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A S E R M O N,

Preached Feb. 3, 1793, at the Scots Church, London Wall;

ON OCCASION OF THE

TRIAL, CONDEMNATION, AND EXECUTION

OF

LOUIS XVI. LATE KING OF FRANCE.

WITH SOME ADDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

By HENRY HUNTER, D. D.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

AT THE EARNEST REQUEST OF MANY RESPECTED FRIENDS,

A REPUBLICATION OF

A D I S C O U R S E

ON THE

RISE AND FALL OF THE PAPACY;

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE
PRESENT CENTURY,

By ROBERT FLEMING, V. D. M.

THEN MINISTER OF THE SCOTS CHURCH IN LONDON.

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1793.

12



TO
THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

WHICH ASSEMBLES FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP

AT
THE SCOTS CHURCH, LONDON WALL.

MY VERY DEAR FRIENDS,

PERMIT me to embrace the opportunity which the present publication affords, of thus expressing the affection and gratitude with which my heart overflows toward you. Let this short address remain as a monument of the sacred union which has subsisted between us these twenty-two years past, after I am mingled with the dust of my predecessors, and let it admonish us to aim constantly at an union *eternal in the heavens.*

It gives me pleasure to draw from obscurity and to rescue from oblivion a valuable and interesting tract, by one who, a century ago, occupied the honourable station which I now so unworthily fill. The Scots Church was then a numerous and respectable society; it has all along maintained respectability and reputation; and my highest earthly ambition is to transmit my Charge as I found it, united, improving, and prosperous, to my successor. Deeply sensible that the only means of securing this is the joint cultivation of a spirit of concord, and persevering efforts to keep alive and promote the interests of *pure and undefiled religion*, I call upon you to *keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*; to *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling*; to *live by the faith of the Son of God*: and I earnestly pray to God to *send the Spirit*

(vii)

*Spirit of his Son into your hearts, that this
mind may be in you, which was also in Christ
Jesus.*

I remain,

With unfeigned and increasing affection,

Your much indebted,

And grateful Friend and Pastor,

Bethnal-Green Road,
21st Feb. 1793.

HEN. HUNTER.

(1)

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

3. The third part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

P R E F A C E.

THE sentiments which I have ventured to express in the following Discourse, first from the pulpit, and now from the press, are, I have reason to believe, those of the whole British nation. Whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed respecting the necessity, nature, and progress of the French Revolution, there seems to be but one opinion respecting the horrid scene acted at Paris on the twenty-first of January last—the public decapitation of Louis XVI. namely, that it was an act of complicated inhumanity and injustice.

But what has the pulpit to do with politics? It has to do with every thing that relates to the moral government of the great Supreme. Its very province is to point out and to impress remarkable dispensations of Providence; to compare events as they arise
5 into

into light, with what is written in the word of God ; to direct men's eyes through the revolutions which are continually affecting the state of this world, to the perpetual progress and everlasting establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom. The effort made to this purpose was not unacceptable to the people of my own charge, for they have solicited its publication ; and to gratify them, more than to please myself, I have complied.

But, on the present occasion, I feel myself bound to acknowledge, that I wish the character of Author to be lost in that of Editor. It will be sufficient honour to this trifle of my own, to announce the re-appearance of my respectable Predecessor : and to prepare the way for his learned, ingenious, and instructive discourse on the *Rise and Fall of the Papacy*. The importance of the subject, the ability displayed in Mr. Fleming's mode of treating it, the justification of several of his conjectures by recent events and present appearances, the scarcity of the tract likewise exciting public curiosity, determined me to undertake this re-publication. I was farther impelled

impelled from the consideration of the relation in which I stand to the Author, as lineally his Successor in the pastoral care of the Scots Church, then at Founders' Hall, Lothbury, now London Wall. It was at first my intention to have reprinted only those remarkable and striking passages which refer to the times in which we live. But on maturer reflection, and by the advice of friends whose judgment I highly respect, I have been induced to present the entire discourse, with the dedication and preface, in its original form: and this I do the more readily, that, whatever solidity and truth may be in Mr. Fleming's *Apocalyptical Conjectures* (for his modesty permits him not to use a stronger expression), his *practical* observations must always and universally be seasonable and useful.

If the view here given of ancient prophecy, and the confirmation of the truth of God by history, experience, and the whole tide of events, shall be an inducement to any to *search*, to ponder, to compare, and to delight in *the Scriptures*; and serve to awaken
attention

attention to the ways of God's holy Providence, an important point will be gained, and a great public benefit conferred. May the blessing of Heaven crown every attempt which has such an object in view.

A S E R M O N.

DAN. ii. 19—23.

Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven. Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever : for wisdom and might are his : And he changeth the times and the seasons : he removeth kings, and setteth up kings : he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding : He revealeth the deep and secret things : he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him. I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee.

THOUGH the Supreme Ruler of the Universe conducts and controls all his creatures, and all their actions, yet in ordinary events his agency is less observed, and therefore less acknowledged. A careless, flumbering world is therefore, from time to time, roused to attention, by dispensations of Providence which are out of the usual course of things ; and violent stimulants are called in to disturb the lethargy of inconsideration and worldly-mindedness. If ever there was a period in the history of mankind when the hand of Heaven

B

was

was rendered visible, in the production of extraordinary events, and these apparently pregnant with others still more interesting and important, it is the present. What “ wars
 “ and rumours of wars !” What ferment in the nations ! What mortality of the potentates of the earth ! What dissolution of the bands which unite man to man, and country to country ! Comets glaring in the sky !
 “ and upon the earth distress of nations,
 “ with perplexity; the sea and the waves
 “ roaring; men’s hearts failing them for fear,
 “ and for looking after those things which
 “ are coming on the earth.” The signs of the times are so striking, that they seem to call on the ministers of religion carefully to observe them, and earnestly to impress on the minds of those to whom they minister, serious attention to the ways of Providence, and a wise improvement of them, as Men, Britons, and Christians.

In this view, I deviate, on the present occasion, from the regular course of religious instruction pursued in this place; if it can be deemed a deviation, to call on the people of my charge, to behold “ the arm of the Lord
 “ revealed;” to pray, and to prepare, for the extension of the Redeemer’s kingdom,
 to

to purify their hearts, and to reform their lives; that seeing the “ judgments” of God “ are “ in the earth, the inhabitants of the world “ may learn righteousness.”

The words which I have read refer to a noted passage of ancient sacred history. Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had just carried into captivity the wretched remains of the Israelitish nation, once the wonder and glory of the whole earth. Among other captives of note was this Daniel, and his three illustrious companions; destined of High Heaven to carry with them, into a land of ignorance and idolatry, the gift of prophecy, and the knowledge of the living and true God. Providence speedily furnishes an opportunity to the young prophet of displaying to advantage those rare endowments with which the divine Spirit had enriched him. The royal couch is visited with the visions of the Almighty. A regular series of distinct and impressive images is made to pass through the king's mind in sleep, by the power of Him, in whose hand are the hearts of princes. In the morning the impression remains, but the images are entirely effaced; and no effort of waking memory can recall them. The wise and learned are in vain consulted, in order to remove the

load which oppressed a troubled monarch's breast; for what human skill extends to a case like this? Exasperated because magicians could not operate an impossibility, Nebuchadnezzar dooms all the wise men of Babylon, and Daniel among the rest, to instant death. A delay of execution is intreated on the part of Daniel and his fellows, and is obtained. Recourse is had to prayer, and an answer of peace is given. "Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision;" and not only so, but the power of recollecting it is at the same time conferred, together with the still greater gift, of unfolding the historical events which were mysteriously wrapped up in the vision. This instance of the divine power and condescension overwhelms the prophet with wonder, joy, and gratitude, and suggests the rapturous expressions in the text: "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his: And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding: He revealeth the deep and secret things; he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth
 " with

“ with him. I thank thee, and praise thee,
 “ O thou God of my fathers, who hast given
 “ me wisdom and might, and hast made
 “ known unto me now what we desired of
 “ thee.” A few of the important, im-
 mutable truths, contained in these words, are
 now to be submitted to your serious con-
 sideration, and illustrated by history and ex-
 perience.

Observe I. How every “ creature is made
 “ subject to vanity.” “ The times and the
 “ seasons are perpetually changing,” and,
 with them, all the counsels, and all the af-
 fairs of men. The revolutions of day and
 night are not more steady and certain than
 those which affect the state of the moral and
 political world. Alas, these last have all the
 certainty of change to which the former are
 subjected, but without their steadiness and
 uniformity. An unvarying law of Nature
 directs the one; human passions, more va-
 riable than the wind, mingle with the other,
 and perplex, confound, subvert all things.
 On tracing up mighty revolutions to their
 source, it was a little spring which a man
 might have stopped with the sole of his
 foot; but which, permitted to flow on,
 gradually strengthens itself with auxiliary
 B. 3 streams,

streams, till it becomes a mighty torrent, defying all resistance and opposition; and like the river of Egypt, having deluged an empire for a season, retreats again as fast, and silently steals away in various thirsty channels into the ocean. To no purpose have attempts been made to attach permanency to human things. All have failed, and fail they ever must. The foundation is insecure; the builders ignorant, feeble, and unskilful; and the materials perishable. Imperial and pontifical Rome presents one among “ a cloud of witnesses,” to attest the truth of this. And let not the Nations be alarmed at the efforts of an upstart modern Republic, that wondrous phenix springing up out of the ashes of expiring royalty, to acquire universal dominion, under the insolent pretence of extending liberty. A cause which affects to despise principles hitherto respected among men, which tramples under foot the sacred institutions of religion, which turns a deaf ear to the voice of misery, which has polluted itself with innocent blood, is not honourable, and cannot prosper. In such a state of things, “ the change of times and seasons” is “ a consummation devoutly to be wished;” and it is a consolation to reflect, that “ verily there is a God
“ who

“ who judgeth in the earth.” But what calamities may be endured, what rivers of innocent blood flow, in settling the dire contention ! My heart bleeds to think of my brave, generous countrymen, exposed to the dagger of the affassin, or to combat in the field, or on the flood, with the executioners of demons in human form, men whose “ tender mercies are cruelty.” I flee for relief to a

II. Important truth conveyed by the prophet, namely, That the counsels of Heaven blending with the purposes of men, give them a consistency, a solidity, a direction, an importance not their own. “ Wisdom and “ might are his ; and He changeth the times “ and the seasons :” as it is written by another Prophet, and transcribed from him by the Apostle of the gentiles, “ I will destroy “ the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to “ nought the understanding of the prudent.” One of the severest threatenings contained in the word of God, and, where it has been executed, the severest of punishments, is to leave men to themselves ; “ My people,” says an offended God, “ would not hearken unto “ my voice ; and Israel would none of me. “ So I gave them up unto their own hearts “ lust ; and they walked in their own coun-

“ fets :” and in another place, “ Ephraim is
 “ joined to idols, let him alone.” But even
 in permitting men, whether nationally or in-
 dividually, to entangle themselves in their
 own devices, an over-ruling Providence is car-
 rying on plans of wisdom and mercy unto per-
 fection ; and “ the wrath of man” is made
 to “ praise God,” and to work out his righ-
 teousness. All history confirms this. The
 particular event which I shall produce in
 proof, is the most interesting and illustrious
 that ever visited the world. I give it, with-
 out a commentary, in the words of an in-
 spired apostle. Having quoted this notable
 prediction from the Psalms concerning the
 Messiah, “ Why did the heathen rage, and
 “ the people imagine vain things ? The kings
 “ of the earth stood up, and the rulers were
 “ gathered together against the Lord, and
 “ against his Christ ;” Peter thus proceeds to
 make the application : “ For, of a truth,
 “ against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou
 “ hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pi-
 “ late, with the gentiles, and the people of
 “ Israel, were gathered together, for to do
 “ whatsoever thy hand, and thy counsel de-
 “ termined before to be done.” From igno-
 rant, erring, corrupted man, what is to be
 expected

expected but confusion, inconsistency, violence, every evil work? but under the subduing hand of Omnipotence all is order, harmony and peace. Europe, at this moment, presents a scene of dreadful agitation; and when, and by what means, the storm is to subside into a calm, is a secret which “the Father hath kept in his own power;” and which “the day shall declare;” but surely it is not presumption to express a belief, that the final issue will undoubtedly be favourable to the great interests of truth, virtue, and religion. France is apparently severed, and for ever, from the See of Rome, and thereby a considerable diminution of popish usurpation is effected. A separation not to be ascribed, indeed, to religious illumination, to free enquiry producing conviction; but to impatience of all restraint, but to the frenzy of the day, but to a prevailing character of irreligion. Nevertheless, when the storm *shall have* spent itself, and calamity shall have subdued that aspiring people to serious reflection; when reason shall have resumed its empire, and conscience returned to the exercise of its sacred rights, is it not to be hoped, that this eldest son, this chief support of the Roman Catholic Church, may be disposed of Heaven to tender to Great Britain

Britain a fraternity which she can with safety, with wisdom, and with honour, accept—a fraternity in cultivating universal peace, and in promoting “ pure and undefiled religion ? ”
 “ The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice :
 “ let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.”

III. The elevation and depression of princes is peculiarly the work of Providence. “ He
 “ removeth kings, and setteth up kings.” This is no place for discussing the nature, forms, and principles of government. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say, that royalty, variously modified, has been, and is, in almost every age and nation of the earth, the mode of governing mankind ; and may therefore be justly considered as “ the ordinance of God : ” and every ordinance of God is respectable. In the rise and fall of sovereigns, the interests, and the fate of millions are involved : and this it is that stamps them, with importance in the eye of sound reason, as of eternal Providence. God is accordingly represented in Scripture as both giving and taking away kings in his anger. The prolongation or abridgment of their life and sovereignty is, according to circumstances, a blessing or a curse to the world : and both are the operation of Him who “ doth accord-
 “ ing

“ing to his will in the army of heaven, and
 “among the inhabitants of the earth.” But
 the elevation and downfall even of princes, in
 the ordinary course of events, make but a
 slight and transitory impression. “His breath”
 too “goeth forth; and he returneth to his
 “earth,” like other men. “One goeth
 “and another cometh;” the wonder is soon
 over, and the change is hardly felt—sad hu-
 miliation to the pride of man! But when
 God is pleased to create an unusual, or a new
 thing in the earth; when the exaltation or
 removal is effected by the instrumentality of
 men, with an accumulation of singular cir-
 cumstances, we are constrained to attend to
 the human agency which interposed, and to
 the spirit which directed it. Of this nature
 is the dreadful tragedy so lately acted in a
 neighbouring country, and which has issued
 in the barbarous and bloody execution of one
 of the most humane of men, and most gentle
 and beneficent of princes: an act so atrocious
 in itself, and accompanied with aggravations
 so horrid, that every one, not lost to huma-
 nity, must wonder who could perpetrate it.
 Considered as the work of man, this event
 inspires horror or kindles indignation. The
 reasons assigned for dooming the devoted vic-
 tim

tim to death are, many of them, an insult to human understanding, and a barefaced mockery of justice. The unnecessary and wanton triumph expressed over fallen royalty, argue the lowest and most brutal insensibility. The indecent haste employed in executing the dreadful sentence, exhibits a determination hostile to all the finer feelings of the heart, and all the more solemn suggestions of conscience. The treatment of the bleeding corpse discovers a spirit of vengeance worthy of him who is a murderer from the beginning.

“Curfed be their anger, for it was fierce, and
 “their wrath, for it was cruel! O my foul,
 “come not thou into their secret, unto their
 “assembly mine honour be not thou united,
 “for in their anger they flew a man,” a king.—But, as the operation of the great Supreme, every thing assumes a different aspect. The tide of human wrath subsides; a Convention shrinks into an hillock of ants; the words *Monarchy* and *Republic* become equally a term of pity or of derision, and the bullying of a Despot, or of a Demagogue, sinks into equal contempt. In the instance before us, whatever may have been the motives and the views of the actors in this awful scene,

Providence

Providence clearly seems to have been consulting both the reputation and the everlasting happiness of the Sufferer himself. Had his career of sovereignty rolled quietly along to the end, it might have terminated, like that of his ancestors, many days hence, inglorious, unregretted. Absorbed in the dissipation of an ostentatious, luxurious court, his mind might have remained a stranger to the dictates and the consolations of religion. Adversity has brought to light intellectual powers which the world ascribed not to him before, and experience of the absolute nothingness of all earthly grandeur raised his soul to the contemplation, the pursuit, and, I trust, the attainment of immortal felicity. The sentiments expressed in the paper which he composed immediately previous to his death, now in every one's hands, are worthy of a man, of a king, of a Christian. What fortitude in the prospect of approaching dissolution, arrayed in all its terror! What humility in acknowledging the frail, the fallible, the guilty creature! What magnanimity in stifling every emotion of resentment against his enemies! What paternal love of, and tenderness to his country! What

an affecting display of the social and domestic virtues ! All excites admiration and commands respect ; fills the heart with alternate regret and indignation ; regret in contemplating the hard fate of such a victim, indignation at the barbarians who remorselessly embued their hands in his blood. The event has furnished an occasion of displaying, in a very striking light, the different characters of the two rival nations, much to the advantage of our own. Britain mourns, sincerely mourns, the premature fall of a foreign prince against whom she had no small ground of offence. She has forgotten that it was Louis who severed America from her, and thereby meant to enfeeble and humble her. She sees with concern the unkind, the ungenerous counsels of that day, recoiling on his own devoted head ; and loses all thought of the enemy and the king, in respect for the virtues, and sympathy in the sufferings, of the man. France, on the contrary, revels in the blood of her native prince, once the pride and the delight of every eye, and the theme of every tongue ; exults in the miseries of him who, under Providence, conferred upon her that very liberty which she understands

understands so ill, and is abusing so shamefully. Let these considerations be, by the blessing of God, improved by us

As a ground of national gratitude and joy for the innumerable and unspeakable blessings which as a nation and a people we possess. They are all the gift of a kind Providence, and for them we are deeply responsible. They are real blessings only in so far as they are accompanied by the spirit of true religion; for unless it sanctifies and supports all the rest, possession is both insecure and unsatisfactory. The best way in which a man can serve his country, is to be unfeignedly good. He does most toward a reformation of the state, who is at pains to amend his own life, and he is the most loyal of subjects who fears God. We have in the present state of our neighbours a loud warning not to listen to men who are given to change, to know when we are well, and to be thankful for it. It is easy to undermine and to demolish, but to build up requires time, and cost, and labour. In the rage of innovation men do not always stop where they intended, nor even where they wished. Who could have thought, three years ago, of the event which we this day deplore?

deplore? Many things at home, no doubt, call for reformation, and the voice of that call will, I trust, be heard and complied with. But truth is never loud, rash, and violent. Many reforms of our excellent constitution have been made, and many defects supplied, since its first establishment. Time and experience will, probably, discover still farther defects, and point out the propriety and necessity, as well as the nature of the remedy. As wise men and good subjects, let us meanwhile prize and improve what we already enjoy, and not increase the evil by restlessness and discontent. Domestic union will most successfully encounter, and most speedily terminate foreign discord.

Could my feeble voice, at the same time, reach the ears of our rulers, I would obtest them under every tender, every sacred adjuration, to meet the known and reasonable wishes of the people, and interpose the power committed to them, toward the removal, or at least the alleviation of real distress. The industrious poor labour under many hardships which admit of a remedy. The oppression of the poors' rate is in innumerable instances intolerable, and loudly calls for immediate, vigilant,

gilant, and persevering inspection. The price of every necessary of life is, beyond all example, exorbitant; an unfeeling, systematic scarcity and supply is tolerated, connived at, encouraged. Oppression has driven our neighbours into madness. May our governors, inspired with the wisdom which is from above, foresee and prevent the contagion at home; and fix their empire in the hearts of a loyal, an affectionate, and a grateful nation!

But all this refers only to temporal and transitory interests. As Christians we have infinitely higher and more important concerns at stake. Change, decay, mortality, are necessarily attached to ours, as to the other empires of this world. “ See then that ye re-
 “ fuse not him that speaketh from heaven :”
 whose voice is now dreadfully shaking the earth, and who “ hath promised, saying,
 “ Yet once more I shake not the earth only,
 “ but also heaven. And this word, *Yet once*
 “ *more* signifieth the removing of those things
 “ that are shaken, as of things that are made,
 “ that those things which cannot be shaken
 “ may remain. Wherefore we receiving a
 “ kingdom which cannot be moved, let us
 “ have grace, whereby we may serve God
 C “ acceptably

“ acceptably with reverence and godly fear.”
 —Seeing “ that all these things shall be dis-
 “ solved, what manner of persons ought ye
 “ to be in all holy conversation and godliness,
 “ looking for and hastening unto the com-
 “ ing of the day of God?” Let the infe-
 rior character of Briton be ever under the ani-
 mation and control of the higher character of
 Christian, and the duties of the man and the
 citizen be directed by the love of the Re-
 deemer of mankind. Let every one feel the
 obligation of assisting the counsels, and the
 arms, of his country, by his fervent prayers
 to the great Disposer of all events, who is
 evidently furthering his wise and gracious
 purposes, through the midst of all this bustle
 and confusion, and, without the knowledge or
 concurrence of senators and cabinets, is ma-
 turing the affairs of the world for their grand
 consummation. And when the second glo-
 rious Creation shall be finished, it shall be
 celebrated like the first, “ When the morning
 “ stars sang together, and all the sons of God
 “ shouted for joy :” and God himself, hav-
 ing surveyed the extended plan of his Provi-
 dence, from first to last, shall pronounce
 “ all” to be “ very good.”

ADDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

WHAT Mortality of the Potentates of the earth! Page 2. l. 10.—Leopold II. Emperor of Germany, was suddenly carried off, as is suspected, by poison, March 1, 1792. Gustavus III. King of Sweden, was mortally wounded by an assassin, in the height of a public festivity, on the 16th of the same month; and Louis XVI. of France, fell by the hand of the executioner, Jan. 21, 1793. All within the compass of a few months. An awful lesson to princes!

A cause which affects to despise principles hitherto respected among men, &c. Page 6. l. 14.—A declaration of *atheism* was lately made in the National Convention of France, by one of its members, and received with loud applause. The observance of the Christian Sabbath has long been neglected and derided in that country, and the sittings of their Assemblies and Convention pay no regard to the “the day of sacred rest.” This accounts, in part, for many of their enormities in conduct.

duct. Men who have cast off all “fear” of “God” will be little disposed to “honour the king:” and of those who dare to “blaspheme the God of heaven,” there is little hope that they will “repent of their deeds.”

The reasons assigned for dooming the devoted victim to death, &c. Page 11. l. 26.—I take the liberty of transcribing some of them, as an admonition to my countrymen to be grateful, and to rejoice that their lives and property are maintained and secured on far better principles, and at the disposal of more equitable judges.

Louvet. “Representatives, the safety of the Republic is in your hands. Pay homage to the national sovereignty. Should you fall by the daggers of tyrants, you will enjoy the enviable consolation of having done your duty. My opinion is unchangeable, *death*, according to the constitution.”

Leonard Bourdon. “*Death*, for two reasons: general safety, and the crime; and, from humanity, let the execution be within twenty-four hours.”

Jean Bon St. André. “This is a combat of liberty against tyranny, and this com-

“ bat is *death*. The punishment is indeed
“ terrible, but in this case it becomes a duty.
“ To give an example to all nations who
“ wish to be free, to annihilate tyranny, I
“ am compelled to pronounce the punishment
“ of *death*.”

Pons de Verdun. “ Louis has gone beyond
“ the bounds of his constitutional inviolabi-
“ lity. I see the same difference between
“ those crimes provided for by that constitu-
“ tion which he first annihilated, and those
“ of which he has rendered himself guilty, as
“ between poisoning and assassination. By ex-
“ ceeding the measure of the crime, the pu-
“ nishment incurred ought to be the greater.
“ The King as an individual has placed him-
“ self, with regard to punishment, on a foot-
“ ing with unprivileged conspirators, for
“ with regard to criminality he has been al-
“ ways privileged. He is more criminal than
“ they. Should this be a reason for treat-
“ ing him with less severity? The rights of
“ man loudly exclaim against such injustice.
“ They would reproach me with disguising
“ it under the name of policy; with cover-
“ ing it under the pusillanimous pretence of
“ false incompetence; and weakly should I
“ suffer

“ suffer myself to be frightened with vain
“ phantoms. Louis has been accused by the
“ whole nation of having conspired against it.
“ We have declared him guilty. My con-
“ science bids me open the penal code. It
“ pronounces against Louis the sentence of
“ *death*, which several of his accomplices have
“ already suffered.”

J. B. Lacaste, du Cantal. “ The tyrant,
“ while alive, is like a light-house to our
“ internal and external enemies—When dead
“ he will be a terror to the combined kings
“ and their satellites. His ghost will discon-
“ cert the projects of traitors, put an end to
“ faction and disturbance, give peace to the
“ Republic, and at length destroy those pre-
“ judices which have too long disturbed man-
“ kind. The tyrant has been declared guilty
“ of the greatest of crimes—of attempting to
“ enslave the nation. The law pronounces
“ death against such an attempt. Submissive
“ to the law, I vote for *death*.”

Robespierre. “ Because you have esta-
“ blished yourselves the judges of Louis with-
“ out the usual forms, are you less his
“ judges? You cannot separate your quality
“ of judge from that of legislator. These

“ two

“ two characters are indivisible. You have
 “ acknowledged the crimes of the tyrant. It
 “ is your duty to punish them. No confi-
 “ deration should make you hesitate respect-
 “ ing the punishment reserved for the greatest
 “ criminal that ever existed. I vote the pu-
 “ nishment of *death*.”

Danton. “ I am a republican, and do not
 “ hesitate respecting the choice of that pu-
 “ nishment reserved for Louis the last. You
 “ ought to strike a terror into tyrants. I
 “ vote for the punishment of *death*.”

Robert. “ I vote for *death*: and if any
 “ regret remains, it is, that my sentence
 “ does not extend to all tyrants. I would
 “ condemn them all to *death*.”

Freron. “ Were it possible that the ma-
 “ jority should pronounce only imprisonment,
 “ I would move that a veil might be thrown
 “ over the bust of *Brutus*. I vote for *death*.”

Barrere. “ The tree of liberty does not
 “ flourish unless moistened with the blood of
 “ kings. I vote for *death*.”

Egalité. “ Those who have made, or may
 “ make attempts against the sovereignty of
 “ the people, deserve death. I vote for
 “ *death*.”

Jean de Brie. “ I pronounce the *death* of
 “ the tyrant, because I consider his death as
 “ the death-blow to faction.”

Lakanal. “ A Republican is a man of few
 “ words. The motives of my opinion are here
 “ —(laying his hand on his breast)—I vote
 “ for *death.*”——But enough. To doom a
 fellow creature, in cold blood, to *death*, on
 such pretences as these! May Heaven long
 preserve to my country wiser and more righte-
 ous tribunals!

*The sentiments expressed in the paper which
 he composed immediately previous to his death,
 &c. Page 13. l. 16.*—As far as this publica-
 tion can preserve and extend the knowledge
 of that affecting memorial of a good prince, it
 shall be done. I therefore subjoin a transla-
 tion of it.

“ IN the name of the Most Holy Trinity,
 the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
 this day, the 21st of December, 1792, I,
 Louis the XVI. of the name, King of France,
 having been for more than four months im-
 prisoned with my family in the tower of the
 temple at Paris, by those who were my sub-
 jects, and deprived of all communication what-
 soever, ever since the 11th instant, with my
 own

own family; moreover, being implicated in a trial of which it is impossible to foresee the issue, on account of the passions of men, and for which no pretext or means can be found in any existing law; having only God for the witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

“ I leave my soul to God, my Creator; I pray him to receive it in mercy, and not to judge it according to its deserts, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself a sacrifice to God his father, for us men, however unworthy, and for me the most unworthy. I die in the communion of our mother, the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, who holds her powers by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted them. I firmly believe and acknowledge every thing contained in the commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and mysteries, such as the church teaches and hath always taught them; I have never pretended to make myself a judge of the different modes of explaining the dogmas which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have conformed, and will
always

always conform, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the higher ecclesiastics of the Holy Catholic Church give, and shall give, conformably to the discipline of the church followed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with all my heart, our brethren who may be in error, but I pretend not to judge them, and I love them no less in Jesus Christ according to what Christian charity teaches us; I pray God to pardon me all my sins; I have endeavoured to know them scrupulously, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not being able to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made, and above all my profound repentance for having put my name (though it was against my will) to acts which may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic church, to which I have always remained sincerely united in heart; I pray God to accept of my firm resolution, if he grant me life, to make use as soon as I can of the ministry of a Catholic Priest to confess myself of all my sins, and to receive the sacrament of repentance; I request all those whom I may have offended through inadvertence, for I do not recollect having knowingly offended any
one,

one, or those to whom I may have given bad example or scandal, to forgive me the evil which they think I have done them.

“ I entreat all charitable persons to join their prayers with mine to obtain of God the pardon of my sins.

“ I forgive, with all my heart, those who have made themselves my enemies without my having given them any cause; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those who, through a false or mistaken zeal, have done me much evil.

“ I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever. I pray God particularly to look with the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have long been the partners of my sufferings; to sustain them by his grace, if they should lose me; and as long as they shall remain in this perishable world. I recommend my children to my wife; I have never doubted her maternal tenderness for them. I recommend to her, above all, to make them good Christians, and honest members of society; to make them consider the grandeurs of
of

of this world, if they are condemned to prove them, but as things dangerous and perishable, and to turn their views towards the only and solid glory of eternity. I request my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them, if they should have the misfortune to lose their own.

“ I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which she suffers on my account, and the uneasiness which I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured, that I remember nothing against her, if she thinks she has any thing to reproach herself with.

“ I earnestly recommend to my children, next to their duty to God, which they ought to prefer to every thing, to maintain mutual union, submission, and obedience, to their mother, and gratitude for all the cares which she incurs for them, and in memory of me.

“ I entreat them to consider my sister as a second mother. I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune to become king, to think that he owes himself entirely to the good of his fellow citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and all resentment, and especially whatever relates to the misfortunes and
uneasiness

uneasiness which I experience ; that he cannot promote the good of the people but by reigning according to the laws ; but, at the same time, that a king cannot make the laws respected, and do the good he wishes, but in proportion as he has the necessary authority ; and that, without this, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more injurious than useful. I recommend to my son to take care of all the persons who were attached to me, as far as his circumstances shall give him the means ; to think that this is a sacred debt which I have contracted to the children or relations of those who have died for me, and next, to those who are unfortunate on my account. I know that there are many persons of those who were attached to me, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and who have even shewn me ingratitude ; but I forgive them (often, in the moments of trouble and effervescence, a man is not master of himself) ; and I entreat my son, if he should have the opportunity, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wish to be able to testify my gratitude to those who have displayed a true and disinterested attachment to me. On the

the one hand, if I was sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of persons to whom I had never shewn any thing but favours to them, their relations, or friends ; on the other, I have had the consolation of seeing the gratuitous attachment and interest which many persons have shewn to me. I entreat them to accept of my thanks ; in the situation in which things still are, I should be afraid of bringing them into danger, if I were to speak more explicitly ; but I recommend particularly to my son to seek all occasions of discovering them.

“ I should, nevertheless, think that I calumniated the sentiments of the nation, did I not openly recommend to my son M. M. de Chamilly and Hu, whom their true attachment to me induced to shut themselves up with me in this mournful residence, and who were near being the unhappy victims of what they did. I also recommend to him Cleri, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I request M. M. of the *Commune*, to deliver to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my purse, and the other little effects which have
been

been deposited at the Council of the Commons.

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

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

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

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

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

(A true copy) Baudrais, Municipal Officer.

She has forgotten that it was Louis who severed America from her, &c. Page 14. l. 13.

—The Queen of France's party, it is well known, forced on the King the treaty with

America, in the view of depressing Great Britain. Louis considered it as an unfair and ungenerous measure, and threw away the pen when urged to sanction it with his signature. But in an evil hour for himself and his family, he relented, on repeated importunity; he signed the fatal instrument which involved both hemispheres in the horrors of war, and in so doing, he remotely signed the warrant for his own execution. Another lesson to princes!