter the author, taking a review of the new sects which every age has produced since the first establishment of Christianity, refers the propensity of mankind to adopt the visions of the illuminati to the same disposition which induced them to give credit to religious schismatics and impostors.

CHAP. II.

On the moral Dispositions of the European Nations.

Mirabeau makes a rapid and incorrect estimate of the progress of learning and liberty in different countries, and attributes the success of the illuminati to the want of freedom in various governments, and concludes that Germany will be the theatre of theosophism, whence it will spread to the north, and make some progress in France.

CHAP. III.

On Jesuitism, as the first Source of the Theosophic System.

In treating of the Jesuits, Mirabeau rescues them from many imputed crimes and immoralities, but he charges them with the most extensive views of ambition, and describes them as the basis on which the illuminati have founded themselves.

CHAP. IV.

On Free-masonry, considering it as the most useful Establishment to the Illuminati.

This institution is treated with respect on account of its fundamental principles, equality and charity; but he adds, "Whatever may be the operations of the free-"masons, they give rise to an association, the association "produces meetings, these meetings are filled with elo-"quent orators, the progress from religious eloquence "to fanaticism is but short, and the discourses of these "orators excite the desire of attempting it. Instructions

" are imparted on the attainment of new degrees, degrees " are the reward of zeal, zeal leads to the formation of " engagements, engagements to oaths, oaths to every " thing."

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CHAP. V.

Account of the Sect of Illuminati.

They are deſcribed as conſpirators " in favour of " deſpotiſm againſt liberty, of incapacity againſt genius, " of vice againſt virtue, of ignorance againſt knowledge. " Formed in the receſſes of impenetrable darkneſs, this " ſociety conſtitutes a new race of beings: they are ac- " quainted without ſeeing each other, underſtand without " the aid of expreſſion, and aſſiſt each other without " friendſhip. The aim of this ſociety is to govern the " world, to appropriate to itſelf the authority of ſove- " reigns, to uſurp their place, leaving them only the " barren honour of wearing the crown. From the Jeſuits " they have adopted the principles of blind obedience, " and the regicide ſyſtem of the ſeventeeth century; from " free-maſonry, probations, and exterior ceremonies; from " the templars, ſubterranean incantations, and an incredible " boldneſs. They make uſe of phyſical diſcoveries to " impoſe on the unlettered multitude; the faſhionable " fables to awaken curioſity, and encourage proſelytiſm; " and the opinions of antiquity to familiarize mankind " with the commerce of intermediate ſpirits. Every kind " of error which afflicted mankind, every experiment, " every invention, is rendered ſubſervient to the views of " the illuminati."

Speaking of their artifices to gain eſteem and prevent ſuſpicion, he ſays, " The illuminati have alſo the ad- " dreſs to load with honours, ſimple maſons of acknow- " ledged probity. The vulgar (and by this word I do " not mean the mere mob, but men of every claſs who " reflect but little), the vulgar I ſay, confound objects, " and guarantee the integrity of Orontes and Cleon. " Well! there is no doubt that Orontes and Cleon are " men of honour, zealous citizens, and warm friends; " but they themſelves are dupes to their leaders, and thus " become the firſt ſprings of a machine, the uſes of " which they do not underſtand, and people more artful " than themſelves exhibit to the world, the integrity of

" Orontes

" Orontes and Cleon, as an assurance of the purity of " their mysteries, and thus give an effectual contradic- " tion to any one who entertains a doubt of the inno- " cency of their occult sittings."

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Circles.

The circles are described as the administrative committees of the sect, scattered in different provinces, and composed of nine persons each. Their mysterious operations and local connection are described with affected minuteness, and a mixture of truth and falsehood.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Probation which must be undergone to constitute one of the Illuminati Member of a Circle.

This chapter, written with great affected exactness, and no inconsiderable share of invention, displays a series of probations at once disgusting, impious, and obscene, and gives the form of an abjuration, which releases the party who makes it from all previous ties, however sacred and binding, and delivers him over entirely to the illuminati. The account is curious, and even, if totally untrue, becomes interesting by the surprise and horror which it excites.

CHAP. VIII.

That the Sect of Illaminati must necessarily destroy any Kingdom where they are encouraged.

This is proved by a variety of positions and inductions, and by a review of the different professions and public bodies which affect government.

CHAP. IX.

That Kings are peculiarly interested to destroy the new Sect.

In this chapter a distinction is made between the dignity of the crown, and the general interests of the kingdom, and the topic is inforced by a variety of arguments and instances.

CHAP. X.

That the Sect of Illuminati would, if it were poſſible, deſtroy Society itſelf.

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CHAP. XI.

On the Means of deſtroying the Sect of Illuminati.

This Mirabeau propoſes to effect by means of a combination of men of letters who ſhall expoſe their principles, ſecrets, and exertions to the abhorrence of ſociety.

CHAP. XII.

The degree of Eſtimation beſtowed on the Illuminati in former, and in the preſent Times.

After relating the principles and fates of ſeveral ancient impoſtors, Mirabeau deſcribes the hatred and jealouſy which prevail among the viſionaries and magnetiſts of theſe times, and the contempt with which Swedenborg and Lavater treat all ſectaries but their own.

CHAP. XIII.

The Degree of Eſtimation in which the Founders of the Modern Sect are held.

In this chapter, the author derides and ridicules ſeveral noted viſionaries and founders of ſects, as Saint Germain, le Grand, Schrœpfer, together with their adherents.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the State of thoſe Countries which are conſidered as protecting the Sect.

This chapter contains a ſevere ſatire againſt many modern governments and ſocial inſtitutions.

CHAP. XV.

Different Methods of diminiſhing the Eſtimation of the Sect.

The ſubject begun in the eleventh chapter is here reſumed and extended. The means propoſed are, 1ſt, The productions of men of letters. 2d, To inſpire a taſte

taſte for literature. 3d, A new ſyſtem of education. 4th, A reform in the order of free-maſons. 5th, Ridicule, and principally dramatic ſatire. The treachery of theſe ſuggeſtions is remarkable, as every one of the means adverted to, except the fourth, which is a mere abſurdity, has been uſed or referred to by the members or favourers of the ſect. They have had a ready and determined band of literary aſſiſtants prepared to aid their cauſe by every poſſible effort. They have eſtabliſhed book-ſocieties and reading-rooms for the mere purpoſe of extending their pernicious ſyſtems. They have been conſtant advocates for and projectors of new ſyſtems of education. And the drama in Germany and France has been almoſt entirely devoted to the celebration of their heroes, to the enforcement of their dogmas both moral and political, and to the ridicule both of perſons and eſtabliſhments which they were deſirous to deſtroy.

The notes, which are twenty-one in number, are many of them extracted from ſcarce publications, and are in general curious and intereſting.

No. VIII.

Letter from THOMAS PAIN *to Sir* ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, *then Attorney-General; read at Guildhall on Pain's Trial; the Hand-writing being proved by* THOMAS CHAPMAN, *Printer, and* JOHN PURDUE *Eſq. of the Exciſe Office. Extracted from* GURNEY's *Edition of his Trial, p.* 92.

PARIS, 11th of Nov.
1ſt Year of the Republic.

SIR,

As there can be no perſonal reſentment between two ſtrangers, I write this letter to you, as to a man againſt whom I have no animoſity.

You have, as attorney-general, commenced a proſecution againſt me, as the author of the Rights of Man.

Had not my duty, in consequence of my being elected a member of the national convention of France, called me from England, I should have stayed to have contested the injustice of that prosecution; not upon my own account, for I cared not about the prosecution, but to have defended the principles I had advanced in the work.

The duty I am now engaged in is of too much importance to permit me to trouble myself about your prosecution: when I have leisure, I shall have no objection to meet you on that ground; but as I now stand, whether you go on with the prosecution, or whether you do not, or whether you obtain a verdict, or not, is a matter of the most perfect indifference to me as an individual. If you obtain one (which you are welcome to if you can get it), it cannot affect me either in person, property, or reputation, otherwise than to increase the latter; and with respect to yourself, it is as consistent that you obtain a verdict against the man in the moon as against me; neither do I see how you can continue the prosecution against me as you would have done against one of *your own people* who had absented himself because he was prosecuted: what passed at Dover proves that my departure from England was no secret.

My necessary absence from your country now, in consequence of my duty here, affords the opportunity of knowing whether the prosecution was intended against Thomas Paine, or against the rights of the people of England to investigate systems and principles of government; for as I cannot now be the object of the prosecution, the going on with the prosecution will shew that something else was the object, and that something else can be no other than the people of England, for it is against *their rights* and not against me, that a verdict or sentence can operate, if it can operate at all. Be then so candid as to tell the jury (if you choose to continue the process) whom it is you are prosecuting, and on whom it is that the verdict is to fall.

But I have other reasons than those I have mentioned for writing you this letter, and, however you may choose to interpret them, they proceed from a good heart. The time, Sir, is becoming too serious to play with court prosecutions, and sport with national rights. The terrible examples that have taken place here, upon men who less than a year ago thought themselves as secure as any pro-

ſecuting judge, jury, or attorney-general, can now do in England, ought to have ſome weight with men in your ſituation. That the government of England is as great, if not the greateſt, perfection of fraud and corruption that ever took place ſince governments began, is what you cannot be a ſtranger to, unleſs the conſtant habit of ſeeing it has blinded your ſenſes; but though you may not chooſe to ſee it, the people are ſeeing it very faſt, and the progreſs is beyond what you may chooſe to believe. Is it poſſible that you or I can believe, or that reaſon can make any other man believe, that the capacity of ſuch a man as Mr. Guelph, or any of his profligate ſons, is neceſſary to the government of a nation. I ſpeak to you as one man ought to ſpeak to another; and I know alſo, that I ſpeak what other people are beginning to think.

That you cannot obtain a verdict (and if you do it will ſignify nothing) without packing a jury, (and we both know that ſuch tricks are practiſed,) is what I have very good reaſon to believe. I have gone into coffee-houſes, and places where I was unknown, on purpoſe to learn the currency of opinion, and I never yet ſaw any company of twelve men that condemned the book, but I have often found a greater number than twelve approving it, and this is I think a fair way of collecting the natural currency of opinion. Do not then, Sir, be the inſtrument of drawing twelve men into a ſituation that may be injurious to them afterwards. I do not ſpeak this from policy, but from benevolence; but if you chooſe to go on with the proceſs, I make it my requeſt to you that you will read this letter in court, after which the judge and the jury may do as they pleaſe. As I do not conſider myſelf the object of the proſecution, neither can I be affected by the iſſue, one way or the other, I ſhall, though a foreigner in your country, ſubſcribe as much money as any other man towards ſupporting the right of the nation againſt the proſecution; and it is for this purpoſe only that I ſhall do it.

THOMAS PAINE.

To ARCHIBALD MACDONALD,
Attorney-General.

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No. IX.

Abſtract of PETION's *Speech, intended to have been delivered in Reply to* ROBESPIERRE's *Anſwer to* LOUVET's *Accuſation; and* PETION's *Letter to the Jacobin Club.* Extracted from the Mercure François, No. du 17 Novembre 1792.

THE inferences drawn from Petion's publication are theſe:

1. That the men who have aſſumed to themſelves the glory of the 10th of Auguſt, are thoſe to whom it leaſt belongs; that it is due to thoſe who prepared the event, to the imperious nature of things, to the brave federates, and their ſecret directors.

2. That the *commune*, inſtead of putting an end to the revolutionary effort when its object was attained, thought it more dignified to enter into a ſtate of rivalſhip with the legiſlative aſſembly; whoſe decrees they obeyed or reſiſted, juſt as they found them favourable or contradictory to their views.

3. That from that epoch, Petion retained only a ſhadow of power, and that he was unwilling that his name ſhould be annexed to a multitude of irregular acts.

4. That Robeſpierre aſſumed the greateſt aſcendancy in the council; that ſubſequently to the decree for opening the barriers, he ſaw nothing but precipices and conſpiracies, and was continually denouncing ſuppoſed conſpirators; that he inflamed the people by the moſt animated declamations; that the ſections were influenced by theſe impreſſions, communicated them to others.

5. That the committee of inſpection filled the priſons; that a man, whoſe very name is become odious, and inſpires terror in the minds of peaceable citizens, Marat, had aſſumed the direction of the police.

6. That the crimes of the 2d of September and the following days would not have taken place, or would have been ſtopped, if thoſe who had in their hands the direction of the armed force had beheld them with horror; that thoſe

thoſe who committed the maſſacres in the priſons were very few in number; that Petion was only informed of the event in a vague and indirect manner; that he immediately wrote to the commandant-general, from whom he received no anſwer; that he wrote again, and the commandant-general replied, that he had given orders, but they were not obeyed.

7. That the committee of inſpection of the *commune* had, in fact, iſſued a decree of arreſt againſt the miniſter, Roland, on the 4th of September, a period when the maſſacres were ſtill continued.

8. That the electoral aſſembly was influenced, commanded, by a ſmall number of men; and that the elections were regulated by liſts which were exactly followed.

9. That freſh maſſacres were announced for the 20th of September; that ſeveral repreſentatives of the people, the moſt ardent defenders of liberty, were pointed out as victims; that Petion had often ſeverely reproached Robeſpierre for the ſuſpicions he entertained of ſeveral deputies, and particularly Briſſot, and that Robeſpierre had aſſured him that Briſſot was ſold to Brunſwick.

Finally, That he did not believe that Robeſpierre had aſpired to the dictatorſhip, but that Marat had ſolicited it on his behalf. If ferocity were not the characteriſtic of folly, Petion added, there would be nothing ſo ridiculous as that being whom nature ſeems expreſsly to have marked with the ſeal of reprobation.

JEROME PETION's *Letter to the Jacobin Club.*

For ſome time paſt attacks, more or leſs direct, more or leſs violent, have been levelled at me in this ſociety. Till now, I never thought it neceſſary to anſwer, but it is time to ſtop this ſyſtem of intrigue and calumny. I do not love to ſpeak of myſelf; I never permitted myſelf in public to ſay a ſingle word of the ſervices I had rendered; at this day it becomes a duty, and I ſhall perform it, without affecting a falſe delicacy.

I loved and cultivated liberty before her birth in my country.

I gave myſelf up to the ſtudy of laws and governments, and, before the revolution, was the author of ſeveral works, which breathe the love of equality and liberty.

In

In the conſtituent aſſembly, I defended the rights of the people with courage and conſtancy.

At the period of the famous ſeceſſion, I ſaved this ſociety. I remember a period when it was compoſed only of three members of the national aſſembly, and twenty or thirty other citizens. Terror had diſperſed the reſt. It had driven away many who, at this day, act the moſt conſpicuous parts in the club. Of the three members of the aſſembly, one was little known. Robeſpierre, though he enjoyed a high reputation for patriotiſm, had not acquired that eſtimation which is derived from wiſdom and temperance in the conduct of public affairs. I have ſeen Robeſpierre trembling; Robeſpierre propoſing flight; Robeſpierre not daring to ſhew himſelf in the aſſembly.—Aſk him if I trembled.

I ſaved Robeſpierre himſelf from perſecution, by attaching myſelf to his lot, when he was deſerted by the reſt of the world.

I have more than once ſaved Paris, and ſpared the blood of the people.

I contributed, in no ſlight degree, to bring on the events of the 10th of Auguſt.

I have, ſince that period, found my influence conſiderably reduced; the public will judge whether that reduction has been beneficial or injurious to the welfare of this city, and the tranquillity of the inhabitants.

I ſtill retain hopes of ſerving my country.

I declare that I do not, nor ever will belong to any party.

I declare that I know not of a *Briſſotine faction*; that in ſpite of the general blindneſs and warmth on this ſubject, this faction is a mere chimera, and that there is no man ſo little qualified to be the head of a party as Briſſot.

I declare that the Jacobin club has rendered moſt important ſervices to the country, that it may ſtill continue to do ſo, and that I will defend the ſociety with all my ſtrength, but without prejudice; that I will adopt their opinions when I think them reaſonable, but will combat them when I think them erroneous.

When we contemplate ſome of thoſe men who affect an appearance of ſuch ardent patriotiſm; thoſe boaſters in the cauſe of liberty, who but lately were ſlaves, and who would to-morrow relapſe into the ſame condition under a king; thoſe men who have the preſumption to aſſert that no

no one elſe is capable of attaining their height: it is ſufficient to excite a diſguſt againſt patriotiſm, in every heart where that virtue is not deeply engraved.

As for myſelf, I am, at this day, what I have ever been. Immovable in my principles, I ſay that whatever may happen, I will die free.

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No. X.

ROBESPIERRE's *Letter to* JEROME PETION, *occaſioned by the preceding Publications.*

How great, my dear Petion, is the inſtability of human affairs, when you, heretofore my brother in arms, and at the ſame time the moſt gentle of mankind, on a ſudden declare yourſelf the moſt violent of my accuſers! Do not ſuppoſe from this exordium that it is my intention to ſpeak either of you or of myſelf. We are but two atoms, loſt in the immenſity of the moral and political world. I am not going to anſwer your inculpations; (I am accuſed of having already ſhewn too much condeſcenſion in that reſpect;) but your preſent political doctrines. It would now, perhaps, be rather too late to refute your ſpeech; but it is always time to defend truth and principles. Our quarrels are but topics of a day; principles are eternal.

It is on this condition only, my dear Petion, that I will take up the gauntlet you have thrown. You will even recognize, in my manner of combating, the friendſhip or the weakneſs I formerly felt for you. If in this diſpute, which is entirely philanthropic, you ſhould be expoſed to ſome ſlight blows, they will be aimed only at your vanity; and you have, beforehand, put me quite at eaſe on that head, by declaring that you have none. Beſides, the right of cenſure is reciprocal; it is the ſhield of liberty; and you are ſo ſincerely attached to principles, that you will, I am ſure, feel more pleaſure in being yourſelf the object of it, than you experienced in exerciſing it againſt me.

I will

I will not diſſemble that one of the moſt powerful of the motives which induce me to enter into the liſts againſt you is the deſire of ſeeing thoſe heroic actions which do honour to the French nation, and to the human race, and which you, undoubtedly from not knowing them, have miſrepreſented, faithfully tranſmitted to poſterity. I will remind you of circumſtances known to ſix hundred thouſand perſons; and I ſhall not be expoſed to ſuſpicion; for I was, almoſt as much as yourſelf, a ſtranger to the glorious events of our laſt revolution; we have only the ſatisfaction of knowing, that at that memorable period the country had many defenders, more uſeful than either of us.

In the firſt place, it ſeems to me that you do not ſpeak of the revolution which has broken our fetters with all the reſpect that it deſerves. Whence ariſes the acrimony with which you expreſs yourſelf reſpecting every tranſaction, and every individual at all connected with that event?

When you ſay that the event is principally to be aſcribed, to thoſe who prepared it, it is evident that you allude to thoſe who did not accompliſh it. And if it is to yourſelf that you mean principally to advert, you muſt ſhare that merit with all thoſe who have defended the cauſe of liberty. You are willing to yield a ſmall portion to the federates, to whom you never ceaſed to recommend inaction; whom you gave yourſelf no trouble to procure the means of remaining at Paris;—to their ſecret directors, of whom you never ſpoke but with uneaſineſs and miſtruſt, men whom you and your aſſociates now claſs in the rank of agitators. Do you know that member of the legiſlative aſſembly who on the 9th of Auguſt ſaid to one of his friends, "If the people "are timid, or heſitate, blow my brains out with a piſtol, "and let my bloody corpſe be dragged about Paris, that "revenge may lead the people to liberty! This is one of the men whom your friends inceſſantly calumniate.

But why do you not, with equal readineſs, do juſtice to the people of Paris?

Why do you not, at leaſt among thoſe who prepared the revolution, enumerate the ſections of Paris, ſo much ſlandered ſince that period by your aſſociates? Inſtead of aiding their pernicious deſigns, why do you not remind the departments, deceived by their impoſtures, that, for more than a month, they had declared themſelves permanent,

nent, that they had ſignaliſed their uſeful activity by immortal decrees, the infallible precurſors of the revolution? Why did you not ſay that it was they who ſolemnly diſcuſſed the ſacred neceſſity of inſurrection, who rallied all the ſoldiers of liberty, and who, in the night of the 9th of Auguſt, at length gave the ſignal of battle againſt a rebellious and conſpiring court? Do you not perceive that this politic and courageous proceeding was abſolutely neceſſary, to unite and direct the popular force againſt the anti-revolutionary army aſſembled by the tyrants in Paris?

This was not all; it was neceſſary to create a central authority, to ſubſtitute for thoſe who had loſt the confidence of the people. This authority could not be veſted in the department, notoriouſly ſold to the court; or in your old department, which had juſt refuſed the requeſt of the citizens to throw down the buſts of la Fayette and Bailly, where the moſt zealous repreſentatives of the people had been inſulted with impunity, by ſatellites, and even by their colleagues, while you preſided, and even in your preſence. You might, then, have praiſed the prudence of the ſections who named commiſſioners to replace the old council-general of the *commune*, and who inveſted them with full powers to ſave the *commune* of Paris, and all France. By what fatality, my dear Petion, does it happen that this new council-general is the principal object of the libellous publication on which we are now engaged? You have permitted an important avowal to eſcape you, under the form of a qualification of your reproaches. "Theſe "commiſſioners, *nevertheleſs*, (you ſay,) conceived a grand "idea, and took a bold ſtep, in poſſeſſing themſelves of "all the municipal powers, in putting themſelves in the "place of the council-general, whoſe weakneſs or cor-"ruption they dreaded; they courageouſly riſked their "lives, if ſucceſs had not crowned their enterpriſe." What was this enterpriſe? The deſtruction of tyranny: then they expoſed themſelves in the cauſe of liberty. Add, if you pleaſe, that in the firſt days of September they ſhook Paris, and all France, to cruſh the armies of deſpotiſm; and you will be compelled to own, that they have twice ſaved the country. Do you then aſſume the pen to join their detractors? When ſublime actions preſent themſelves for admiration, whence ariſes this mania of ſeeking for a few defects to cenſure? If a nation is ungrateful, it has ſome ſort of right to be ſo. Citizens owe every thing

to their country, and the country owes nothing to them; or at leaſt it is their duty to pardon her injuſtice: but you, citizen, by what right do you ſpeak of the deſtroyers of tyranny in the ſame terms as tyrants themſelves? You even go the length of attempting to wreſt from them the merit of thoſe ſervices you have ſo recently acknowledged, by ſaying that *the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt would have been effected without them.* Strange manner of appreciating thoſe who ſo powerfully contributed to it! Had you been at the houſe of the *commune* you would have known where was the rallying point for the people; that it was with the new magiſtrates that the defenders of liberty maintained a conſtant communication; you would have known how great were their exertions to procure for the citizens ammunition and arms, and to ſtifle the conſpiracy of the court. You would have ſeen the calm and tranquil courage with which, among other things, they performed, in that dreadful criſis, a deciſive action. I allude to the treachery of the commandant of the national guard, who, in confederacy with the conſpirators of the Tuilleries, had given orders to the officers of the *corps-de-reſerve* to let the people advance, and then fire upon them in the rear, at the ſame time that the cannon of the caſtle ſhould mow them down in front. The council-general diſcovered this plot in the middle of the night; they ſent twice for the commandant-general, who did not obey till the ſecond ſummons; they preſented to him the fatal order, ſigned with his hand, and which ſtill remains in the archives of the *commune*; the council-general cauſed the traitor to be arreſted, and adopted meaſures equally prompt and vigorous to diſconcert his treaſonable deſigns. Without this, liberty was at an end; and yet you do not deign to give this circumſtance a place among thoſe which decided the victory in favor of the people! What are the enormous crimes which, in your contemplation, have effaced the merit of theſe ſervices *?

* Robeſpierre diſplays conſummate art in giving this falſe account of the circumſtances attending the murder of Mandat. He knew that Petion, who himſelf had ſigned the order to repel force by force, would not dare to contradict, or challenge a proof of theſe facts; and the inſinuation that ſome written document was preſerved in the archives of the *commune* is well calculated to intimidate the treacherous Petion.

Who

Who would believe it? You reproach the council-general for not having abdicated, on the morrow of the combat at the Tuilleries, the authority with which they had been intrusted by the people, and which the legislative assembly had sanctioned, in order to recall the old municipality, and, consequently, the old directory. *You attribute this conduct to the love of power!*

You reproach the council-general with having prolonged the revolutionary effort beyond the necessary period. What was this effort? You do not describe it: it is probable that the necessary period to which you allude, was the same you had fixed as the time for abdication. So that, according to you, the revolutionary effort ought to have lasted four-and-twenty hours precisely; you measure political revolutions by those of the sun. But as you found yourself possessed of that infinite wisdom, which regulates by certain laws the most irregular phenomena of the moral world, why did not you say to the people, as the Almighty says to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou "come, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?" Why did you not come, and create in one day a new political world, as the Creator formed the world in three days. You did not appear at the *commune* till the third day after the capture of the Tuilleries. You came to announce to us, that the committee of twenty-one in the legislative assembly was willing to sanction the revolution, *and confirm all the acts of the commune.* This was but a preamble to the further information that the committee of twenty-one in the legislative assembly had a report ready, the effect of which was to recall the old municipality. This idea, with which you seemed infinitely delighted, was unanimously rejected by the council-general, as the infallible means of knitting up the threads of those conspiracies which ought to be broken for ever. The same day you made a long speech to prove that Louis XVI. ought not to be shut up in the tower of the Temple, and that if he was not lodged in a magnificent hotel, all France would rise against the *commune*; your opinion was over-ruled. You appeared alarmed; you seemed to think that the council-general was actuated by madness. You spoke of it in the most unqualified terms; *you thought its style and disposition both reprehensible.* You were continually sighing for the return of your semi-aristocratic municipality. You thought to punish the council-general by absenting your-

ſelf; and continually held councils with your friends, either at the committee of twenty-one, or at your own houſe, to concert meaſures for its diſſolution. You were, like Achilles, ſulky with the Greeks. You ſee how much your reproaches againſt the *commune* are diſfigured by paſſion, and, I will not ſay how unjuſt, but how childiſh they are. You *were terrified*, you ſay, at the diſorder, the tumult, *the ſpirit which prevailed in that aſſembly*. The ſpirit which animated the defenders of liberty terrified you! You diſcuſs the neceſſity of ſilence, not like a ſtateſman, but like the regent of a college. You wonder that the council-general, *inſtead of confining itſelf to the affairs of the* commune, *rather reſembled a political aſſembly*. The public liberty occupied a part of their deliberations on the 12th and 13th of Auguſt! They were wrong, undoubtedly, they ſhould have debated only on the duties of *ſcavengers and lamp-lighters!* For what beſides had the people appointed them? *They diſcourſed of plots againſt the public liberty*. What folly to think of plots! Did any ever exiſt? or if they did, was it the buſineſs of the council-general to counteract them? *Citizens were denounced before them*. Was it not enough, on the 10th of Auguſt, to have conquered the Swiſs ſoldiers, and have loſt a great number of patriots? Could they think the following days properly ſpent in arreſting conſpirators! in denouncing Montmorin, Depoix, Duport, Lamballe, and ſo many other worthy people! Theſe crimes muſt be puniſhed. *They cited them to their bar*. They ought, at leaſt, to have waited on them, at their own houſes, to have paid them a viſit in a body! *They heard them in public*. It would have been better to ſubject them to a private interrogatory. *They diſmiſſed them if acquitted, or elſe detained them*. They ought neither to have been diſmiſſed or detained! *The cuſtomary rules were totally diſpenſed with*. Hang me up theſe municipal officers! what, violate cuſtomary rules during a revolution! You do not tell us what rules theſe were, but with ſuch guilty magiſtrates, it is not worth while to deſcend to particulars. Was it any buſineſs of theirs to adopt precautions to render the event of the battle of the Tuilleries favourable to liberty? Prudent Petion, the *commune* of Paris had raiſed the ſtandard of inſurrection, in the name of the country; the cauſe of the *commune* intereſted all France.

The

The effervescence of the public mind was so great, that it was impossible to restrain the torrent. What ravages were occasioned by this torrent of effervescent minds! *All their deliberations were inflamed with the impetuosity of enthusiasm.* Rouse up your choler against the enthusiasm of liberty; never stop to inquire whether these deliberations were good or bad. *They succeeded each other with a terrifying rapidity.* You are always *terrified:* take courage; in an urgent crisis, when all people animated with the same spirit, rapidity of discussion is rather a consolatory, than an alarming phenomenon. *Day and night the council-general continued their sittings.* Scoundrels! to consecrate their days and nights to the public weal!

I would not suffer my name to be annexed to a multitude of acts, no less irregular than contrary to principle. What principles? Not those by which tyranny was destroyed. What are we to conclude but that your slumbers were less interrupted, and that the revolution is a nullity, because not sanctioned by the signature of Jerome Petion?

I was equally sensible that prudence required me not to approve, or strengthen by my presence, the transactions then passing.—Exactly so; the council-general was without authority; in vain the people had created it; in vain the people approved it; you refused your approbation. Take care of yourself, my dear Petion, this language excites a suspicion of dictatorship.

Those whom my presence incommoded were very solicitous to make the people believe that I presided at all their operations; and that nothing was done but in concert with me.—Whom did your presence incommode? Were you not a good citizen? and the delegates whom the people, in the night of the 9th of August, had judged worthy to defend their cause, were they of less importance than yourself? Had the people forbid them to fulfil the object of their mission without the consent of Jerome Petion? Do you believe that citizens armed for the overthrow of despotism are so idolatrous, so cowardly, so stupid as you would insinuate?

I seldom made my appearance: if at that time I had loudly declared my sentiments of opposition, it would have occasioned a schism which might have been productive of unhappy consequences; there is in every thing a moment of maturity, which ought prudently to be turned to advantage.—I firmly believe you to be a man eminently endowed with the gift of *prudently*

dently turning to advantage the moment of maturity. Yet, whether you had declared in favor of the old municipality, diſmiſſed by the public voice, or for the new council of the *commune*, or for or againſt the revolution; I much doubt whether you would have been ſo unfortunate as to have occaſioned a fatal ſchiſm.

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It muſt be acknowledged that this ſtyle of reaſoning appears extraordinary; but your imagination, though generally quiet enough, is ſo much ſtruck with every thing relating to our laſt revolution, that you ſee monſters and crimes where other men diſcern only ordinary events, or virtuous actions. Thus you confeſs yourſelf to be ſhocked that the council-general of the *commune* ſhould have thought it neceſſary to prolong the ſhutting of the barriers four-and-twenty hours beyond the moment you had fixed for their being thrown open; and becauſe I was accidentally of their opinion, you ſpeak of my propoſal in terms like thoſe you would uſe to deſcribe an eruption of Mount Veſuvius. You indulge yourſelf in declamations, and draw portraits, but you preſent no facts; and ſtill leſs reaſons. You are compaſſionate towards thoſe traitors who were adverſarious to liberty, and inexorable only towards the moſt zealous patriots.

You even renew the reproaches which Louvet has vented againſt the *commune*, for having preſented too violent petitions to the legiſlative aſſembly; but in terms much more vague, and inſignificant, though not leſs raſh. I can only refer you to my anſwer to Louvet. But how could you ſo far forget every principle of liberty, as to ſubmit to this abſurd and procraſtinated inquiry into words uttered during the moſt ſtormy days of the revolution? How could you forget in what manner the conſtituted authorities were then compoſed, and what were the rights of the people? I am particularly grieved to ſee you tranſgreſs the fidelity of hiſtory, to tranſfer to the phantom of a conſtituted power, which now no longer exiſts, the glory of thoſe illuſtrious acts, which belongs to the people. In the legiſlative aſſembly we can only praiſe a few individuals who were worthy of the public confidence; but who does not know that the majority was baſe and corrupt? that it deified la Fayette, acquitted all confiſcators, and was in league with the court againſt the nation? Who does not know that the aſſembly favored, as much as poſſible, all thoſe treaſons, which, but for the inſur-

inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt, would have yielded France into the hands of the foreign armies, and to the rage of tyrants; who does not know the ſervile baſeneſs with which Louis XVI. was received in the boſom of the aſſembly, at the moment when victory was yet wavering between liberty and deſpotiſm! Who does not know that when all parties roſe with a ſudden motion, and ſaluted the nation, with an unanimous exclamation, the thunder of the people had already pealed in their ears? Who does not know, that it was at the roar of cannon, the cry of victory, and even on the petition of the triumphant people, that the aſſembly took the oath of equality; that when it aboliſhed the diſtinctions between active and paſſive citizens, the ſections, then permanent, had already received them without diſcrimination; that the people were already overturning the ſtatues of kings, when the aſſembly decreed their deſtruction; that the people were maſters of the king's fate when the aſſembly decreed his ſuſpenſion; that the people were maſters of their own lot, and had reſumed the exerciſe of their right, when, on the formal demand of the people, the aſſembly decreed the convocation of a national convention; in fine, that the people were abandoned or betrayed by all their delegates, when they were obliged to effect their own deliverance: what do you mean, then, by *that dignified character of the legiſlative body, which ſaved the empire*, and that indirect reproach againſt the city of Paris, for having reſtrained the liberty of the aſſembly, when it is obvious that all the decrees which you extol were produced by thoſe imperious circumſtances which the people had created by the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt? What right have you to impute as a crime to the *commune* of Paris certain petitions which the public intereſt required, which were adopted, almoſt without exception, by the aſſembly itſelf; petitions which united with the language of free men, the rules of decorum, and a reſpect even for the ſhadow of an expiring repreſentation.

It was not *the* commune *that entered into a ſtate of rivalſhip with the aſſembly*; but certain members of the aſſembly, your Mentors, who were deſirous to deſtroy the *commune*; who, on the very morrow of the 10th of Auguſt, began to rally all the enemies of the revolution, who, from that moment, calumniated the people of Paris in all the departments, who laboured inceſſantly to lull or to deceive

the legiſlative body, that it might become the inſtrument of their pitiful intrigues. In a fortnight afterwards, when the Pruſſians were advancing towards Paris, when the *commune*, to the ſound of the tocſin and the alarm gun, aſſembled in the *Champ-de-Mars* the innumerable inhabitants of this great city, what were Briſſot and his allies about? Caballing, and telling lies. What was Roland doing? Poſting up bills againſt the Pariſians; he wanted to take flight, with the executive council, the king, and the aſſembly. To flatter thoſe who have endangered the people, to defame thoſe who have ſerved them, what can we call this conduct, but doubly to betray the public cauſe?

Here, I confeſs, you embarraſs me extremely. How does it happen, I ſhall be aſked, that a man ſo praiſeworthy in the republic, as Jerome Petion, can have reaſoned and written in ſuch a manner? I believe, however, that I can explain the matter, by means which you yourſelf have furniſhed.

The mayor of Paris, you ſay, in your ſpeech, ſpeaking of this diſaſtrous epoch, the 10th of Auguſt, *was no longer a centre of union. I was continued in my place; but had only an empty title. I ſeldom appeared at the* commune. *I was not informed of any thing.* That is the fact; you were not there. You were the Crillon of the laſt revolution. But the whole truth muſt be told: it will, at firſt, aſtoniſh thoſe who, far from the ſcene of action, learn the hiſtory of France in Roland's pamphlets, and in the journals of Rœderer, Gorſas, and other writers of that ſtamp. You will not, however, deny the facts I am about to unfold. You will ingenuouſly confeſs that you did all in your power to impede the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt. Not that you are inimical to liberty, far from it: but, in the firſt place, you are naturally unſuſpicious, and could not believe in the conſpiracies of the court, with which we were begirt. You had a pitying ſmile for thoſe who mentioned them to you; ſo that you ſeparated yourſelf from the patriots of the committee of police, who did believe in them, and they were obliged to diſpenſe with your ſignature, in giving orders for the diſtribution of ammunition to the federates.

You had already, ſeveral times, rendered the incipient inſurrection abortive, by running through the ſections and the ſuburbs, preaching order and tranquillity. You had

had fettered the courage both of the people and the federates.—Nothing could be more dangerous than this conduct, an attempt of the kind, if relinquiſhed, delivered up the people to the ſword of tyranny. Mean time the danger became more urgent, and proofs of the project framed by the court to murder the patriots, were univerſal. The revolutionary directory of the citizen federates had fixed on the night of the 9th of Auguſt for ſuppreſſing it. Your uſual prudence led you to exert every means to oppoſe their intention. You ſpoke to all men of the neceſſity of remaining calm and peaceful. The 7th of Auguſt, I was ſurpriſed by a viſit from the Mayor of Paris; it was the firſt time of my being ſo honoured, though formerly extremely intimate. I concluded that ſome great motive had brought you: you harangued to me, for a whole hour, on the dangers of inſurrection. I had no particular influence over events: but, as I often went to the ſociety of friends of the conſtitution, where the members of the directory of the federates habitually went, you earneſtly preſſed me to preach your doctrine in that ſociety. You told me it would be neceſſary to defer reſiſtance to oppreſſion, until the aſſembly ſhould have pronounced the king's forfeiture of the crown: but, at the ſame time, leiſure muſt be allowed for the diſcuſſion of this great queſtion, will all poſſible premeditation. You could, however, offer no ſecurity that the court would adjourn their project of cutting our throats, for ſo long a time as it might pleaſe the national aſſembly to adjourn the king's forfeiture; and it was well known that at that time, the royaliſt party predominated in the aſſembly; your own Briſſot, himſelf, and his friends had pronounced ſeveral long ſpeeches, the only object of which was to prove, that the diſcuſſion ought to be deferred, and deferred without end. You even know how much their equivocal conduct had diſguſted the public; who perceived that their project was to alarm the court with the fear of an inſurrection, in order to ſecure the return to office the miniſters of their own chooſing. I myſelf might have developed theſe myſteries; but ſuch was my confidence in you, and ſuch, to ſpeak the truth, the ſentiments of friendſhip, which your unexpected condeſcenſion revived in my heart, that I, to a certain degree, thought you in the right; but the people and the federates judged differently, and there was a general preparation for inſurrection. Your opinions ſtill

biaſſed your conduct, and even in the night of the 9th of Auguſt, at the moment when the ſections were all ready to march, they received from you a preſſing circular letter, in which you conjured them to remain quiet. What a moment to give ſuch advice! Some appeared inclined to follow it, and a general conſultation was held. The ſection *du Theâtre François*, where the Marſeillois battalion reſided, had acquired a great aſcendency, by the courage which it had conſtantly diſplayed. Danton, who was preſident of that ſection, rejected your letter with the energy which he always has exhibited in moments of great danger to the country; the tocſin was rung in all quarters. But all thoſe who were going to devote themſelves in the cauſe of liberty were ſenſible that their efforts would be unavailing, if his honor the mayor came, according to cuſtom, to thwart their operations, and to relax and divide the effect of the popular force. Citizens of Paris and federates, all were agreed on the neceſſity of one preliminary ſtep of infinite prudence, which you do not mention, the object of which was to put it out of your power to renew your pacific operations and ſermons: you were confined by order of the people, in your own houſe, under the honourable pretence of inſuring your ſafety. You muſt recollect, that on the morrow of the 11th or 12th of Auguſt, when the victory was gained, Briſſot and Guadet, in deſpair at the turn things had taken, loudly vented their choler at your table, in preſence of many witneſſes; they openly reprimanded you for the facility with which you obeyed the will of the people; Briſſot even carried his familiarity ſo far as to accuſe you of cowardice; he charged you, at leaſt, to put a ſpoke in the wheel of the revolution, which you had been unable to keep inactive; and you, like a docile pupil, appeared the next day at the *commune*, to announce that project of a committee of twenty-one, ſuggeſted by them, and which I have already mentioned.

I do not mean to aſſert that you have an invincible antipathy for popular commotions, or that your zeal for the public tranquillity admits of no exception; but you are always guided by the ſame impulſe. You ſhewed as much complaiſance for the riot of the 20th of June, as you diſplayed repugnance to the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt. What could occaſion this contradiction of conduct. I will explain it. The revolution in Auguſt was expected

expected to produce public liberty; the armed proceſſion in June, the recall of the miniſters Claviere and Roland. The event in Auguſt was provoked by the neceſſity of the public welfare; that in June by the artifices of intrigue. On both occaſions, the citizens were guided by the pureſt motives, but on the 20th of June they were deceived. They were not appriſed that the petition preſented in their name would be ſurreptitiouſly altered, and that, to the grand objects of national welfare which formed its baſis, a dexterous hand would ſubjoin a demand of the recall of Meſſrs. Claviere and Roland. While the throne yet continued to ſtand, I was cautious of publiſhing my opinion on this point; it was enough for patriots to know that the court attempted to turn this event to the diſadvantage of liberty, to attempt juſtifying it, and no one ſtept forward with more zeal and frankneſs than myſelf to defend you againſt all the perſecutions to which it gave riſe. But at this day it is of uſe that I ſhould freely publiſh my real opinion. Beſides, the intriguers who ſurrounded you preferred the kind of inſurrection which took place in the 20th of June, as tending to reſtore them to office. Thus, though it was publicly announced for eight days, though their emiſſaries publicly ran about the ſuburbs, and even complained of the ill ſucceſs of their efforts, you took no ſtep to prevent them. You might have done it with much more facility than you retarded the general inſurrection againſt tyranny. Even the court was not diſpleaſed, as your party furniſhed a pretence for calumniating the popular cauſe; good citizens, only, publicly oppoſed the inſurrection. The day before it took place I met Chabot, who, like myſelf ſaw with uneaſineſs the miſerable manœuvre which was in preparation. I adviſed him to repair to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, where the petitioners were aſſembled, to enlighten them with reſpect to the nature of this proceeding; he harangued the people in the church of the *Quinze-Vingts*. He was too late, and his civic homily was cut ſhort by theſe words, pronounced in the preſence of three thouſand perſons: "We are ſecure of Petion: It is "Petion's order: Petion is on our ſide." It was fortunate for you on this occaſion that you were attacked by the enemies of the people, and defended by thoſe very patriots, who internally blamed your conduct; for you had ſeriouſly endangered your reputation for prudence and integrity; and however wrong the directory who perſecuted you

you might be in their motives and means, it is certain they were but too much in the right as to certain facts; and however conſtitutional Camus might ſeem, in an opinion which he publiſhed againſt you, which I was far from approving, at leaſt he was not in the wrong when he accuſed you, very ungenteely to be ſure, of having *lied* to the public, and to the legiſlative aſſembly, in the account you gave them of your conduct in this particular. The people alone was in the right. Neither you nor your adverſaries were exempt from blame: yet this was one of the principal ſources of your popularity.

The court daily laboured to augment it by their abſurd attacks, and by their plots. The intriguers, calling themſelves patriots, who looked on your popularity as their patrimony, ſwelled it by all the great means then at their diſpoſal. The real friends of the country ſupported it with all their powers. The thick-headed Louis XVI. thought he ſaw a rival in the Jacobin mayor of Paris; but Cæſar, on contemplating your countenance, dilated with an eternal ſmile, would have ſaid, "This is not the "man who will tear the empire from me." The day of the federation arrived, and the armed citizens came from all parts of the country to offer to you the homage of public eſteem. You were the hero of the federation in 1792, as la Fayette was in 1790, but la Fayette's adorers were ſlaves; your partiſans were free men; the applauſes they were pleaſed to laviſh on you, turned to execrations which they levelled againſt the tyrant. Your glory was pure as the heart of patriotiſm, or as the love of liberty. How eaſy would it have been to you to aſſure for ever the happineſs of your country, and with the ſame blow to deſtroy both deſpotiſm and intrigue. But, far from ſuffering yourſelf, even for a moment, to be led away by the glorious deſtiny of France, you employed yourſelf only in arreſting its progreſs. From that day you have been continually retreating towards that miſerable ſyſtem of intrigue, in which you were girt by that petty ambitious faction which beſet you.

Such are the unfortunate circumſtances which have ſoured you, my dear Petion, even without your knowledge, againſt the laſt revolution, and even againſt the city of Paris. Anger, ſometimes, entered into celeſtial minds; and anger has placed in your hands the arrows which you let fly againſt the electoral aſſembly of the department of Paris.

You

You perſuaded yourſelf that you had grounds of complaint againſt that aſſembly, becauſe you were only nominated as a deputy to the convention on the ſecond ſcrutiny. O human weakneſs! you could not even for a moment diſguiſe your chagrin; and rather than be affronted by the priority of another citizen, you preferred being choſen third at Chartres, to being ſecond at Paris; and on the very next day, at the opening of the ſitting, you eagerly declared to the electoral aſſembly, that you would not be deputy for the department of Paris; you ſhunned the aſſembly from that moment, as before you had ſhunned the *commune*. Yet you repeat all the calumnious abſurdities heaped on that body by diſappointed ſtupid intriguers. I am again obliged to refer you to my anſwer to Louvet, whom you have weakly and imperfectly copied.

But what have the Jacobins done to you? What could be your inducement to poſt that ſtrange *placard?* Was it the ſervices they have rendered their country, and the great influence they alſo had in bringing about the laſt revolution? Does this ſingle crime efface, in your judgment, all the benefits for which you were yourſelf indebted to the patriots who people this immortal city?

I no longer retain the ſame influence over events, you continually exclaim in a plaintive tone; *time will ſhew whether that circumſtance has been beneficial or injurious to Paris and the welfare of its inhabitants.* Is this meant as a threat? Are you determined to puniſh us? Does only a remnant of pity plead in your breaſt in favor of Paris? Why then do you not undertake her defence againſt the baſe perſecutions of her daſtardly enemies?

I have more than once ſaved Paris; and I have ſpared the blood of the people.

Who is the man that can deliberately rank among the ſervices which he has rendered to the people, that of not ordering them to be aſſaſſinated? If a general boaſts, that by ordering a ceſſation of carnage, he has ſpared human blood, I can conceive him: but what affinity is there between the functions of a mayor, and the maſſacre of citizens? Are the friends of humanity to eſtimate their civil virtues by a contraſt with the monſtrous exceſſes of tyranny? But by what right could Petion command the murder of the people who protected him; of the people who, on the 20th of June, might have exclaimed, "It is you and "your party who have led us to ſlaughter."

I have

I have more than once ſaved Paris;—(before the 10th of Auguſt,) It is certain that many heroic actions are ſtill ſhrouded in darkneſs, but pray inform us exactly *how many times* you ſaved the country, and we will erect to you, at leaſt, an equal number of ſtatues. The gratitude of the whole human race has conſecrated the names of thoſe who have only once ſaved liberty, what ſhould we do for the man to whom this ſort of tranſactions is ſo familiar that he does not even condeſcend to enumerate them?

I have ſaved Robeſpierre himſelf from perſecution, by attaching myſelf to his lot. What a combination! After ſo great an action, what need can there be to recite one ſo indifferent? It would not claim diſcuſſion but for the importance you annex to it. You are deſirous to recur to that honorable period of your life, when, during the reviſion of the conſtitution, you, with a few of your colleagues, fulfilled the duties of a faithful repreſentative. By whom was I then perſecuted? By la Fayette and his faction, as I now am by the factions which ſucceeded them. For what cauſe was I perſecuted, but the cauſe of liberty? And why were you not alſo perſecuted, yourſelf? Why do you aſſume that you attached yourſelf to *my* lot, rather than that I attached myſelf to yours? What do I ſay? Why is it ſaid that you were attached to me, rather than to the country, or, at leaſt, to your own honor? And how could you imagine that your protection availed me more than the public intereſt, and the ſacred cauſe which I had eſpouſed?

But admitting that you have ſaved us all; would this great kindneſs give you a right to deſtroy us, or even to calumniate a ſingle individual? The vileſt inſect revolts againſt the man who attempts to cruſh him; and I againſt Jerome Petion, as well in my own name, as in the name of all good citizens againſt whom he declares war. What a moment have you ſelected for your attack? I had, in oppoſition to calumny, juſt gained a victory, an eaſy victory, in which I was far from exulting. You ſecretly came to the field, armed cap-a-pie, but the rapidity of the combat was ſuch, that you had not time to draw your ſword, and at the moment when I was peaceably retreating from the field of battle, you came and aſſaulted me in the rear.

You could not then reſolve to return into your port-folio your diſmal ſpeech. The directors of your political con-

ſcience gave you to underſtand that the credit of the party was too cruelly endangered, by ſo ſhameful a check, that your civic *chef-d'œuvre* alone could repair it, and you delivered it to the printer. But as it undoubtedly forms one of the principles of the coterie *, that all means are legitimate which tend to promote the good cauſe, you thought it your duty to prepare for the ſucceſs of this ſagacious manœuvre, by a poſting-bill againſt the Jacobins, in which you ſend forth a ſharpened arrow againſt me. The reſult was, a decree from the directory of mayoralty, confirmed by that of the miniſter of the interior, importing that the above-mentioned poſting-bill ſhall be printed at the end of Jerome Petion's ſpeech; that moſt honorable mention ſhall be made of both by all the public news-writers, and that they ſhall be diſtributed to all the adminiſtrative bodies, to all the municipalities throughout the republic, to all rectors, and clergymen. The virtuous Roland ought honeſtly to inform the committee of finance, how much this new diſtribution will coſt the republic: he might alſo tell us, whether thoſe who ſtop the juſtificatory publications at the poſt-office, when they are ſent to the departments by order of the *commune*, and franked by the mayor, are more cautious with reſpect to covers franked by the miniſter. Can it be juſt, my dear Petion, to attack us with ſuch unequal arms? Your want of generoſity is the more conſpicuous in this reſpect, that you are emboldened to the combat by an opinion which you entertain, that your name alone will give to your aſſertions the authority of a demonſtrative proof, as you yourſelf inſinuate in your preface. Thus am I, without appeal, attainted and convicted, before the tribunal of the eighty-three departments, of all the abſurdities and all the vices which you impute to me. For I have not even a right to anſwer you. Did I ever diſpute your right of printing every day, and even of poſting your virtues, when no man was employed in diſcuſſing them? And againſt me, who never juſtified myſelf, but in defence of my life, you have paſſed a law, by which I cannot repel your calumnies, without proving, by that ſingle act, an exceſs of vanity. Suffer at leaſt, a word of animadverſion on the abuſe you make of this ſtrange privilege. In fact, it is too much to arrogate a right of loudly accuſing me of

* Alluding to the meetings held by the Briſſotines at madame Roland's.

cowardice,

cowardice, of poſting that you ſaw me trembling. And when? At the very time when la Fayette was proſcribing the patriots; the day when with thirty individuals, among whom you were not, I remained at the Jacobin club, ſurrounded by ſatellites, while the blood of patriots, which he had recently ſhed, was ſtill ſtreaming; at that time when I obſtinately defended that tutelary inſtitution of liberty againſt the formidable faction which governed the conſtituent aſſembly. They trembled then, in your opinion, all thoſe who denounced that faction, in the midſt of its guilty ſucceſs, and who never ceaſed their ſtruggle for the rights of the people, which that faction had proſcribed.

But for what purpoſe do you thus cavil at my conduct in the conſtituent aſſembly? You pretend to explain yourſelf on the accuſation againſt me for aſpiring to the dictatorſhip, which you acknowledge to be a calumny. What then was left for you to ſay? You were preciſely employed to come to the relief of Louvet, whoſe defeat was foreſeen, though it was not expected to be ſo ſpeedy. Your commiſſion was to make a digreſſion on my general character; and as it is well known that, in the eyes of frivolous men, abſurdities and errors are more degrading than vices, you have depicted me captious, moroſe, and atrabilious. Thoſe who directed you knew, by inſtinct, that the only reſource of intrigue was to hold up, beforehand, to the public opinion, thoſe who might unmaſk them, as *ſuſpicious, viſionary beings, ever ready to denounce raſhly; men of gloomy imaginations, who every where ſee chimeras, precipices, plots, and monſters; and moreover, vain, ambitious, and deſirous of making court to the people.*——Very well, my dear Petion, nothing can be better conceived than to compare the people to kings, and the friends of liberty to courtiers; for if this opinion prevails, a vaſt field lies open to thoſe political ſharpers, who do not flatter the people, but who plunder them, and cut their throats. And, in fact, ſo many pay their court to kings or to miniſters, the depoſitaries of the public power and wealth, that they may eaſily hope for pardon who court the people, by defending the cauſe of juſtice and humanity; for I call you yourſelf to witneſs that ſuch are the only means by which they can be flattered.

As for men of gloomy imaginations, I muſt do you the juſtice to acknowledge, that you were ever exempt from that

that fault. I am a witneſs that you never believed in any plot againſt the ſtate, till after it was executed. I am a witneſs, that till the day of the *Champ-de-Mars*, you caſt an eye of pity on thoſe who ſpoke ill of la Fayette; that, even after that period, you never ceaſed to put a favourable interpretation on his intentions. I am a witneſs, that when the faction, of which he was at the head, named, in the conſtituent aſſembly, commiſſioners to go and meet Louis XVI. in his return from Varennes, they caſt their eyes on you, as the leaſt dangerous of all the patriots, and as a proper perſon to be joined with Barnave, and la Tour Maubourg. I am witneſs, that after la Fayette had aſſumed the command of the armies, you, on an hundred occaſions, guaranteed his innocence, and ſaid to every one who would give you a hearing; "La Fayette is on our "ſide." I further atteſt, that you ſpoke of the *Patriot Narbonne*, and of the *Patriot Monteſquieu*, with peculiar veneration, preciſely in the ſame terms as the *Chronique*, and the *Patriote François*. In a word, I atteſt, that there is hardly a man at this day accuſed as a traitor to the country, to whom you have not delivered a ſimilar brevet of patriotiſm.

I will paſs my word for you, that far from being troubleſome, miſtruſtful, and melancholy, you are the man of all others whoſe blood flows moſt placidly, whoſe heart is leaſt agitated by the ſpectacle of human perfidy, and whoſe philoſophy moſt patiently endures the miſeries of others.

For myſelf, I acknowledge my faults; and though, according to the opinions of thoſe who have the beſt means of judging, I am no leſs eaſy, and unſuſpicious in private life than you think me miſtruſtful in public affairs; though you have long experienced this truth, and my friendſhip for you exiſted long after the date of thoſe proceedings which were moſt offenſive to my principles, I own, to my ſhame, that I have the weakneſs ſtill to believe in the exiſtence of fatal intrigues, which you perhaps will gueſs at, when all France is ſacrificed to them.

But you, who but a fortnight before the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, of your own ſpontaneous motion, had the turpitude to go to the king; we know not whether it was to convert him or to juſtify yourſelf; you who, on the very eve of the inſurrection, went, in all ſimplicity, to range in that royal foreſt, to expoſe Jerome Petion to the

the deriſion of Herod's court, you who could not believe that there was ſo much wickedneſs, even in a court, how can you ſtill be ſo unrelenting towards thoſe who, on certain occaſions, have proved that their folly was more ſeaſonable than your wiſdom? Does your kind-heartedneſs extend only to mountebanks and tyrants? Is it a law in nature that minds diſtinguiſhed by apathy hate thoſe poſſeſſed of ardour and energy? This is certain, that I always thought I perceived in you leſs kindneſs for the ebullitions of patriotiſm, than for the exceſſes of ariſtocracy. For example, I have ſeen you leſs prepoſſeſſed againſt la Fayette, than againſt Danton; leſs angry with the court at Coblentz, than with the Jacobin club.

You indemnify yourſelf, however, for the pain you experience in accuſing ſo many perſons; you lay down the cenſor's rod, to aſſume the panegyriſt's cenſer. It is not neceſſary for me to ſay in whoſe favour; your remnant of popularity was not to be expended for the ſole purpoſe of defaming Paris and the Jacobins; it was alſo to revive the credit of a faction trembling for itſelf.

You dogmatically aſſure us that you know not of a Briſſotine faction; that Briſſot, of all men in the world, is the leaſt proper to be the head of a party. You aſſert it in your poſting-bill, you repeat it in your ſpeech. And what does it ſignify? It is not my intention here to enter into a diſcuſſion of Briſſot's character. Who ever ſaid that he was the head of a party?

I have not yet ſeen among us a real head of a party; even la Fayette was not to be conſidered in that light; he was an agent for the king; his only aim was, to be the moſt powerful man in the court of Louis XVI. In France, and in a revolution, the object of which is not to ſubſtitute one tyranny for another, but to reſtore the reign of juſtice and equality, heads of parties can only be petty knaves, without either courage or genius. Now, theſe kind of men can eaſily plunder, ruin, and tear the ſtate to pieces: that is the moſt eaſy of all trades, but they can never enſlave us. Two powerful obſtacles will always oppoſe that undertaking, their mediocrity, and the good ſenſe of the people.

As for your Briſſot, ſince you will return to the ſubject, does it follow, becauſe his name is become the root of a new conjugation, that the public look up to him as the head of a party? Eſcobar poſſeſſed the ſame honour, and yet

yet he was nothing but a Jeſuit. If father Briſſot was acknowledged generaliſſimo of all the Briſſotines in the republic, he would certainly be the moſt formidable power in Europe. You have repeated to me twenty times, that Briſſot was a mere child, and that is a cant word of the coterie, when they wiſh to ſoften down certain frauds, ſomewhat too glaring, with which he is reproached: they even pretend that he is not diſpleaſed at being thus exhibited, juſt as Sixtus Quintus ſometimes affected ſimplicity, ſometimes pretended to be ill. You will however give me leave to conſider him as a perverſe child; but as I am unwilling to undertake the taſk of correcting him, permit me to leave him to the public. Clootz, who judges him with great forbearance, ſays, in his ingenious and inſtructive opinion, *To contemplate his indirect proceedings, his lies, &c. &c. one would think he was in the pay of the enemies of France, and of the human race;* and I, ſtill more forbearing, conſider him only as one of the moſt extenſive mercantile agents in Europe. If the public form a more uncharitable opinion, make your complaint to them: and as you complain of *the general blindneſs on that ſubject*, be you the operator to remove the cataract which deprives them of the ſight of ſo many virtues. Do not diſdain to enlighten thoſe whom you have ſaved. Briſſot, you ſay, *has knowledge and genius.* Be it ſo. We are even credibly informed, that he has written ſome large books: he is, at leaſt, a revolutionary Dacier, and a political Scudery. Clootz alſo pretends, that he does not carry his head a jot higher than he did ten years ago. Now, I cannot ſay whether, ten years ago, he held his head very high. But again, what does all this ſignify? We might both of us have avoided this diſcuſſion. You yourſelf ought not to have begun it. Briſſot, extolled by you, ſeems to be praiſing himſelf. The pupil is not conſulted reſpecting the capacity of his maſter, or the lover on the charms of his miſtreſs. Was Orgon a competent judge of the character of Tartuffe? How many were the proofs requiſite for the diſenchanting of the credulous man? and proof of what a nature! Nothing leſs than *an Elmira* can effect ſuch a prodigy. *Le pauvre homme*, is the conſtant anſwer he gives to every argument: and ſimilarly at your houſe, every one continually repeated *Le pauvre Warville* *.

In

* Robeſpierre alludes to Moliere's comedy called Tartuffe, ou l'Impoſteur. The endearing tenderneſs of the French exclamation, *Le*

In vain you deny this diſgraceful ſubjection, the very efforts you make to repel the ſuſpicion only confirm it. Why do you always begin your ſpeeches with this exordium: *Never did man in place think and act for himſelf ſo much as I?* Why, in the preface to the ſpeech we are diſcuſſing, are you ſo ſolicitous to inform your readers, that *in order to compoſe it you retired within yourſelf; you were deaf to the voice of friendſhip; and had no communication with any perſon whomſoever.* Is an author obliged to prove that he put himſelf in cloſe confinement to compoſe his books? And are not ſuch oratorical precautions ſomewhat ſuſpicious?

Beſides, your whole ſpeech proves, that nothing in it belongs to you, except perhaps, the colouring, and the ſtyle: but the thoughts, the principles, the moral, the aim, the moment of publication, the vague accuſations, the declamations unſupported by proof, the malignant inſinuations, the equivocal tone, the crafty windings, groſs contradictions, even the political abſurdities, the mixture of ſimplicity and art, of moderation, and rooted malice; thoſe exhortations to peace, immediately followed by thoſe inſidious reflections which revive dormant prejudices, thoſe ſarcaſms by which that diſcord is renewed which ſeemed at an end, and the poſting-bill paſted on our walls; all theſe things are not your own. You calumniate yourſelf when you pretend that you are led by nobody. Perhaps you even believe it; but I will take my oath you are quite miſtaken. Do people know when they are led? Only obſerve what paſſes on our theatres: when a dexterous chambermaid, or an intriguing valet, leads a Geronte, or an Orgon, as it were in leading-ſtrings: don't you ſee with what art the rogues extol the wonderful wiſdom and incredible firmneſs of the poor man, while he, in the midſt of their noiſy joy, cries, "Oh I am very certain that I am not a man to be led, and if there is a ſteady head in France, I warrant it is this on my ſhoulders."

Make proper allowances for the exaggeration neceſſary in the dramatic art, and above all for your great merits, and I would almoſt venture to affirm that there is in this portrait ſome reſemblance of yourſelf. For example, in the month of January laſt, when a new adminiſtration was

pauvre homme, is not adequately conveyed by the Engliſh expreſſion, *poor man!*

formed, I ſaw that you were in the firm conviction that it was you who had choſen them. When I aſked you, if that meaſure of the court did not ſtrike you as a little ſuſpicious; you anſwered, with an air of extraordinary ſatisfaction, "Oh if you did but know what I know! If you knew who it was that pointed them out." I perceived your meaning, and laughing at your credulity, ſaid "it was you, perhaps;" on which, rubbing your hands together, you gave an aſſenting hem! hem! It was in vain that you perſiſted in aſſuring me the fact was ſo. I had too ſincere an eſteem for you to ſuppoſe that you had ſufficient credit with Louis XVI. and his courtiers, to form a miniſtry. But I will inform you by what means you perſuaded yourſelf that you had created theſe miniſters. When Briſſot, and certain patriots of the ſame ſtamp in the legiſlative aſſembly, in concert with Narbonne, by the conſent of la Fayette, and the intervention of certain women, ſuch as the baroneſs de Stael, and the marchioneſs de Condorcet, had made all the arrangements, and the whole tranſaction was ſettled, Briſſot came to you and ſaid, "Whom ſhall we appoint miniſters? Roland, Cla-"viere,—they are good men! do you approve of them?—"Eh—egad, yes!—Roland, Claviere—Oh that would be "charming! let them be appointed by all means;"—and then you thought you had formed the adminiſtration.

When theſe miniſters were thruſt out by another faction, the ſame men dexterouſly availed themſelves of your popularity to obtain their recall. Thus originated the tranſactions of the 20th of June; you perſevered with firmneſs towards that object, but you carried your views no farther, becauſe your leaders did not wiſh that you ſhould go farther. The torrent which ſubverted the throne, deranged their real projects; and their only conſolation for the events of the 10th of Auguſt was, that they were enabled to recall Roland and Claviere. They wiſh, under the name of theſe two miniſters, to reign for ever; to effect which, they muſt enſlave the people; divide the convention, in order to govern it, and perſecute the friends of liberty. Hence ariſe all their intrigues, all their calumnies, all their crimes, their alliance with the old partiſans of royalty and ariſtocracy. You ſuſpect nothing of this, and you ſtill remain with them, becauſe you are accuſtomed to follow wherever they lead you. They have already led you far enough, and I am afraid they will lead you ſtill farther

aſtray. Reflect on yourſelf, if it be poſſible, and examine how heavy the conditions, by which you are bound to them, hang on you.

I own that you are, in ſome degree, obliged to them; they have materially accelerated the maturity of your reputation; cried up in all the journals which were at their diſpoſal, you were a deity to all who took thoſe journals for oracles. In a diſtant view ſpots are not diſcerned, the ſprings of political events are not perceived; and you perhaps are the only inſtance among the defenders of liberty, throughout the world, of a man who has enjoyed the plenitude of his glory. You ought, however, to miſtruſt your good fortune, Rouſſeau will inform you, that a real ſtateſman ſows in one century, and reaps in the ſucceeding ages. Read hiſtory, and you will find that the benefactors of the human race were its martyrs. Agis was condemned by the Ephori, for his attempt to revive the laws of Lycurgus; Cato plunged the dagger in his own entrails; the younger Brutus was obliged to deſtroy himſelf, after having killed the tyrant; the ſon of Marius expired under the ſword of tyranny; Socrates drank hemlock; Sydney died on a ſcaffold; but Petion, in an inſtant, found himſelf loaded with the honors recently laviſhed on la Fayette. Had you ſought to fathom the cauſes of this phenomenon, you might have diſcovered that a detached intrigue lent its ſupport to your patriotiſm. You would have reflected that the Guadets of Athens were not the friends of Socrates; that Brutus and Cato were not deified by the Briſſotines of Rome: and you would have diſcovered that you were the hero of June 1792, becauſe you were not deſtined to be the hero of future ages. But theſe ſervices of your friends are abundantly compenſated by the advantages you have procured for them. Reflect, in the firſt place, that you furniſhed the moſt precious article of their whole ſtock in trade, I mean the reputation for integrity which you brought from the conſtituent aſſembly; for in the eyes of judicious obſervers, that was your real title to glory. Your new partners have increaſed it by their induſtry, but for their own benefit. It has ſerved as a veil to their manœuvres, as an inſtrument of their ambition. It is your reputation that has furniſhed them the means of privately undermining the edifice of liberty, and of converting the firſt days of the republic into days of diſcord, diſorder, and tyranny. To them you have ſacrificed your glory. Pleaſe

Heaven

Heaven that you may, at leaſt, have preſerved your virtue! Obſerve how they already dare to place you in the front as a forlorn hope, on deſperate occaſions; how they place you in the ſame line as their Barbaroux's and their Birotteau's. Why is it not in my power to counteract the effects of their pernicious councils by auſtere and uſeful truth? They alone to whom nature has imparted greatneſs can love equality. Others require ſtilts or triumphal cars; when once they deſcend from them, they ſeem to enter the tomb. Many men appeared republicans before there was a republic, and ceaſed to be ſo when once it was eſtabliſhed. They wiſhed to degrade thoſe who were above them, but would not deſcend from the eminence to which they themſelves were elevated. They only love thoſe revolutions of which they are the heroes; if they do not govern, they think all is anarchy and confuſion; if the people conquer without their aid, they are in a ſtate of revolt; they do not even forgive the people for reducing the importance of individuals by elevating its own majeſtic head.

Such is the melancholy ſecret of human vanity which explains ſo many wonderful metamorphoſes. Such too is the only clue which can guide the public opinion in the maze of modern political events. As for us, my dear Petion, let us diveſt ourſelves of theſe ſhameful weakneſſes, let us not be compared to that tyrant who wiſhed to reduce the ſize of man to a determinate ſtandard; let us not require that fortune ſhould find a full compenſation for our merit; let us be content with the deſtiny which nature has reſerved for us, and let the lot of the human race be accompliſhed.

To conclude, I repeat your own phraſe, *let us occupy ourſelves in the important concerns of the republic.* But, above all, let us endeavour, if poſſible, to acquire the morals and principles of true republicans.

THE END.

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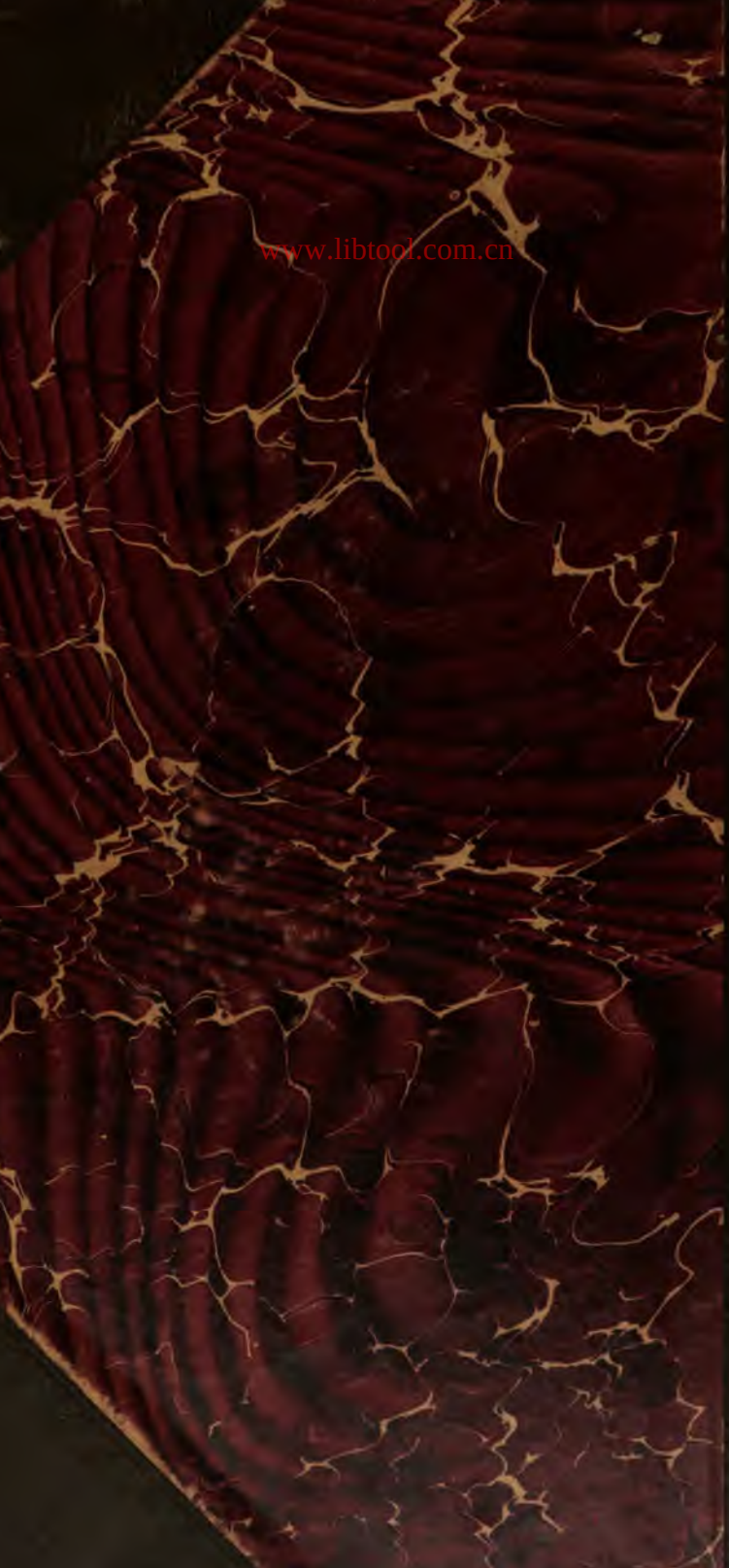
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