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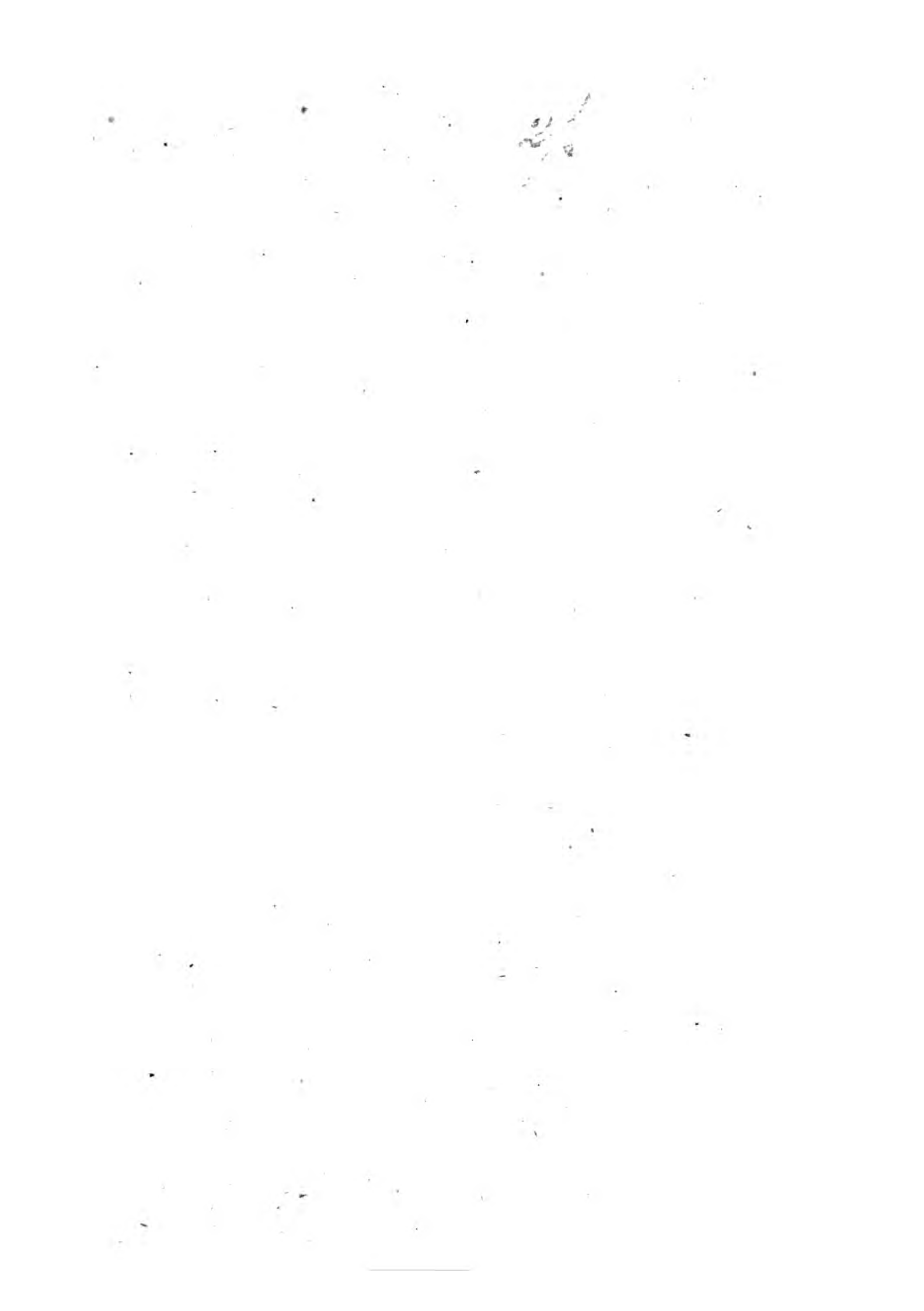


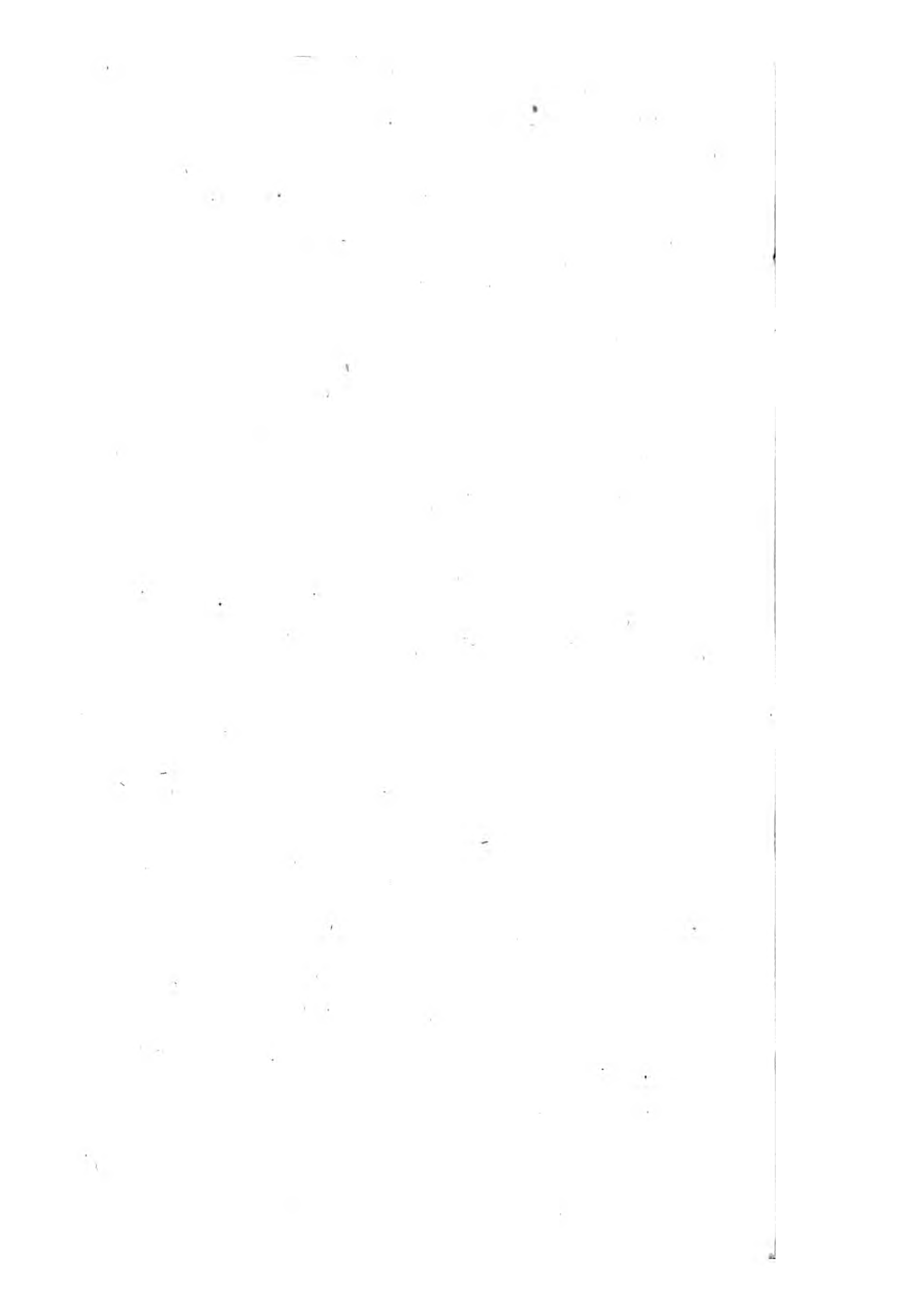
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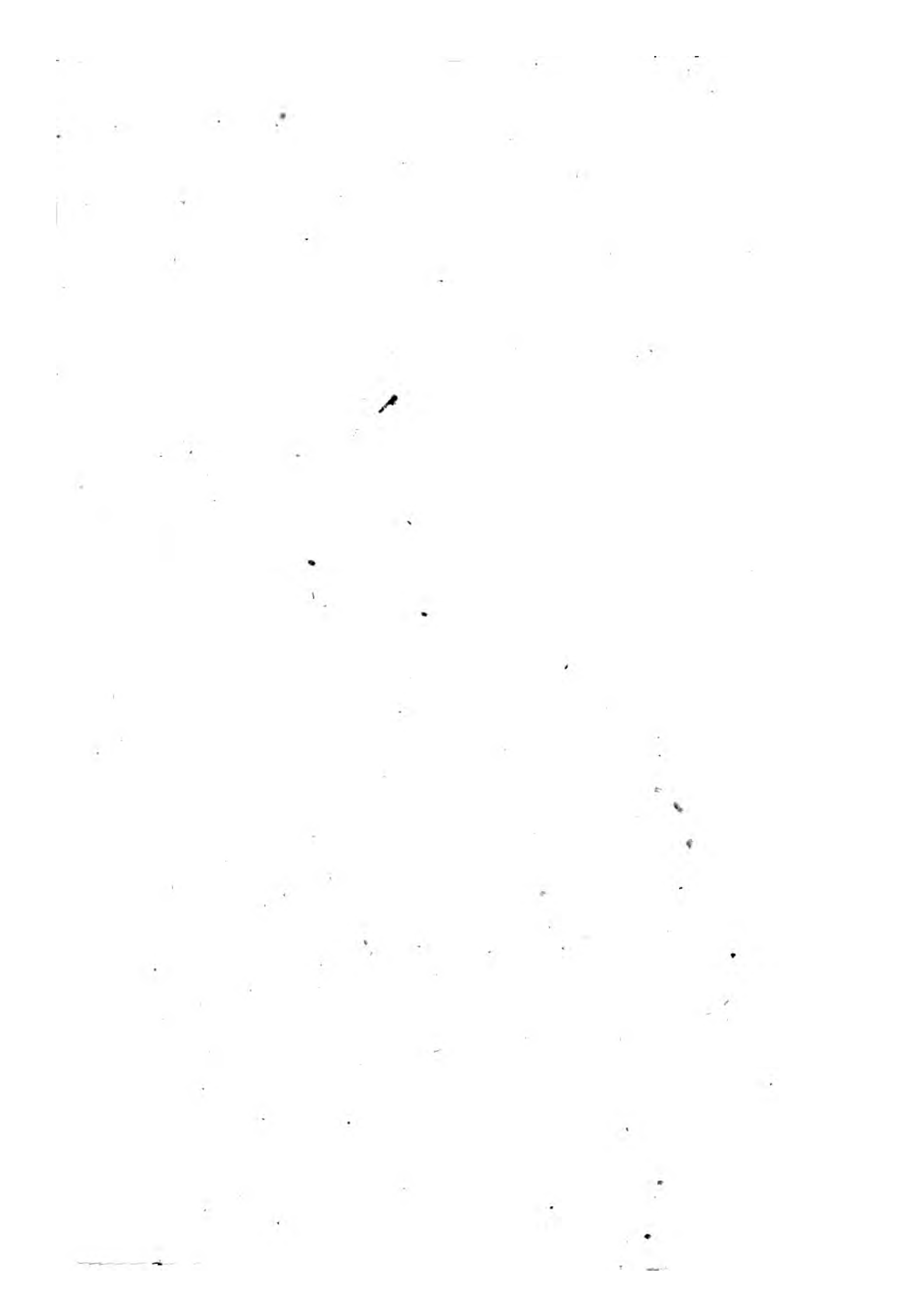
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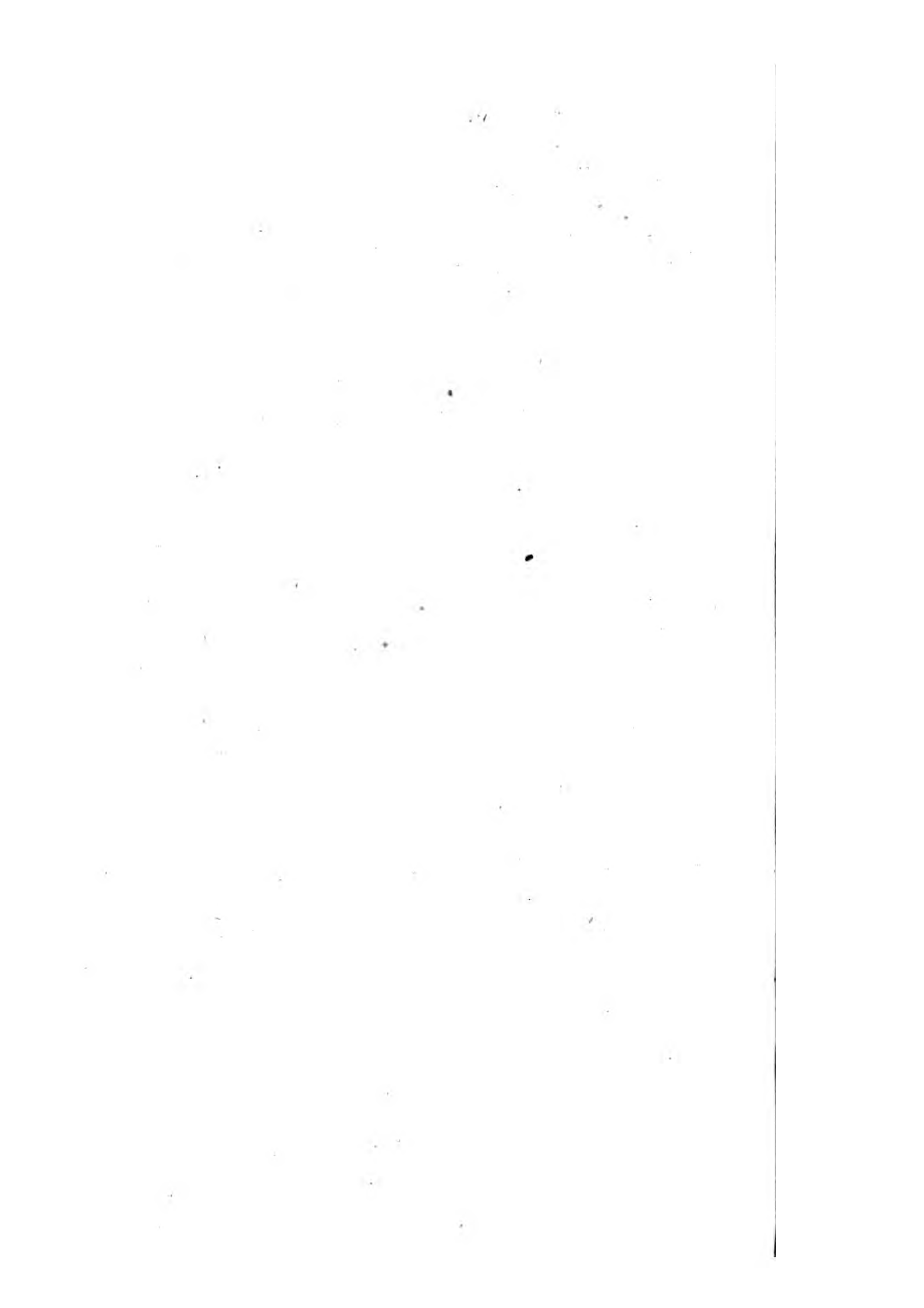
Miss Emma F. I. Dunston

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L E T T E R S

FROM

PARIS,

DURING

THE SUMMER OF 1792,

WITH

REFLECTIONS.

Liberté, Liberté! ton sort n'est pas plus beau
Qu'aux murs de Constantin, tremblante et confternee
Sous le bourreau à Paris tu languis enchainée
Entre le fabre, et le cordeau.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR W. CLARKE, NEW BOND STREET, AND
J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY.

M DCC XCIII.



INTRODUCTION.

I LEFT Louis the Sixteenth on the throne full of health and applause, a patriot King, an accomplished Monarch, living apparently in the hearts of his people, conversing, walking, riding with them; in short, the King of the Constitution, the first servant, the grand functionary, and supreme agent; and eight
A 2 months

months afterwards he was making his proceſſion through the ſtreets of his capital in a German chaiſe in durance vile with the Mayor of Paris, amidſt the curſes of an innumerable multitude, whoſe reſpect for their firſt magiſtrate hardly kept them from mingling his blood with the blood of their ſovereign. Fortune has been ſaid to turn triumphs into funerals, and to make kings ſchoolmaſters; but here the operation of time and chance contributed but little to the dethroning of the French King, ſince it was eaſy to foreſee, that an adminiſtration compoſed of the head of an old courtier
I placed

placed upon the shoulders of a new liberty-boy must consist of parts too heterogeneous to hold firmly together, or to unite cordially for any period of time. From the experience we have had of a political animal so composed, we may conclude that the head of a man upon the body of a wild beast cannot exist, but must be ever held, like the Centaur of antiquity, truly fabulous. The people who are represented by the body cannot bear to be subordinate to the head even of their own election; they grow jealous of the hand and the foot, and threaten to cut off every projecting

part in order to produce a perfect equality ; and what is the consequence of this lopping system, why, the machine is rendered uselefs because it has no direction, and falls to pieces for want of compact.

‘ L’Egalité hélas ! si souvent est cruelle,
On l’aime, et les hommes font malheureux par elle.’

Since I wrote the above the King is no more ; the unoffending Louis, the only man of his family who contributed nothing to the necessity of a revolution in his dominions, has been loaded with the accumulated criminality of all his household, and has paid
the

the forfeit with his life incurred by his cotemporaries and his predecessors. As he lived without offence, so he may be said to have died without reproach; for although he had been tried and condemned, nothing having been proved against him, he remains innocent even after condemnation.

Irresolution and want of decision to execute severe measures, amiable defects! were no doubt the great bane of his reign; could he have determined early in the day to have given Broglio the command to march with his

five and twenty thousand men against the Parisians, when it was first proposed to him, he might still have sat upon his throne. The troops were then loyal and undebauched, and would have followed their General, and fought for their King ; but three days afterwards, when the same General was called upon to lead his troops against the rebels, it was then too late, the men's minds had all been poisoned with the golden pleasures of the Palais Royal ; the Parisians were then their brothers and fellow-patriots, and they themselves no longer soldiers, but fellow-citizens.

The

The Marechal told the King,
“ It was now too late ; it should
“ have been done when you de-
“ liberated about it.”

All remedy in short was too late, and the government was irrecoverably lost in the boundless abyss of expence and depredation, hastened, no doubt, and accelerated by the royal sign and seal to the treaty with America, to which the King set his reluctant hand.

From this prolific source of wretched politics a series of troubles brought the royal victim
from

from the palace to the prison, from the prison to the scaffold, to be murdered by men, who, with the aid of bribery and subornation, could not prove him guilty either of death or of bonds. The wanton cruelty of condemning an innocent man to lose his head for any errors of his reign, after having declared him inviolable, retorts the epithet *barbare*, with which this country has been branded, upon the French nation with double force. The insulting reason that has been urged for such an outrage to humanity, is, that it was done to please the sovereign mistress the mob, to whom

whom their leaders had pledged themselves to exhibit a public spectacle. Thus to compare small things with great, Flaminus the Proconsul, at a great supper which he gave to a favourite courtesan, ordered a prisoner for immediate execution in the room where he was at table, because the lady expressed a desire to see a man's head cut off. *' Ut jucundius cœnarent homo occisus est.'*

It is by no means easy to say to what motive the abominable wickedness, the atrocious rage is to be ascribed, that deprives an
invo-

innocent monarch of his life, and destines a guiltless father of his people to an ignominious death. But the difficulty is considerably increased when we say, that it was not for an example of terror to future Kings, that all the laws of justice and humanity were violated beyond the reach of precedent; for the throne was reversed, and the monarchy declared extinct long before the mock trial began, or the sentence was prepared. If the miseries of the country were to be alleviated by a total change in its government; if the evils of a bad administration were to be remedied
by

by a new system; that system was already adopted; and required no *ex post facto* sacrifice of royal blood for its future establishment.

Neither was it for the conciliation of parties that this shocking act was committed, as it evidently must tend to exasperate all others but the very perpetrators themselves of the horrid deed, and probably afford the means of stifling the new-born liberty yet in its cradle, and making government flow once again in its corrupted channel. Neither in point of expediency can this unprovoked

voked murder be considered as likely to produce any good consequence to its shallow contrivers. The tree of monarchy is not killed by the loss of one of its branches; but, on the contrary, to cut out the old wood is to make the new more vigorous; and those, no doubt, who, themselves republicans, are weak enough to support an indirect branch of the house of Bourbon in his views upon the empire of France, as its protector, liberator, or defender, will do more to rebuild what they have been pulling down, than if they had voted for the re-instatement of royalty itself.

itself. Men, who to-day are so fierce and blood-thirsty as to plunge their daggers into the breast of monarchy, and to-morrow give their assistance to establish a new tyrant, must have the faculty with which Demosthenes reproaches the Athenians of making masters for themselves, and whatsoever they may write and talk about the sovereignty of the people, they like nothing in their hearts but the sovereignty of a king. The people of France, long accustomed to misery and magnificence, will, as soon as their fever shall abate and the cold fit come on, be disgusted with

with the plainness of a republic, and grow weary of the level of equality. The vast advantage they have acquired in the actual experience of the extremes of despotism; the despotism of a corrupt court, that maintained itself by bastilles and lettres de cachet, and the despotism of an armed mob that ruled with an iron sceptre and a bloody pike; the great knowledge they have gained from being eye-witnesses of such revolutions ought indubitably to lead them to that happy point where liberty and obedience, freedom and subordination, are found in unison, and live together
in

in the harmony of mutual confidence. From this eminence, should they attain it, they will discover that their favourite project of perpetual peace will be more likely to succeed by ruling quietly at home, than by any attempt to make profelytes by friendly invasions, or fraternal contributions. Peace, perhaps, is best preserved by a nation that is always ready to fight for her ; it is to be feared that the maxim of the ancient political historian is as true now as when he wrote it. ‘ *Neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, ne-*

que stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt.

But the conduct of the French is at this moment without example in ancient days or modern times ; they cry aloud that they are at peace with all the world, and carry fire, and sword, and forty-five pounders, into their neighbours territories. ‘ *Ils embrassent les hommes, mais c’est pour les étouffer.*’ They profess to feed all mankind with the bread of liberty, but they choak them in the operation by thrusting it down their throats on the point of the bayonet. All their schemes
and

and plans are calculated to disturb men's minds, and in order to tear up all fixed notions, and set them afloat, they cut down, wherever they go, all religious establishments, and plant the tree of Atheism in their stead. Not content with lifting the power and majesty of the people over the head of lineal succession and hereditary right; not satisfied with extirpating prerogative, they proceed to exclusion, deposition, murder, assassination, and parricide. The general safety of Europe is affected by the introduction of so much enormity, and the common interests of huma-

(xx)

nity ought to unite all men in
resisting the further progress of
such unprovoked hostilities.

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LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

Paris, August, 1792:

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM just arrived in this place, and propose from time to time to let you know what I am about, and what the municipality, the sections, the assembly, and the court are doing; but in order to connect what I have written to you before, with what I am going to transmit, provided always that my letters are suffered to pass,

VOL. II.

B

I in-

I intend to give you some detail of the events that have happened since the acceptance, to the end of the year 1791, in order to connect the summer of 1791 with the summer of 1792, in such a manner that they may mutually assist in explaining one another. This plan of mine, which is likely to produce a second packet of letters, is the *enfant trouvé* of the occasion, and which you owe entirely to my love of loco-motion and foolish curiosity. You may smile probably on reading this; but I can assure you many refuse to come hither because they are afraid of an eight-foot pike. The travelling, indeed, is just as easy, and as safe as ever it was, and being in the summer, with the swallow *en croupe*, just as delightful. You are, indeed, under the necessity of having your picture drawn at the municipality of the town you set out from, which is an exact

exact description of your person, sometimes, perhaps, of no great resemblance in difficult cases, where there is great justness of proportion, and little character; for instance, Alcina's forehead, should such a one occur,

‘ Di terfo avorio era la fronte lieta,

‘ Che lo spatio finia con giusta metà.’

But be this as it may, whether you are well or ill described, it is no business of your's, you are not to vapour because you are *peint en laid*, or rather because justice is not done to your shapes, lest you should be the only sufferer in a court without appeal. They tell a story of a countryman of ours, who, though not very tall, yet piqued himself much on knowing his exact measure, which he had often taken at Merlin's; and more so on hold-

ing up his head, and a constant attention to an erect carriage. This he considered as absolutely necessary, as he was on his way to Coblentz, where he meant to offer his services to the Duke of Brunswick. Having therefore presented himself to the officer to be measured, the officer reported him to the secretary five feet five inches, upon which the Englishman stared, as if lost in astonishment: “What, “Sir!” says he, to the measurer, “is it “possible that I can have lost five inches “in crossing the water: I measured five “feet ten when I left London, and here, “Sir, is the certificate:”—upon which he pulled out of his pocket one of Merlin’s books, in the blank leaf of which was entered the measure of Lieutenant ———. The officer said, that was no guide to him, and ordered the secretary to set down five feet five inches. The Lieutenant remonstrated

strated violently against the entry, and was growing more and more clamorous, when another man came in to be measured, who, when he had learnt the cause of the complaint on the part of his countryman, whispered him,—“ That the French and
 “ English feet were not the same; but
 “ that the Bishop of Autun, if he should
 “ survive the present confusion, and Sir
 “ John Miller, when he should come into
 “ Parliament again, had promised to make
 “ them so.”—This reasonable communication quieted the unhappy man, who thought he had been curtailed of his fair proportions, and sent him away perfectly satisfied with his stature, and the description of it.

But after all this trouble, will you believe me, when I declare to you upon my honour, that of the ten different people who

stopped me between Calais and Paris to examine my passport, one only of the whole number compared it with my person, all the rest read it, and returned it into the carriage, whilst I was lying back the whole time in the corner of my chaise, on purpose to see if they would oblige me to come forward.

This negligence, if it continues, will, no doubt, facilitate the evasion of many an obnoxious aristocrate who, not being able to procure a passport for himself, may get off under a borrowed character.

I am, with great respect,

And constant attachment,

Ever your's.

L E T-

LETTER II.

Paris.

IT was my intention to have led you back a few paces into the last year in order to have re-conducted you, as well as I was able, through the labyrinth of political intricacies, without, perhaps, being provided upon all occasions with an unerring clue to regulate my march. But I find, from the present state of ferment which now exists in Paris, that some great event is likely to take place very shortly, which may drive me hence, and make it utterly impossible to continue my narration in a regular line through the winter to the present time; I shall, therefore, with your

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per-

permission, jump from January to June, and endeavour to give you a sketch of the leading circumstances which have brought matters to the present crisis, when it is threatened to put a speedy end to the King, and the whole of his executive government.

In the month of June Monsieur Santerre, at the head of some inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine, armed with pikes, came to the Assembly to congratulate it on the decree relative to the twenty thousand federates.* M. Santerre opened
the

* These twenty thousand federates were to be volunteers from the eighty-three departments, and to be encamped under the walls of Paris, in order to defend it in case of an invasion. The national Parisian guards exclaimed violently against the decree that authorized this measure, and said, they were the proper people to defend Paris, and thoroughly

the business, as orator of the deputation, by observing, that homage paid to tyrants seated on their thrones, was the tribute of slaves, whereas freedom prompted men to assemble and unite, in order to draw still closer the ties of fraternity. Detachments of troops of the line, with General Wittencoff at their head, filed off through the Assembly ; the procession was attend-

roughly sufficient for the purpose ; let the volunteers be sent to the frontiers.—Notwithstanding these remonstrances the national guards were brought over to approve the decree, and made to believe there could be no salvation for the country without an immediate execution of it. The King's refusal to sanction this decree was made a handle to convert the Parisian guards. In the mean time the King's own constitutional guards of horse and foot, 1800 in all, were exchanged for a volunteer guard of the citizens. The Ministers, Servan and Roland, also, who had proposed the decree to the Assembly, and had been dismissed by the King, were highly applauded, and it was decreed, that when they left the Ministry, they carried with them the regrets of the people.

ed with martial music and *ça ira*. The foreigners in the gallery acquired a clear idea from this sort of pageant of the influence of the King in military matters, and how much the head of the constitution had to do with the disposition of the army.

Mademoiselle d'Eon writes a letter to the Assembly, in which she informs the nation that she has disposed of her female attire, weary of being in a character, which, though her own, she was impatient to throw off; accordingly she had disposed of every thing but her uniform, her arms, and the precious MSS. of Marechal de Vauban, and was ready to serve the nation, not in the mockery of a civil pageant, but in the actual service of the troops of the line.—This lady, whose wit and courage are for the most part
above

above her sex, would willingly have joined with Plato in thanking God that she was born a man and not a woman: she brings to my mind continually the words of an ancient, in the prayer of Cænis to Neptune.

————— ‘ Da fœmina ne fim,
Omnia præstabis. Ov,

M. Delfaux gave the Assembly an account of a wretch who appeared possessed with the spirit of a regicide, worse and more inveterate than Damiens. His cry was against the inhabitants of the Chateau of the Thuilleries, whom he described as about to fall by the poignard of patriotism. He stood on a stool at the door of the Assembly in the garden, and preached to a numerous audience, *la chute de l'idole des François*. The House paid but little attention to this denunciation of the threats
of

of a vagabond, though against the head of the constitution. They were with other things referred to the executive power, as not coming properly before the Assembly, and strange to tell, after having been brought as it were into court, and the folding doors of justice shut upon them, they made their escape through the wicket.

Upon the subject of arms, which are by no means in great abundance in this country, or sufficient for the demand, it was decreed, that none should be exported on pain of seizure, and fifty livres forfeit should be paid for every gun, pistol, sword, sabre, or *couteau de chasse*; and that arms marked A. N. *arme nationale*, should be distributed to every peasant near the frontiers.

M. Servan, the ex-minister of war, desires the Assembly to grant him his *quietus*, that he may fly to the frontiers, where he wishes to serve his country as a soldier, though not permitted to do all the good he hoped and intended in his civil department. M. Duffaulx sang M. Servan's praise, though he had been dismissed on the petition of eight thousand national guards ; he demanded of the Assembly a decree, that M. Servan had left the service with regret on the part of the nation. M. Guadet did the same thing, and added, that M. Narbonne had been impeached, but M. Servan had not, except by the enemies of the constitution. " When," cries M. Guadet, " will these intrigues " have an end !"—" When you please ;" replies a well-known voice, which silenced M. Guadet, and he sat down.

The

The King's letter was read, in which his Majesty desires the President to inform the Assembly that he had replaced the war-minister by M. Dumourier, and the ministers of the interior department and the public contributions, M. M. Claviere and Roland, by M. M. Mourgues and Naillac.

M. M. Claviere and Roland acquaint the Assembly by letter that they have been dismissed, and M. Roland incloses a copy of his famous letter to the King. This letter seemed to be calculated to extort from the Assembly their disapprobation of his dismissal.

M. Dumourier felt himself treated with contempt on his entrance into the house ; he began his ministry by reading a letter from de la Fayette ; he then entered more
imme-

immediately on his own office, in which he shewed how much his predecessor had left him to do. He observed, that the Assembly had voted certain compliments to the existing troops, but had forgot to point out the resources for the maintenance of these additional men and horses. The question on this statement was, who was in fault, M. Servan, whom the Assembly had taken leave of with regret, or M. Dumourier, who had denied the existence of proper means to carry on the war?

Tumultuous debates ensued, and a decree, ordering a committee of twelve to inquire into the state of the fortifications, and to examine all the accounts of the ministers of war down from Duportail inclusively to the present time.

LET-

LETTER III.

M. CHERON proposed, as an additional article to the suppression of all feudal rights without indemnification, not acquired *par une concession de fonds*, to declare all property to belong to the nation, to which no title could be made out. Immemorial possession, or the chief rents of numberless years, would be no bar to this rule, and never to be considered as a title. In confirmation, as it were, of this doctrine, certain friends of the constitution from Bouzonville address the Assembly, and beseech it to scour the land of the remains of its feudal rust; and at the same time send a copy of an address to the King, which

which is read to the Assembly. These friends of the nation are well informed that the Thuilleries are a depot of arms against the constitution; they advise the King to quit the throne, or to support it at the price of his blood. They warn him against being guided by the councils of a woman, who by her sex is proscribed from all interference with the administration of the country. They recommend to him to sanction the decree of the priests, if he wishes to preserve their esteem, and their protection, and his crown. This letter is much in the style of Roland, and on the same subject, though less explicit, and less constitutional. You will observe, in order to connect in your mind the chain of events that lead at any time to some great exploit, that this address and this letter were presented to the National Assembly on the fifteenth of this month,

preparatory to the business of the twentieth.

A silly quarrel between M. Grangeneuve, a patriot, and M. Jouneau, a deputy, occupied the Assembly four hours, in which it appeared, in evidence, that a member had a blow given with the flat hand on the face; *un coup donné à platte main sur une figure*, that is, what used formerly to be called, *un soufflet*. It seems that from words the deputies came to a challenge, and were in their way to the *bois de Bologne*; but Grangeneuve thought a second time of it, and said, he would not go; on which Jouneau gave him a flap on the face in the Thuilleries, and the *sans culottes* joined chorus with Grangeneuve, who courageously bawled out, *on m'assassine*. You see clearly that the point of honour is fled from France with
the

the spirit of chivalry, and the inhabitants are so far from drawing their swords to defend their Queen, that they cannot be brought to defend themselves.

If the rage for building new houses were as great at Paris as at London, the grant of the National Assembly to M. Palloy would be of considerable value, but as it is, it has more resemblance to the *corona civica*, than the *corona aurea*; and confers more honour than profit. M. Pafforet came forward to pronounce the eulogy of the Sieur Palloy, who contributed to the destruction of the Bastille, after the gates had been forced, the garrison had submitted, and the governor was disarmed. But M. Palloy did still more; he sent a stone of the castle to each of the eighty-three departments, and struck medals with the chains which he found in the cells of

the prison. M. Pastoret concluded his speech by proposing, that a square should be marked out on the ground of the Bastille, and in the midst of it a pillar should be raised, surmounted by a statue of liberty; and that the whole should be called *la place de la liberté*. The first stone he proposed to lay on the fourteenth of July next. In the mean time artists should be invited to send in their plans to be examined and compared, and the most eligible to be fixed on. This proposal was sanctioned by a decree, and the Assembly moreover granted Monsieur Palloy a portion of the territory of the Bastille, as an acknowledgement of the gratitude of the nation towards him.

The news from the army is of no great consequence. General Luckner has quitted his post near Lisle, and advanced towards

wards Menin. M. de la Fayette remains still in the environs of Maubeuge; a letter was read from this General on the 13th, giving an account of an attack on his advanced guard, and concluding with the disastrous news of the accidental death of his great friend and director, as well in Europe as America, M. Gouvion, who was killed by the oblique stroke of a reflected ball from a heap of stones on one side of him. M. de la Fayette's grief appears, and no doubt is, of the sincerest kind, as his expressions sufficiently warrant; for what can be more calamitous than to lose the counsellor, and director of all one's successful actions, and to be left like a boy, a mere Telemachus without a Mentor. The Assembly had soon occasion to read another letter from this General on another subject of an opposite nature, the peril of the state from its ene-

mies within and without, which it was the duty of the Assembly to avert by a just and constitutional exertion of the power lodged in their hands. In the course of this letter he declaims violently against the reign of the Jacobins, and the reign of the clubs which ought all to submit to the government of the law and its constituted powers. M. Dumourier is already turned out of the place of Secretary at War, and is succeeded by a friend of M. de la Fayette, M. Delajard, ancien Aide-Major-general of the Parisian army. M. Meurgues and M. Naillac are in the same disgrace. M. Naillac is succeeded by M. de Chambonas. M. Duranthon has still the seals : M. Duport du Tertre is nevertheless talked of for that place.

The conversation of all sides runs much upon the King's refusal to sign the two decrees

decrees against the non-juring priests, and the camp of twenty thousand. The Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with Santerre at their head, are brewing mischief hourly, and threaten to come with their pikes and hatchets, and plant the tree of liberty in the paved court of the Thuilleries, and oblige the King to sanction the decrees. I make no doubt but the train is all ready, and laid even to the door of the King's apartment, and that these new exertions of the sons of freedom will produce servitude and captivity for the House of Bourbon,

LETTER IV.

THE King's letter to the National Assembly has announced M. de Chambonas, Marechal de Camp, for the department of foreign affairs, and M. Lajard, for the war-secretary. M. de la Fayette's letter to the Assembly now came under discussion. The galleries applauded M. Vergniaux for saying, that no General should be permitted to address the Assembly, but through the Minister, as the advice of an officer having the command of an army came in the form of a law. A violent tumult prevented members from being heard. M. Guadet insisted on it that the letter was not written by de la Fayette ;
that

that his signature, *le blanc feing de M. de la Fayette*, was at Paris for the purpose of those of a certain diabolical faction, who wished to fill up the blank with their own language, and to inculcate their favourite doctrine that the King was inviolate, and ought not to be forced or treated with outrage: the sentiments of the letter are not the sentiments of M. de la Fayette. He well knows that when Cromwell held a language similar to that of the letter— Here he was interrupted by hisses and by applause that deafened the Assembly: the order of the day could alone restore the calm. M. Louis Calas petitioned at the bar for assistance to pay his father's debts, which were referred to a committee. M. François de Nantes, who was in the chair, could not resist the opportunity of a short Philippic, which he hurled with all his force against sacerdotal intrigues and parliamentary

liamentary tyranny. The great business is still in hand, we are now at the nineteenth. The military citizens of the battalion of Saint André des arcs, obtain leave of the Assembly to plant a May-pole at their door; four deputies are ordered to assist at the ceremony. The petitioners return after having finished their work, make a speech, pass through the hall with martial music, and are honoured with a fitting. M. Duquesnoy informs the Assembly that the King is either a traitor, or he is not; that he either sees, or does not see, the villains that surround his person and his throne. If he is really blind to the truth, it is high time that he should be told that the sovereign people are discontented with his conduct. The murmurs of the House and the clapping of the galleries silenced M. Duquesnoy. M. Condorcet proposed to burn instantly all

the titles of nobility, and all the genealogies that were to be found in the public offices, as a *feu de joie* to celebrate the anniversary of the 20th of June. M. Dumourier having obtained leave to go to the army, expressed a wish that a cannon ball might make all his odds even, that is, *qu'un coup de cannon concilie toutes les opinions sur son compte*. This alludes to a certain deficiency in the secret service-money which was entrusted to him on his coming into office.

The Minister of Justice announces by letter to the Assembly, that the King has put his veto, or *le Roi examinera*, to the two decrees against the priests and the camp. He likewise sends the Assembly a plan for maintaining the public peace. M. Vergniaud opposed the reading of this paper, it was nevertheless read, and the
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purport of it was to inform the Assembly that the citizens of the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau had asked leave to assemble to-morrow, the twentieth of June, clad in the same dress they wore in 1789, in order to go to the Thuilleries, and present under arms, both to the legislative body, and the King, certain petitions. The Minister of the interior adds, that the Council-General of the Commons had passed on; upon this demand being made, to the order of the day, and the directory, having considered that the law permits no more than twenty petitioners at a time, and those without arms, had determined that the Mayor, the Municipality, and General-Council, should take every precaution of prudence and of force to prevent the assembling of the citizens. The National Assembly passed on to the order of the day without taking any notice

rice of this information. A deputation of the directory of the department of Paris being admitted to the bar, M. Rederer said, that the assembling of armed men existed at this moment in spite of the law, the municipality, or the directory; that their design was to plant the tree of liberty, and pay their respects to the Assembly. A patriotic evening journal had, indeed, announced that it was their intention to plant *un tremble*, an aspin-tree, at the entrance of the Thuilleries: (a great laugh) that there was too much reason to fear that these things would take place, and, therefore, the Minister of the interior department requested that orders might be given for troops to keep off the crowd from the Palace.

The deputation was invited to sit—M. Vergniaud saw nothing but mere patriotism

tism in this troop of armed citizens, and as others had been before admitted to the House, he thought these could not be excluded but with an ill grace. If they thought there was any danger in presenting the petition, they might send a deputation of sixty members from the Assembly of the nation. It was to no purpose that M. M. Gilbert and Thorillon insisted on it, that the armed citizens were in actual rebellion at that moment; or that M. Dumolard endeavoured to enforce the decret which confines all deputations to ten citizens without arms, or that he laboured to convince the House that neither the Assembly nor the King were free, if they were to be assailed by force, and taken thus by storm. This and every thing of the sort was received with hisses. In the mean time, M. Santerre writes to the Assembly, and demands leave for the
inhabi-

inhabitants of St. Antoine and St. Marc-
 ceau to be admitted to the bar; that they
 were celebrating the anniversary of the
 Jeu de Paume, and were the true originals
 of the fourteenth of July. M. Lafource
 says, he is charged by the orator of the
 deputation to inform the House, that the
 armed petitioners wished to file off before
 them, that they had, indeed, an address
 to present to the King; but not chusing
 to go to the castle, they begged to leave
 it to the perusal of the legislative body.
 This feint succeeded, and the President
 announced, that eight thousand petitioners
 were ready to pass through the House.—
 Eight thousand, says M. Calvet, and we
 are only seven hundred and forty-five!
 let us break up the session, it is high
 time.—M. Ramond observed, that the
 law was the divinity of the people, and
 that it would be a spectacle worthy of all

Eu-

Europe, if the people would show their submission by leaving their arms at the door; but this language was treated with scorn from every part of the House above and below. The decree passed and the people entered. The orator at the head of the deputations harangued the Assembly in a furious speech against the King, and told the national representatives—*que le peuple est debout, et prêt à se servir de grands moyens pour venger la majesté du peuple outragée.*—The President made a very civil speech about the patriotism of the people, and then came on the great question, whether they were to be permitted to pass through in arms? This was a matter of great moment to the petitioners, who on coming out of the National Assembly would arrive immediately at the terrace of the Feuillans, and go from thence to the palace without the smallest

smallest obstruction from the troops in the squares of Louis quinze, Vendome, or the Caroufel. The debates were at first violent, but at last the opposition yielded to noise and numbers, and the prayer was granted. Here began the long march of men, women, and children, clad in every possible variety of dress, often ragged and in tatters. At their head you saw M. M. St. Huruge and Santerre in uniform. This constitutional detachment was armed with halberds, pikes, scythes, swords, spits, hatchets, sticks with blades tied on to them with packthread, ornamented with ribbands and devices in three colours, and crowned with red woollen caps. Women brandished their sabres, and children shook their knives. Two men bore a sort of standard ending in something like an old pair of black breeches torn, and much out of repair, in the front was, ‘ *vivent*

les sans culottes ;' in the rear, ' *le peuple est las de souffrir* ;' another standard-bearer carried a calf's-heart on his pike with a ticket on which was written, ' *cœur d'Aristocrate.*' The procession with drums, music, and the air, *ça ira*, lasted two hours, and at the end, M. Santerre presented the Assembly with a banner, in acknowledgement of the favour done to the inhabitants of St. Antoine. The President accepted the present, and in return, communicated to the people the news of Courtray's being taken, and that the inhabitants had shouted, ' *Vive la Nation Française.*' The armed citizens soon arrived at the gates of the Palace through the gardens of the Thuilleries, and forced their passage wherever it was obstructed, by breaking locks, and cutting through doors. At five o'clock the hall of the Manege was full of members who had
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quitted it at half after three. M. Beaucaron said, the King was in danger, and proposed that the Assembly should go to him. A voice cried, Ah, bah! bah! and M. Thuriot said, he could not be in danger in the midst of his people.—M. Beugnot answered, it is not the people, but a banditti.—Let him behave himself well, said Thuriot, and the people will not trouble him.—A deputation was decreed, and twenty-four members were ordered to wait on the King. M. Dumas entered at this moment, just come from the Palace, and reported that a great number of armed men had taken possession of the apartments after having forced the guard, and that the King was in imminent danger; he is threatened, assailed, and insulted, continued M. Dumas, and he has a red woollen cap upon his head. The galleries shouted with applause, and vociferated

rated *à bas, à bas, à bas*. On one side the members insisted that the cap of liberty had nothing humiliating in it, or unworthy of a King. M. Turgand came next and said, that the people had carried cannon even into the apartments, but had received the deputies with great respect; that the King had appeared at a window with the red cap on his head; that the cry was, Let the King sanction the decrees.—M. Lafource was positive that the King was in no danger.—M. Leopold said, that the Assembly would never think him in danger till he was assassinated.—M. Isnard now returned from the first deputation; he said, the people had demanded a repeal of the Veto; that the King, mounted on a chair in the recess of a window, had told them, that they need not doubt of his preserving the constitution inviolate. M. Brunck said, that when
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he had penetrated to the King he got on a chair, and told his Majesty that he came deputed from the Assembly to maintain the liberty of the constitution, and partake of the dangers with which he was surrounded ; (deep murmurs) that the King had answered—I am fully sensible of the attention of the National Assembly, but you may assure them how perfectly I am at ease in the midst of my people.—M. Dalloz also reported the words of the King on his endeavour to console him ; “ *L’homme qui a la conscience pure ne craint rien ;* ”—and taking the hand of a grenadier he placed it on his heart, *voyez, dit-il, s’il bat plus fort qu’à l’ordinaire.* Perhaps you think I should be insensible to the sublimity of heroism in great perils, if I did not admire this behaviour in a man whom I have suspected of cowardice, and accused of want of cou-

rage and decision. The highest compliment I can pay Louis seize is to say, that he brings to my mind an act recorded of a gallant hero of our own, the intrepid Sidney, when he bared his arm in court, and invited the judge and counsel to try by actual experiment, if his pulse did not beat as regularly as their own, and

——— ‘ Make as healthful music.’

Next came M. Pethion out of breath, and apparently under a great alarm, apprehensive that the tumult of that day would be laid to his charge, and he should be accused of being in the plot, which, in fact, M. Boulanger did not fail to do. M. Ducos called on M. Boulanger to lay open the conspiracy, and M. Boulanger was proceeding to do it, but was not permitted, the order of the day shut up his mouth.

mouth. The Mayor having quieted the Assembly by assuring them there was nothing illegal in mixing the muskets of the commissioned guards, with the pikes, halberds, and cannon of the non-commissioned; and though leave had been at first refused by the municipality to present a petition sword in hand, yet, as the intention was purely civic, and the people were obstinately bent on the measure, he had contrived to obviate all the bad effects of it by blending them with the soldiery, and this the municipality had a right to do independent of the department. All now, he had the satisfaction to inform the House, was quiet, and the royal apartments perfectly evacuated, and nobody had been hurt or insulted, no mischief had been done, and the King himself had nothing to complain of. Not one word of all this was true, but it passed without

contradiction at that moment, because those who were willing to tell the truth were not suffered to speak. M. d'Averhoul and M. Boulanger, did at last, however, contrive to be heard, when they said, that if to force your way like an armed pioneer into a man's house, was to enter it peaceably, then to break through with hatchets, and clubs, and levers, might be called entering with good intentions. The King's letter put an end to this conversation. M. Lamarque insisted on it, that a letter from the King ought not to interrupt the deliberations of the legislative body, and the letter was accordingly referred to the committee of twelve. The purport of the letter was to desire the Assembly to maintain the constitution, and secure the inviolability of the hereditary representatives of the nation. This letter produced, with the assistance and activity
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of the minister, M. Terrier Monciel, a decree of the National Assembly, that in future no citizens in arms, on what pretence soever, should be permitted to present themselves at the bar of the House ; and they might have added, or mix themselves with the national troops : for this expedient of M. Pethion is directly in opposition to the 4th and 5th article of the 4th title of the constitution.

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LETTER V.

THE end of a conspiracy against the executive government must be sooner or later fatal to the royal family. It is not difficult to foresee that if the public is determined to have no King, and to get rid of the monarch, it is as easy, as Cæsar said to Metellus, for them to do it as to declare it. But I make no doubt that you expect to hear by every post of the King's having been murdered, and the whole family put to the sword. Indeed, for my own part, when I consider the sanguinary temper of the faction that governs Paris, and the ease with which the people execute their bloody orders; when I look to the

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the Thuilleries, and see the King surrounded by a discontented populace excited by every existing art to acts even of slaughter and of regicide, I can only express my astonishment that no daring fanatic hand has yet executed his commission so far as to remove the great obstacle to the wishes of the governors, and lay the way open by a happy *coup de main* to that more equal form of policy which they are stretching every nerve to obtain.

But the fact is, that however easy this may appear, the most violent of the Jacobins dare not attempt it by any direct means, that is, by a regular commission given to this man or that man, but rather wish the thing to be done by some stroke, as it were, of chance, not aimed apparently against the person of the King, so that he might be taken off as Roscius was,

quasi

quasi nullo negotio, as easily as a man who is squeezed to death in a crowd, or carried away in a battle by a random shot.

As it was well known at the castle that the populace were coming to force the King to sanction the two favourite decrees, proper dispositions of defence had been made to repress, if possible, the excess of the torrent. An order was given to keep the gates shut, but still the gate of the Pont Royal was some how or other left open, and the crowd entered, and was with the greatest difficulty dislodged by the whole force of a considerable detachment of the national guard. As soon as the news came that the armed bands were filing off through the National Assembly, an order was given to shut the gates of the castle, in opposition to the opinion of General Romainvilliers, who desired they might

might remain open. At two o'clock the procession arrived at the gate of the Cour de Manege, and with cries of *vive la nation, à bas le veto, à bas la Calotte*, ordered it to be opened: the guards resisted, but the municipal officers *en echarpe* within joined in the order of the people, and the gates were thrown open. From that time till eight o'clock the apartments of the Thuilleries were filled with the fans culottes, who could not be prevailed upon to evacuate the Palace but by the Mayor in person. The first words that were uttered on breaking into the King's apartment were, *ou est-il ce b— ?* During the four hours that the multitude took in passing in review before the King, many thrust their inscriptions almost into his face, that is, held them up for him to read; on one was, '*tremble tyran*'. An instant before the bonnet rouge was given
to

to the King, which had been handed to him from a day-labourer at a great distance, and by a municipal officer *en echarpe*, M. Mouchet, a voice was heard, *il faut qu'il prenne le bonnet de la liberté, ou nous le poignarderons.*

LETTER VI.

I USED in my former letters of last year to say something upon a variety of subjects as they came in review before me, but at the present moment, big with the future fate of the country, it is not so necessary to run about the town and collect curiosities which are all to be found in one or two places, the National Assembly, or the Jacobin club. The atelier or work-shop of the arts exists no longer in this city : there are no workmen ; you can't get a chair, or a table, or a glass, or any one article of luxury.

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The Thuilleries, which lately were the pleasant places of the metropolis, are now more like gardens in Africa than in Europe. *Aliquid monstri semper alunt.* There is ever some disturbance or some unnatural tumult breeding in them. As to the castle itself it is turned into a prison, and looks like Rowe's description of the palace of suspicion.

‘Methinks suspicion and mistrust inhabit here,

‘Staring in meagre forms through grated windows.’

As these relations are not very pleasing or satisfactory, I leave them to pursue the thread of the parliamentary transactions, which, if not always brilliant, are ever new, curious, and truly interesting. The history of what passes in the National Assembly is, in fact, the history of France at this moment; and though I cannot go
into

into details, I am often enabled to give you a sketch or outline of matters that appear to me to be of no small consequence in illustrating the past, and preparing the mind for the future.

The fatigues of service are severely felt by the Parisian guards, and a late decree has authorized the eighty-two departments to send 250 men each to the capital, in order to relieve the national troops of Paris. The citizens of Arras, it seems, are very indignant at the liberty the King has taken to dismiss M. Claviere and M. Servan, who ventured to propose a camp of twenty thousand men without consulting his Majesty. By a late order, all births, marriages, and deaths, are to be registered by the municipal officers of every town and city. A letter from the King has just been read in the National

Assembly informing them, that it was his desire that forty-two new battalions should be raised by decree, two from each department, for the purpose of covering the city of Paris, and re-inforcing the army as occasion might require. The Assembly voted that this letter should be referred to the military committee. M. Montaut wished the House to pass on to the order of the day. Those who had been most strenuous for the motion of M. Servan, were the most violent against this proposition from the executive power backed by the head of the constitution. It was in vain that M. de Lajard pointed out the great advantage of this plan, he could not prevent its being referred to a committee. In the affair at Mons, the battalion of the côte d'or has suffered a considerable loss; among the dead of the enemy were found several refractory priests who had fallen in
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the attack. M. Lajard has not given up the idea of the forty-two battalions ; he has been reading a memoir on the subject, and proposes Soissons as a center of reserve between Paris and the frontiers ; referred to the military committee.

M. Lajard has been paid eight millions and upwards for extraordinaries of the army, and two he is to receive monthly for the same service, half of which is to be paid in specie. You see the government, notwithstanding its facility in coining paper-money, is under the necessity of buying gold and silver, which accounts, in some measure, for the high price of louis d'ors in the London market.

The million has threatened to rise again, and pay another visit to the castle ; in one of their placards are these words : ‘ *Nous*

*nous levons une seconde fois pour remplir le plus saint des devoirs.** M. Ternier Monciel having read this to the Assembly, said, Gentlemen, the fate of France is in your hands, and depends on the measures on which you shall this day determine.—A member cried, *à l'ordre du jour*. The communication of M. Monciel was referred to the committee of twelve. M. Muraire came forward, after the intervention of other business, and in the name of the extraordinary committee of twelve, proposed a decree for the security of personal property, and the safety of individuals, in which all good and honest men who had the real interest of the community at heart, were invited to a firm union, that should resist the encroachment of an armed mob. The Minister of the

* La Fayette, too, has used this expression.
 ‘*L’insurrection, il a dit, est le plus saint des devoirs.*’

interior was ordered to distribute this decree as soon as it should be ratified, and to render a daily account of the state of Paris to the Assembly.

LETTER VII.

M. SANTERRE assures the National Assembly by letter, that the Fauxbourg St. Antoine was perfectly quiet, and he offers himself a guarantee for the citizens of that quarter, that they shall never march again but against the enemies of the nation. The Assembly appeared surprised that M. Santerre alone could answer for the most tumultuous Fauxbourg of all Paris. His letter is referred to the extraordinary committee. Next came the inhabitants themselves to explain their motives for rising on the 20th, which they assured the Assembly was principally for their defence, fearing lest the Assembly
it-

itself might be dissolved after the unconstitutional dismissal of its patriotic ministers. The minister of the interior then came to say, that tranquillity was restored, and that the people no longer assembled in troops.

Multitudes of addresses flow in from all parts on the veto, on the dismissal of the patriot ministers, and on the 20th. The citizens of Grenoble say, ‘ *La nation va se lever toute entiere, et la constitution à la main, elle s’ecriera, Louis XVI. Roi des François, est dechu de la couronne.*’ The applause of the galleries was unbounded on the reading of this passage. The Administrators du Herault, in their address, regret greatly the dismissal of the three patriots, (*et l’argent ont crié quelques voix.*)

M. Dubayet read a report from the military committee upon the present state of the armed forces of France. The total number of the soldiers of the line now encamped (*sous la toile*) in the four armies of Luckner, la Fayette, de la Morliere, and de la Montesquiou, is ninety thousand five hundred and ninety men. The men left in garrison are, fifty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-three, in all, 144,763; deficit, 21,885. In the interior parts of the kingdom are, 21,375, instead of 25,065. Twelve thousand have been sent to the colonies. M. Dubayer has distributed the volunteers, 21,000 to M. Luckner, 22,000 to de la Fayette, 16,000 to de la Morliere, and 25,000 to Montesquiou. The result of the whole is, that the army, when complete, with the addition of 77,000 national volunteers, will amount to 400,000 effective

effective men, without reckoning the dead or the deserters.

Among the great number of addressees breathing the most zealous ardor for the Assembly, there was one from the citizens of Havre of a contrary nature, who had adopted M. de la Fayette's letter, and imputed all the miseries that had befallen this country, to the faction of the Jacobins, and demanded justice and punishment at their hands for all the libels they had sent to Havre. M. de la Fayette demands admission to the bar of the House that he may pay his devoirs to the Assembly : applauses mixt with murmurs are heard through the Hall ; he is instantly admitted ; one side testifies the greatest joy and exultation, the other observes the profoundest silence. M. de la Fayette began by assuring the Assembly, that his pre-
fence

fence in this House was no bar to the success or the safety of the army which he had left. That the reason of his coming was, to ascertain to them the authenticity of a letter which he had addressed to them on the 16th of the month ; and to inform the Assembly that he came alone and unprotected to assert the same, because he had been reproached with having written it within the intrenchment of a camp. A still more forcible reason has brought me before you, I mean the outrages of the 20th of June committed in the Thuilleries, which have excited the indignation of all good men, and particularly of the army I have the honour to command. He concluded by supplicating the Assembly to pursue the offenders against order and regularity, and constitutional sovereignty, and to bring them to exemplary punishment. —The President said in reply, that the
 Affem-

Assembly would examine his petition, and admit him to the honour of a sitting. The General sat himself down *près du bureau*; when M. Kerfaint observed, that it was not there that petitioners used to sit;—and M. de la Fayette retired to the petitioners seat. M. Guadet highly disapproved of M. de la Fayette's leaving the army, and desired the secretary at war might be questioned if he had given him leave, and whether Generals were to be permitted to present addresses when in function. M. Ramond said, the Assembly had suffered thousands to petition them under arms, and by parity of reasoning it could not refuse a favourite General, of whose praise it had been so lavish. —The noise now became pretty general, and the cry of question; when the appel nominal threw out Guadet's motion by 339 against 234.

I have

I have just heard of a conversation that passed between the King and the Mayor on the morrow of the twentieth.

M. Pethion arrived at the levee at eight o'clock on Thursday 21st, just after the deputation from the Assembly; there were sixty persons with the King, many of them in black, the rest in uniform. The King began :—

“ M. le Maire, is Paris quiet ? ” —

Le Maire. “ Sire, perfectly so. ” —

Le Roi. “ You must confess that yesterday was a day of great reproach and scandal, and that the municipality did not do all it could have done to prevent or repress it. ” —

Le Maire. “ Sire, the municipality did every thing in its power to do. ” —

Le

Le Roi. “ *Ce n'est pas vrai.* ”—

Le Maire. “ Sire, the municipality
“ will not fail to give an account to the
“ public of its conduct.”—

Le Roi. “ Let it publish it to the na-
“ tion at large, and let the nation judge
“ it.”—

Le Maire. “ Sire, the municipality is
“ not afraid of doing its duty, or publish-
“ ing its conduct to the whole world.”—

Le Roi. “ And how is Paris at this
“ moment ?”

Le Maire. “ Perfectly quiet.”—

Le Roi. “ *Ce n'est pas vrai.* ”—

Le Maire. “ Sire, The magistracy
“ of ——”

Le Roi. “ *Taisez vous.* ”—

Le Maire. “ The magistrate of the
“ people will not hold his tongue, when
“ he is conscious of having done his duty
“ and spoken the truth.”—

Le

Le Roi. “ I inform you, Sir, that you
 “ are answerable for the tranquillity of
 “ Paris.—Retire.”

The arrival of la Fayette makes the Aristocrates talk of the armed mediations of Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, &c. not accepting any terms for laying down their arms short of restitution of the nobles, more power for the King, essential rights of the clergy and the Pope at Avignon. How short-sighted are we in our own cause! I believe the reverse of all this will be the case, and liberty and her pike will drive M. de la Fayette, with all his duplicity, back to the frontiers. But what can he propose to himself? Is he come to support the King or Santerre? There is not common sense in his braving the Democrats in the Hall, and negotiating with them in the cabinet, as I hear
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he has done. I suppose by his coming to Paris he meant to imitate Charles the Twelfth, who left his army to go to breakfast with the King of Poland at Dresden, with whom he was at war. I don't know what may be his plan, but I easily conceive that if he seeks the bubble reputation on both sides the question, he will probably obtain it from neither, but will pass in the eyes of the one and the other, for a hair-brained Bobadil, who advances with a petition in his hand at the head of fifty thousand men, with such extreme impetuosity, that he cuts off his own escort, and leaves his guards behind him.

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LETTER VIII.

M. ROUYER has been reading in the National Assembly a petition from Rouen, with thirty-eight pages of signatures, amounting to twenty thousand, demanding vengeance on the authors of the tumult of the twentieth, and those who solicited a decree of accusation against M. de la Fayette. *On a passé à l'ordre du jour.* The five administrators of the department of the Aisne hold the same language nearly, and accuse M. M. Roland and Servan of an intention to starve la Fayette and his army. The noise and disturbance that accompanied the reading of this latter address and petition is not easily to be conceived.

ceived. You have been hitherto, said a member, listening to blasphemies and atrocious calumnies ; it is now time you should hear truths, all the departments speak this language, the language of bitter reproach and extreme censure ; it is at Paris alone that you are flattered and caressed.—The Assembly decreed instantly, that the address of the administrators of the Aisne should be referred to the extraordinary committee.

Several sections have begun already to impeach Monsieur de la Fayette as a traitor to the common cause. Paris seems to be too hot to hold him, and I understand he has taken a French leave, such as he took of us in his way to America, when he kept Lady H—d and all the town waiting the whole night for him. The motive of his last flight was more rational,

no doubt, than of his first, and yet the same silly vanity and ridiculous passion for celebrity gave occasion to the former, and became the cause of the latter. I have this day heard, that a letter has been received from him by the President, dated head-quarters, in which he regrets that he could not inform his brave soldiers, on his return to the camp, that his petition had been granted ; that as to himself, he assured the Assembly he should never change his language or his sentiments, and adhere inviolably to his principles.—

You have seen the opinion that the citizens of Rouen entertain of the business of the twentieth ; but neither they nor the administrators of the Aisne are single in their opinion. M. M. Guillaume and Dupont, ex-constituent members of the first Assembly, came lately to the bar with

a petition of 30,000 Parisian names, to bring the authors and accomplices of the miseries and indignities of the twentieth to punishment ; but the galleries, while they applauded certain orators who called down the sword of the law on the head of la Fayette, hissed off the petitioners, and obliged them to retire.

The debates in the Assembly of late have turned too much on imaginary points to be sufficiently interesting to listen to, or to read. An address from Bourdeaux communicated by M. Ducos, informed the House that the Marseillois were ready to march to Paris at a moment's warning.

Certain citizens of Paris appeared at the bar to impeach M. de la Fayette, and require that he should be punished for quitting his post.

Fifteen articles have been decreed, in which it is set forth that the country is in danger, and is menaced by enemies both from within and without. Particular directions are given in these articles for levying troops, cloathing, arming, and paying them. In the 14th article it is said : ‘ *Pour servir dans la garde nationale, on ne sera pas astreint à avoir l’uniforme nationale.*’ This, I suppose, it was thought fit to declare in order to expedite the levies, and form the corps as soon as possible for the field, since in the fourth title, and fifth article of the constitution, the national guards, it is ordered, ‘ *ne peuvent avoir dans tout le royaume qu’une même discipline, et un même uniforme.*’

M. Dejoly has written a letter to the Assembly to announce himself the minister of justice, appointed by the King.

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The directory of the department of the Lower Seine has sent an information to the Assembly of an address to the eighty-three departments from the section of the Lombards, desiring their brethren to come to Paris, and assist them in crushing the various enemies that are daily arising in all quarters to overwhelm them—referred to the extraordinary commission. The constitutional Bishop of Bourges, M. Torné, has been making a flaming declamation against the King, in which he soared much beyond my comprehension in saying, the King might be as happy if he pleased, as he is wretched and uncomfortable. That posterity would call M. de la Fayette, la Fayette the Jacobine, as they did at Rome, Scipio the African. The minister for foreign affairs has communicated to the Assembly a commission given by the King's brothers to an agent

of their own, for the purpose of negotiating a loan in the King's name in order to carry on the war ; they affect to mortgage the revenues of the crown for the payment of the interest and the reimbursement of the principal. The King's late message to the National Assembly was on the subject of the war with Prussia. The King is extremely sorry that he can put no other interpretation on any part of the conduct of Prussia, but that of the most hostile. The convention of Pilnitz, the alliance with Austria in consequence of it, the reception given to the rebellious emigrants, the treatment of the French at Berlin, the departure of the envoy extraordinary from Paris without taking leave, the interdiction of the French chargé d'affaires at Berlin, all speak too plain to suffer a doubt to be entertained of the part the King of Prussia is going to take against
this

this country. M. Dejoly acquainted the Assembly that the King meant to go to the Champ de Mars on the 14th to take the oaths. M. Beaupuy reported from the military committee, that the levy of forty-two battalions was put off till it was thought fit to declare the country in danger. M. Lamourette, the sworn Bishop of Lyons, interrupted M. Briffot, who was on the point of reading a discourse on the means of insuring the state from its enemies, within the walls and without; and proposed that the Assembly should take an oath to abjure, *et la republique, et les deux chambres*; the cry was instantaneously, *oui oui; nous ne voulons que la constitution*. The Bishop then said, “ I demand that the President put this proposition to the vote—That all those who equally abjure and execrate a re- public and two houses, rise.”—The

whole Assembly rose to a man, and the two sides embrace each other, and seal the oath with mutual acclamations. M. Brisot put off his lecture till the next day, and a deputation of twenty-four members is ordered to carry up the proces verbal to the King.

A deputation from the municipality came to the bar to desire the Assembly would decide quickly on the suspension of the Mayor, and *procureur de la commune*, pronounced by the great council of the department. The Assembly desires time till the next day to re-consider the business.

The King announces, by his new ministers, in two state papers, addressed to the powers of Europe, his intention of adhering to the constitution in the perfect

fect exercise of its authority. An arret of the directory of the department of Paris, dated the sixth of July, suspended the mayor and procureur general in consequence of the transactions of the twentieth of June, as you have seen, and named another municipal officer to act as mayor par interim; this decree was carried in the council of twenty-four by a majority of twenty-one to three. As soon as it had been read M. Pethion retired, and M. Danton then invited all good citizens to follow him to the National Assembly. The friends of M. Pethion and Manuel declare, that Pethion and Manuel are suspended for having prevented a civil war: on the other hand his accusers (Pethion's) assert, that he is dismissed from his office for not having endeavoured to prevent the people from collecting together in the
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beginning, and for having suffered twenty thousand persons to assemble in arms in the square of the Caroufels, in the face of the national guards.

LET.

LETTER IX.

I TAKE it for granted you have seen M. Luckner's letter to the war-minister, dated head quarters near Lisle the 30th of June, in which he complains of the sad task allotted him to give the Minister an account of a very disagreeable affair, the burning of the town of Courtray by M. Jarry. It seems, that after, as was supposed, all the soldiers concealed in the houses, were driven out, M. Jarry, Marechal de camp, was fired upon from a window. The present campaign, which began so inauspiciously with assassination, 'deformed rout, and foul disorder,' proceeds still with loss and misfortune. But
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this is, if I mistake not, for want of generals of the right sort.

The King in his letter to the legislative body on the suspension of Pethion, and the procureur de la commune, desires the Assembly will take it on themselves to settle the matter. The galleries shouted, *à bas le department, Pethion, ou la mort.* Who would have thought, after the conversation between the King and Pethion, that his Majesty would not, at least, have concurred in opinion with the department, and approved of their act. Perhaps you think it more noble to wave all private resentment, and let the law take its course; but if the department has a right to suspend the mayor, the King should not be afraid to commend and enforce that right. Petitioners from the palais royale, and the section called Gravilliers, demand that the suspen-

suspension of M. Pethion be taken off. M. Brissot spoke for three hours on the measures to be taken for the security of the state against 100,000 Austrians, 55,000 Prussians, 50,000 Germans, the quota of the circles, an army from Sardinia, and a fleet from Naples. Let the nation rise to a man ; let Saguntum revive ; let us not be witnesses to the triumphal entry of Prussia ; let us not bend the knee to a savage Hulan : *Perisse plutôt Paris!*— M. Brissot proposed to bring the King to a trial, and to make his Ministers responsible for the measures intended to be adopted in the place of the unexecuted decrees. M. Thuriot said, that if there was a virtuous man on earth it was M. Pethion. A member of the Assembly demands his congé, or leave to retire ; the Assembly announces, that from the moment the country shall be declared to be

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in danger, no man shall have permission to withdraw. The deficit of the month of June is thirteen millions and upwards, which supposes thirty-five to have been received. It was therefore decreed, that the *caisse de l'extraordinaire* should remit to the treasury, first the thirteen millions deficient, and then thirty-five for money advanced to the departments and extra-expences; in all, forty-eight million, which, with thirty-five received, make up eighty-three expended in the course of the last month. M. Jacob Dupont observed, that forty-eight million of deficit monthly would make above five hundred yearly; a sum that exceeds the deficit which occasioned the revolution. The minister of justice in the account of his administration complained, that popular societies throw insuperable obstacles in the way of civil authority, and provoke every species of riot

riot and disorder. The stamps, the registers, and the customs, indeed, make satisfactory returns ; but the forests are going fast to destruction ; the product of the lotteries is much lessened by the number of fraudulent offices, and the contributions come in very slowly. In the department of justice, the tribunals are without power, the means to prevent crimes are insufficient ; there is a great want of authority on the bench, and the course of justice is suspended in the capital. M. Koch then read a memoir on foreign affairs, giving a short account of the situation of Europe with respect to France, the result of which was, that France had many enemies, *peu d'alliés sûrs*. M. Dejoly, in the name of all the ministers, said, that as they had accepted of their places with no other view but to do good, the moment they perceived that it was not in their power to be
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of any service to the state, they had resolved to resign, and they informed the Assembly that they had that morning given in their resignations to the King. They then withdrew, and the galleries accompanied them with repeated applauses. Then came on the question, shall we declare the country in danger or not? Much was said on the necessity, the prodigious effect, the inutility, and the hazard of such a proclamation by a variety of orators. M. Lamarque said, that the salvation of the country depended on the proclamation's taking place; his speech was ordered to be printed, and the discussion was prorogued. M. Collot d'Hertois, orator of a deputation of citizens of Paris, came to the bar to demand a decree of accusation against la Fayette, *ce soldat factieux*; that if he went unpunished, he and his companions would speak their
mind

mind on the fourteenth at the federation. The municipality of Paris represents to the Assembly that the arrival of the federates will occasion an increase of consumption. The municipality asks for one million eight hundred thousand livres to buy corn. It is determined that after tomorrow all the tribunes shall be left for the federates, that they may hear the debates. A letter from the King announces the resignation of the ministers, and that they will continue in office till the King can replace them.

The suspension of the mayor has of late occasioned, and still continues to occasion, variety of pressing remonstrances; petitions are presented hourly to obtain a speedy decision. They complain that the King and the department understand each other, and M. Lacroix insisted on a speedy

determination in the course of the day. M. Giraud saw forty thousand mayors in France of equal pretensions and equal virtue with M. Pethion, and thought it would be supremely ridiculous, were he to come to the Assembly of the nation and say, the country is in danger, for there is no mayor in my village; that mayors were sometimes suspended for months, and no complaint made; that the King should have time allowed to examine into the matter.—M. Lacroix's motion passed nevertheless, and the President pronounced the words, '*citoyens, la patrie est en danger,*' and two addresses to the French and to the army were read and approved.

Petitioners from Versailles and the Champ de Mars, with spades and trowels, are urgent for the trial of la Fayette, and
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the re-instatement of Pethion. Orders are given for a deputation of sixty members to go in procession to the Bastille on the fourteenth, and lay the first stone of the column of liberty.

M. Goujeon desired that a suitable place for the reception of the King and his family should be decreed on the anniversary of the federation.—M. Albite said, the King's family was at Coblenz.

[LETTER X.

A LETTER from the King has announced to the Assembly the proclamation of his Majesty confirming the suspension of M. M. Pethion and Manuel. M. Pethion came to the bar, M. Manuel was prevented by a fever. Long debates ensued—M. Ræderer undertook to defend M. Pethion, M. Muraire brought up the report from the extraordinary committee, which coincided much with M. Ræderer's defence, and M. Pethion's excuse of his own conduct. To say the truth, all appeared to me equally lame. The Assembly was brought into a dilemma by M. Coubé du Tarn. Either the municipa-
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lity is criminal in permitting armed troops to assemble, or the decree which is intended to exculpate them, must declare their utter impossibility to prevent the mob from breaking into the King's castle, and dragging cannon through the royal apartments. The Assembly, nevertheless, got over all this, and decreed that the suspension should be taken off from the mayor, and adjourned the suspension of the procureur de la commune till he should appear to plead his own cause in person; then gave orders to the minister of justice to send an account in the course of three days of all those who had been guilty of committing disorders on the twentieth of June, when, according to the declaration of the mayor, whom they had pronounced innocent and acquitted almost in the same breath, no one had been disorderly on that day. The mayor of Paris having been

declared irreproachable, the cry at the federation was incessant, *vive Pethion*, and his name was thrust ever into the King's eyes on the hats and banners of every trade and fraternity. The festival of this day was conducted with the greatest decency, in spite of certain incendiary placards, which did their best to provoke the people. M. Manuel was present at it in a litter : a Frenchman would rather die, than not appear, especially when he partakes of the triumph. The King was at the école militaire at eleven o'clock, and did not leave it till six. The Queen and her children, Madame de Lamballe and de Tourzel, were in the carriage with him. The ministers were on foot *aux portieres*. In the carriage that preceded the King's, were M. M. de Brezé Nantouillet, Montmorin le Jeune, de Saint Priest, Fleurieu, Champcenet, and de

Poix. In the one that followed were the Queen's attendants, Mesdames d'Offun, de la Rocheaymon, Serent, Tarente, and de Maillé. When the King mounted the steps of the altar to take the oath, thirty or forty conquerors of the Bastille, with the model of that fortress in their hands, came to the top also, and standing very near the King, proposed to make a change in the oath of the constitution, and that the King should swear, '*de vivre libre, ou mourir pour achever la conquête de la liberté.*'

The anniversary in the year 1792, was very different from the years ninety and ninety-one. The federates of ninety showed zeal and professed attachment to the monarchy. The federates of ninety-two were all sworn republicans. The ceremonies of ninety and ninety-one were

partly civil and partly religious ; in ninety-two no priests were seen, the incense was burnt *par les enfans du chœur*. Indeed the French government, if so it may be called, is singular in this respect, that it discourages all public worship, and wishes to have less and less of it. *On ne parlera plus de Dieu en France, (Selon Anacharsis Cloots p. 22,) que pour varier la conversation.* The passions of the Parisians are always, as the proverb says, *à la cave ou au grenier, est animus in patinis*, and it is not to be wondered at that the declared prospect of danger has not wrought any change in their countenances or their amusements. The people eat and drink, talk loud, and threaten, make the law and break it, just the same as if all was well.

Who

Who is now at Paris? I leave you to guess till the next line—M. Luckner, the great General, *avec sa trogne rouge*. Are you not surpris'd? How do you think he has been received? not very flatteringly, by the crowd at the door of the National Assembly. The mob called him, *sac à vin de Bourdeaux*. *Comment! dit le General, de Bourdeaux, j'aime l'oporto*.

Many members have taken leave of the department since Pethion was re-instated.

M. de la Fayette is to be encamped at Montmedy; there is to be a camp at Longwi and at Fitelberg, with head quarters at Richemont. There were not many federates on the 14th, but four and five hundred Marseillois are coming to replace the troops that are going to the frontiers. The Provincials and the Parisians mixed
together

together will, it is to be feared, make no small stir among us. Some few of the Marfeillois are already come, and the language they hold is very formidable.

Adieu,

Ever your's.

P. S. The Generals have had a long conference together at Valenciennes on the eleventh ; probably they will wait till some serious attack shall be made on the frontiers. Much time, no doubt, will be wasted still in threats and preparatives, as we have already seen, and the enemy will not be much advanced ; but if Prussia and Austria would come with effect, they should come quickly. M. Luckner, report says, is to command the center army which is la Fayette's ; la Fayette is to go to the north,
and

and M. de Biron is to replace de la Morliere. M. Dumourier, the ex-minister, commands the camp at Maulde; he does not appear to be in perfect good humour with General Luckner.

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LETTER XI.

M. MANUEL has made his appearance in the National Assembly, and his defence; when in spite of the cry to order, *c'est un insolent, il faut le renvoyer, c'est un crime de plus*; he was seated by the side of his judges, and loaded with applause.

The chief of the battalions of the veterans at Paris has informed the Assembly of a meeting between the Queen and la Fayette, who slept three nights at St. Cloud, and bribed two hundred workmen to cry, *Vive le Roi!* these accusations were referred to the committee of surveillance.

lance. The regiments at Paris ordered to the frontiers, are to be replaced by the *ci-devant gardes Françaises*. M. Luckner is called upon, by the motion of M. Grangeneuve, to give an account of all his military operations, and the necessities of the army. It appears by the notes and letters of M. Luckner, that he requires, that the army should be greatly augmented, and the court-martials suppressed; the waste of time they occasion, and the number of soldiers they engage, is highly detrimental to military discipline: he requires also that the Generals should be permitted, in time of war, to regulate these matters themselves. The Marechal proposes to triple the army, now consisting of only 60,000 men, by levies of three men from each municipality, and wants one hundred and thirty-two thousand immediately,

diately, as absolutely necessary for an offensive war.

The Queen has been insulted in the Thuilleries by two fédérés of the battalion de la Charente. The Queen, they say, (as they relate the matter to the Assembly, in order to shew that the country is in danger) passed them in the gardens, and was much offended at the songs of liberty which they were singing, as also were her footmen, who insulted them, because they did not pull off their hats when the Queen passed. The fédérés observed that they owed no respect to the King's wife, that there was no mention of her in the constitution, and she was no more than another woman. Great shouts of applause from one part of the House and the galleries. A member insisting on some witnesses being called, a national guard

guard came forward and said, an officer of the Gendarmerie told him that the songs the fédérés had been singing were infamously low, and extremely abusive. There was no witness for the fédérés. The song was then called for, and the petitioners are admitted to the honour of being seated.

The minister of war, Juillet, has communicated to the Assembly the answer of M. d'Affry, Colonel of the Swiss guards; M. d'Affry says, that certain capitulations and agreements entered into, authorise the use of two battalions of the regiment of Swiss guards, provided the remainder of the corps be employed on the King's duty; that if the Assembly mean to send away the whole regiment, he must acquaint the Helvetic body with the matter, who would not probably be very well pleased
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to see the Swiss regiment degraded to troops of the line.—The House murmured a good deal at M. d’Affry’s threatening the French government with the displeasure of the Helvetic Cantons. M. Genfonné then made a motion to suppress the office of Colonel-general of the Swiss guards. M. Carnot the younger put the Assembly in mind of its decree that authorized the Swiss regiment to do the King’s duty, till the capitulations should be renewed, and he proposed to send off two battalions to the distance of thirty thousand toises or five and thirty miles from Paris; both these propositions were decreed. The Assembly has decreed also sixteen articles on the recruiting of the army. Registers are to be opened for volunteers to enter, not under eighteen years of age and not more than fifty. The infantry must measure five feet French,
and

and the cavalry five feet three inches ; the pay for three years is eighty livres for the infantry, and a hundred and twenty for the horse and the artillery ; half on enlisting, and the other half on joining the regiment. One third more is given to every soldier who will engage to serve again at the expiration of the first three years. M. Dumourier begins a letter to the National Assembly on military affairs thus :

“ As I find myself commander in chief,
 “ I have resolved to send the National As-
 “ sembly an account of certain facts, for
 “ fear they may be exaggerated or exte-
 “ nuated. I should have written to the Se-
 “ cretary at War had I known that there
 “ was one ; but of this I am as ill-inform-
 “ ed, as of the exact position of our two
 “ Generals, one of whom is gone to Pa-
 VOL. II. H “ ris,

“ris, and the other is on the road thi-
 “ther.”

By a decree of the nineteenth of July the episcopal palaces, gardens, and their dependencies, are to be sold, and the possessors are to receive one tenth additional of their pension to pay for their lodging. I passed over the note from M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, and Lord Grenville's answer, as things which, no doubt, have come within your observation. The number of fédérés at Paris is 2,668, of which 1,941 have entered their names for the camp at Soissons. A report has been read in the Assembly upon the maximum of the contribution of the ground-rents. M. Tronchon proposes to lay on an additional penny, without inquiring if the one already imposed be paid. M. Juglas
 proves

where stages were erected for the purpose of enlisting all those who should offer their services for the frontiers. This ceremony lasted two days, during which time the same crowds of idle people were observed at the Bois de Bologne, the Elysian fields, in all the places of amusement and pleasure, as usual. The Jacobins, in case they can get la Fayette accused, mean that Dumourier should supersede him. The King of Prussia arrived at Anspach the fourteenth, will be at Coblentz, that is, au château de Schonbassast, the twenty-third. His second son, and the eldest son of Prince Ferdinand, came last week, and are lodged half a league from Coblentz. These young men set a good example to the French Princes; they are lodged in a village, and have but one room each, and sleep in armed chairs. The

Duke of Brunswick lives in the same simplicity ; he has but two aides de camp, when every General of the emigrants has five or six.



LETTER XII.

July.

THE business was again taken up last Sunday, and the question agitated, if M. la Fayette should or should not be impeached for his letter of the 16th and his petition? after the most violent debates, the order of the day was called for, and the question lost. A letter from the King announced M. Dubouchage minister of the marine, and M. Champion of the interior. After this the Assembly came back again to M. de la Fayette. Long speeches, murmurs, groans, and hisses ensued, and the whole was at length confined to this question and fact reported
by

by M. Guadet: that he heard General Luckner say at the Bishop of Paris's table, that M. la Fayette proposed to him, General Luckner, to join armies, and march together against Paris; upon which General Luckner said, if la Fayette should march against Paris, *il le suivroit, et le dauberoit*. During this discussion a tumult arose in the Assembly, and a report brought word that Paris was in arms, and the fédérés in the rue de St. Honoré in their way to the Thuilleries. Pethion appears and acquaints the House that he has dispersed the mob, and restored order. A courier is dispatched to M. M. la Fayette and Luckner to inquire into the truth of Guadet's story. M. Montequiou is now at Paris. The Generals all come, you see, in their order. He expresses his apprehension for the olive-trees of the south in case of an invasion. M.

M. Biron, Custine, la Morliere, and Brog-
lie inform the Assembly that their force
consists but of forty-seven thousand men,
and in case of an attack they have armed
the peasants. M. Dabancourt, adjutant-
general, has accepted the place of war-mi-
nister. A decree has re-established M.
Manuel in the office of procureur of the
commons.

I have no more news to send you at
this instant, and must wait a day or two
for matters probably of some moment.

My letter was too short to send so far ;
I shall now take it up again.

M. Lafource has been making a violent
speech against M. la Fayette, calling him
liberticide, and accusing him of leze-ma-
jesté against the people in saying, ‘ *que le*
pou-

pouvoir royal soit intact. He quoted also General Luckner to prove that la Fayette had distributed one hundred thousand livres in brandy to his army, and had proposed to Luckner, by M. Bureau de Puzy, to march against Paris. As to the brandy business, I will just mention that a friend of your's and mine, who has been at the camps, told me that he saw la Fayette's men asleep and drunk all day on the ground.

This debate, which was none of the shortest, was interrupted again by the tocsin of St. Roch, and the re-appearance of the mayor, who came to say he had stopped the people at the gates of the Tuilleries. The Assembly then came to a determination that la Fayette's fate should rest on the evidence of M. Bureau de Puzy. Every body is so occupied with poli-

politics, that scarce any thing that has not some sort of connection with them can exist, unless it happens to get into the Jacobine club, or the National Assembly. The fact, however, in question is singular enough to command public notice in the midst of the greatest confusion. A woman with child has been tried for pouring melted lead into her husband's ear whilst he was asleep, (like the Queen in Hamlet) and being put on her defence told the judge that she longed to do it. The midwives and the physicians all declare, that women with child have fancies peculiar to themselves, and commit actions independent of the moral will, which starts back at the mere conception of a crime. After reading all the pieces relative to this extraordinary affair, it was decreed that no new law was necessary, provided the jury have a right to determine
accord.

according to their consciences, or can conscientiously pronounce the prisoner not guilty. There have been many debates in the house of late, whether the King is or is not *dans le cas de la decheance*; however M. Choudieu has presented an address from Angers, dated July 18, in which are these words: ‘ *Louis XVI. a trahi la France, et ses sermens; le peuple est son souverain, prononcez sa decheance, et la patrie est sauvée.*’

It appears by the debates in the House, that shoes and muskets are scarce things in the camps; you can furnish both these articles in abundance, and give credit with them, provided that the payment shall be certain at the time and place appointed in hard louis d’ors. During the struggle for the dethroning of the King, two men were imprisoned, M. M. Paris and Boulan, for saying,

saying, that Louis seize or the constitution must give way. M. Duhem insisted on their being set at liberty immediately, and the Assembly accordingly decreed that they should be enlarged, and their judges reprimanded. Mademoiselle Lacombe appeared at the bar to inform the Assembly that she execrated tyrants, and made an offer of her heart to the nation, and was ready to sacrifice her person in its defence. The President returned her a very gallant answer, though he declined her services; he told her she was better calculated to soften tyrants than to combat them. M. l'Eveque Fauchet said, he came to acquaint the House that the Thuilleries were a depôt of arms of all sorts, and that national guards had been seen to go into the castle completely accoutred, and to come out without sword or musket. M. Thuriot joined the Bishop in
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requiring that the part of the garden called the terrace of the Feuillans should be declared to belong to the Assembly and be within its boundary. This proposition is decreed in spite of M. Hauffi, who was of opinion that it would be favourable to the collecting together of the mob. The Prussians, I am told, treat the emigrants very cavalierly ; at a table d'hôte lately at Francfort they drove them all out of the inn by ordering an itinerant musician to play *ça ira*, and nobody was displeas'd but the master of the house.

You have not an idea what a fever our fifteen days armament has occasioned at Paris and elsewhere ; and then the camp at Bagshot, till they were assured it was to rise on the eighth of August, had very nearly brought on a delirium.

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The decree of the Assembly which gave the terrace of the Feuillans to the députés, and shut out the million, has been the occasion of so many quarrels, that the House has been obliged to determine that their own decree shall not be reported. M. Voisin insisted on it that it should be abolished; “Will the Assembly,” says he, “be responsible that the King’s personal safety shall never be endangered by the effects of this useless decree?”—The minister of the interior acquaints the mayor by letter, that the King invites M. Pethion to come and see if there be any arms concealed in the Thuilleries. M. Pethion proposes to send six municipal officers to examine the castle. Thus by a wise anticipation a second visit, in all probability, from St. Antoine, and St. Marceau, was prevented for the moment, though in reality only delayed

delayed for a fortnight. The mayor came to the bar of the House to give an account of an attempt to excite the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau to rise and join the fédérés of Versailles, and go together to the Tuilleries. M. Pethion ran to the Bastille at midnight on the first report, where he found the citizens at supper. He recommended peace to them, and they promised to preserve it. He then flew to St. Marceau, where the section was assembled, and an emissary had been already with them to desire they would march with their cannon. Here also he made a speech and obtained a promise that all should be quiet. At five o'clock the tocsin rang out, and the General was beat in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine; the mayor hastened thither, and he found the battalion under arms, and there was not the least disturbance. Whenever
men-

mention is made of the tocsin it chills my blood instantly ; the sound of it is most alarming, it puts me in mind too of the mothel-bell, which was rung by order of the municipal officers in cities and boroughs under the Saxon government of our own country, on any contingency (*omni discrimine*) in order to convocate the people to the Burgmote, that by their common council they might guard the crown, and suppress the rioters.

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LETTER XIII.

THE declaration that made the terrace of the Feuillans part of the salle du manège, or within the circle of it, as I hinted in my last, has been fatal to the peace of the gardens. Certain national guards have been making their complaint to the National Assembly of insults received from the mob. A grenadier on guard at the end of the terrace nearest the gate of the cour du manège, in endeavouring to protect a citizen (M. d'Epréménil) from the crowd, had his epaulette torn off, and his sabre and cap taken from him. He petitioned, therefore, for himself and brethren, that the decree might be reversed.

M. d'Eprémenil had, indeed, a narrow escape; he was taken by the throat at the gate as he entered the gardens, struck several times and thrown down; an uplifted hand was in the act of giving the fatal blow, when a sans culotte attempted to pick the pocket of the assassin, who, in turning round to secure his property, gave d'Eprémenil an opportunity to make his escape. The terrace is now restored to the people, and the gardens are at their disposal, but strange to say, they will not walk in them, or use any part of them but the terrace. They call the gardens, *un pays ennemi, un territoire Autrichien*; and shake off the dust of their shoes at the extreme line of boundary, which is a narrow blue silk riband, stuck thick with lampoons and pasquinades. M. d'Eprémenil has been accused of provoking the people to force the barrier, and break into

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the gardens. This is not more probable than that he is a spy from Coblantz, without having been out of France since the first Assembly. M. Pethion went instantly to see his old colleague in his mangled state at the public treasury, where he had taken refuge. The inconstancy of fortune must have struck him very forcibly to see the man once the idol of the people, now the object of its hate and fury. I never was more surprised than within this day or two to hear that a deputy, I don't know his name, got up in the Assembly, told a story against the sans culottes, and had the laugh of his side. "Nothing," says he, "is so strange as the people; when the gardens of the Thuilleries were shut against them, they swore, and stormed, and said "no power on earth should keep them out; now they are open they won't walk in them."

—This makes me recollect an anecdote of a financier who went to pass some days at his country house, where Manon his cook served him up woodcocks without the trail, upon which he grew outrageous, sent for Manon, and told her she had committed a murder unheard-of at Paris. Manon willing to repair her mistake served up too nice chickens at supper, which she took care not to draw. “What the devil have we here,” cries the financier, on putting the first bit into his mouth; “Why, Manon, your chickens have a most detestable flavour!”—Manon began now to be out of humour, and with her arms a-kimbo said, “She could not understand the taste of Paris, that liked a thing one minute, and disliked it the next.”—*Tantôt vous voulez de la merde, tantôt vous n'en voulez pas.*

The

The late decree on passports declares, that no citizen shall be allowed to leave the kingdom till the country shall be decreed to be no longer in danger. That no passport shall be delivered to any individual on any account, and that those already given out are null and void. M. Champion, the minister of the interior, was on Thursday evening almost as rudely treated by the fédérés at the Bastille, as M. d'Eprémenil at the Tuileries; he received a blow on the head with a sabre, and was forced to take shelter in a private house from the fury of the populace, who at the name of a minister grew savage in an instant. I have seen a letter from the camp at Robsheim, (*armée du Rhin*) which contains a laughable speech of General Luckner to his officers: how true it is I do not pretend to say; the letter is dated the 23 Juillet. " M.

“ le Marechal Luckner arrived here this
 “ day, and after having reviewed our
 “ army, he addressed the officers and sub-
 “ alterns, who made a ring round him :
 “ Brave champions of your country : un-
 “ *ligue terrible s’est formé contre fous, mais*
 “ *soyons unis, ferrons nous, et nous fain-*
 “ *crons nos ennemis, mes amis, mes cama-*
 “ *rades je serai avec fous, au milieu des*
 “ *dangers.*”

If you think Luckner is capable of be-
 traying you, cut him up into little bits.
Sacretieu, fous êtes François, rappelez
fous de vos pairs. The fédérés Marseil-
 lois arrived here on Monday the 30th of
 May, they seem to have gathered in their
 way like a snow-ball, and to have collected
 all that they could persuade to follow them.
 The very first day of their arrival was
 marked by some insult or outrage. They
 have

have torn to pieces, even with their teeth, all the cockades they could find made of riband. It is their will, and the municipality has ordered that every cockade shall be in future of woollen cloth only. In the evening of the day of their arrival, certain national guards having dined together in the Elyfian fields, were insulted by some vagrant fans culottes, who wished to pick a quarrel with them; the soldiers bore the injurious language of the blackguards very patiently for some time, till exhausted and fatigued with their incessant abuse, they attacked them in their turn. The dispute grew warm. The fans culottes called the Marseillois to settle their affair, and several hundreds came to their aid; and the quarrel, notwithstanding the heat of the weather and the wine, was apparently settled. The national troops rose up, and were returning

to the castle to their guard, when they were followed by the federates, threatening to attack them, and provoking them to fight. Three of the grenadiers, who were returning by the rue de Florentin, were the first assailed and wounded. M. Duhamel, lieutenant of the grenadiers of the battalion des filles Saint Thomas, was killed, rolled in the gutter, and trod under foot. This seems to have glutted them. They carried him back to the Elyfian fields, set their table on his body, and drank over him. Duhamel was of all men the quietest and most orderly; he had been a reputable broker, and served his country when he was called upon as a soldier; he was a man of a fine figure, and six feet high; but unfortunately all the grenadiers were stained with aristocracy.

The

The levies go on with success at Paris ; twelve thousand, at least, have been set free from their various engagements in trade, and mechanic employments, and are ready to go to the frontiers. Young men of large fortune, whose fathers are rich and independent, insist upon joining the army, and the workshops are stripped, and the counters deserted. I have hardly patience to tell you that I have heard the Duke of Brunswick's declaration read, and am so thoroughly disgusted with its unparalleled fanfaronade, and the gasconading spirit that breathes through every sentence of it, that I can augur no good from the pen of such a writer. Surely it was dictated by the emigrants themselves, with the Marquis de Bouillé for their secretary, who told us, as you know, that he would not leave one stone upon another at Paris. The jokes and pleasantries that circulate
here

here at the expence of the Duke of Brunf-
wick are equalled by nothing but the con-
tempt with which they treat his menaces.
The illustrious General seems to have
taken up the wrong instrument. He
would have written a more legible hand
upon the French with his sword than with
his pen. One stroke of the sabre had
been worth a thousand with the quill. I
fear now he will be subject to the question
put to Drances—*mutatis mutandis*.

“ An tibi Mavors
“ Ventosa in lingua, calamisque minacibus istis
“ Semper erit ?”

LET-

LETTER XIV.

Paris, August, 1792:

I SEE the system of equality has not yet levelled all distinction. I was surpris'd the other day on reading a recruiting paper, stuck up against the wall, for a regiment of horse, formerly belonging to the Comte de Chattelleux, in which were these words: " If the desire of glory excite your emulation, enter into this regiment, where the young men of family are distinguished *par un galon d'argent, et auront toutes sortes de satisfaction.* This does not accord too well with the principles of the revolution: there is something like a sufferance of nobility and vanity in
this

this address which are, if you believe Ra-
 baud de St. Etienne, *les ennemis irrécon-
 cileables de l'égalité.*

Much has been said at Paris of the assis-
 tance which the Empress of Russia is to
 give the emigrants, though it by no
 means appears that her Majesty has ever
 done more than persuade the King of
 Prussia to go himself, and lend all his sup-
 port to the tottering cause of a brother in
 danger. The monarchy-men, neverthe-
 less, look to the Queen of the North for
 assistance. M. d'Escart, the plenipoten-
 tiary from the Court of Coblenz, at the
 conclusion of a dinner with the King of
 Sweden at Stockholm, attacked the Rus-
 sian Ambassador on the tardiness which
 the Empress showed in supporting the
 French Princes, and sending succours to
 Louis seize. M. d'Escart being heated
 with

with the dinner and the cause, went so far as to say, that her Majesty treated this important business with the same *sang froid*, the same *legereté*, *que ses affaires de cœur*. This illustration of her Majesty's neglect of the common cause of sovereigns gave the highest offence possible, and nothing could have prevented a diplomatic duel but the interposition and good offices of the regent. You must not call on me to vouch for the truth of this story; it is the report of the day, I think it probable nevertheless.

A decree has just passed of many articles on the subject of pikes, which are to be on the model of those used by Marechal Saxe, and like his, eight feet long at least. They are to be ordered by the minister of war, and be delivered in a month, and when once delivered cannot be redemanded

manded but by the municipality. M. Champion, the minister of the interior, who was so roughly handled by the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, has sent a proclamation of the King to the administrators of the department of Paris, remonstrating against the violence and factious disposition of the people who point their weapons equally against the throne and the Assembly. Monsieur d'Orleans complains that Luckner has refused to let him serve in the armée du Rhin without the King's sign manual, which he cannot procure: he therefore prays the Assembly to order the marine minister to assign to every naval officer the post he is to occupy by land during the period in which his services are not required at sea. Upon this petition being presented, I waited to see if the Assembly would order M. l'Amiral Philippe Joseph to command the naval horse
com-

composed of seven hundred sailors from Brest. It sounds ridiculous to us to hear of sailors serving on horseback, but it is not so in France, where two men in three begin their education by learning to ride and to fence. The patriot Gorsas has published a vindication of the murder of Duhamel, in which he proves that the sixty grenadiers and national guards dined at the Elyfian fields on purpose to seek a quarrel with the five hundred Marseillois, and exterminate them.

It has been proposed that the King should be accused and suspended, and then tried. ‘*Que Louis XVI. entende ces terrible paroles ; Louis XVI. tu n’es plus roi !*’ The King has mentioned to the Assembly the Duke of Brunswick’s letter, and says, that it carries with it no mark of authenticity, and that he has heard of
it

it from no one of his ministers in any foreign court of Germany.

I forgot to tell you that when the Marfeillois had obliged every body they met to change their cockade, the National Assembly was obliged to interfere, and make a decree on purpose to authorize the wearing of any cockade of three colours of whatsoever materials it might be composed, without meaning to cast any reflection on the Marfeillois, but merely on account of the quantity of silk cockades in hand and unfold, and for the same reason that the head of Louis XVI. is suffered to remain on the assignats of 25 livres, and upwards, not because the nation respects the King's head, but because it cannot afford to lose so much paper.

L E T-

LETTER XV.

THERE is not much news from the armies; a letter from Valenciennes, August 2, says, the Austrians are gone back to Bavay to prevent their being surrounded and cut off. On coming out of the village of Maulde, in order to surprize the Tyrolians and the dragoons de la Tour; the first battalion of Paris, and the seventy-eighth regiment fell on one another, killed many, and wounded more, before the mistake was perceived, which was the more extraordinary as the moon shone very bright. The alarm was taken by the Tyrolians, and they saved themselves by flight. The reports propagated on pur-

pose to agitate the people increase hourly. The sans culottes now insist on it that the King is preparing to depart.

The President of the National Assembly informs the House that a petition which has been left three days on the altar in the Champ de Mars waits to be presented. Admission being granted, the petitioners enter, preceded by a pike crowned with a woollen cap ; about the pike is a label with the words, ‘ *Decheance du Roi,*’ in great letters. The prayer of the petition is among other things, that a clear statement of the finances of the country may be laid before them, and that it may not be permitted in future to sell the coin of the kingdom. The President promises for the Assembly that the petition shall be considered. The high winds we have had of late, within this fortnight, have
blown

blown up a political storm which promised at first to be very violent, and of long continuance. There was a report circulated all at once, that the soldiers at Soissons were poisoned, and that the bread had glass in it; on examination certain portions of glass were found in the bread, and it was declared to be done on purpose in order to destroy the army. This accusation occasioned a violent disturbance in the Assembly, but on inquiring into the matter it was found that the wind had blown fragments of glass into the kneading troughs, which had been worked up in the bread. The place where the bread was made, [the church of St. John, the windows of which were much out of repair,] having, since the reformation of the clergy, been suffered to go to decay.

They have been obliged to come to a resolution in the Assembly, that every address to depose the King should be referred to the extraordinary committee without being read. M. M. Vaublanc and Dumolard have been attacked by certain political assassins, and persecuted from the National Assembly to the Palais Royal, where they were rescued by the national guard. M. Vaublanc was threatened by a fédéré with instant death, if he ever appeared again as a deputy of the people. While these gentlemen made their complaint to the Assembly, which was much affected at the horror of the thing, the galleries applauded and manifested the most brutal joy. Word was brought that the guard could not keep off the armed mob from surrounding the House.

M. Ræ-

M. Ræderer then appeared and read the correspondence of the directory on the outrages and insults offered to numberless deputies : and upon the rumour that the alarm-bell was to ring out at midnight to collect the citizens together about the castle. He read also the answer of the mayor, who could give no assurance that there would be no disturbance. He knows nothing, however, of the nine hundred men for whom the municipality is said to have provided barracks. M. Ræderer adds, that the section of the quinze vingts has determined, in case the legislature shall not have decided on the fate of the King at midnight, that the alarm-bell shall be rung to call the citizens themselves to council. M. Pethion appeared and said, the intended flight of the court was the only cause of the measures taken by the municipality.

In the course of the night the tocsin was rung, and the general beat. The Assembly met ; the mayor, it was said, was detained as an hostage at the castle by the national guards : the House thought proper to send for him, and he came, and gave an account of the measures he had taken to preserve the peace. Whole sections came to the bar from time to time, and represented the terror and confusion that reigned in every part of the environs of the Thuilleries, and the counter-revolution which seemed to be preparing. The business of the Assembly was interrupted continually by the arrival of new messengers.

The minister of justice came to advise the Assembly, if they chose to rescue the royal family from the sword which hung over them by a thread, to send a deputation

tion for them from the Assembly. In the midst of this proposition arrive three municipal officers, who announce that commissioners named by the sections had taken their places at the Hotel de Ville, in virtue of powers conferred on them by the people in a general council of the commons; that they had dissolved the municipality with the exception of the mayor, and the procureur de la commune; that they had put the commander in chief of the national guard under arrest, and were now new-modelling l'etat major of the national guard. The Assembly referred these uncommon proceedings of the new municipality to the extraordinary committee without a remark, as if they had been apprized of them before they happened. They then returned to the proposition of the minister of justice, and the expediency of the King's taking refuge in the Assem-

bly was discussed. The commissioners of the hall came at this moment to say, that the danger those people ran who had been taken in the night, of being massacred, was very great : the Assembly ordered a guard for their protection, but it was too late ; M. Goupilleau ran into the House and said, he had just met a group of children carrying about heads upon pikes. A municipal officer came to the bar and said, the King, Queen, and family, with ministers, and municipal officers, desired to be admitted, and that the King might remain in the Hall till the riot was over, and the mob dispersed. M. Goupilleau declared, the Assembly could not deliberate while the King was present. The Assembly nevertheless sent a deputation, which conducted the King, &c. into the House. The Queen, the Dauphin, the Queen's daughter, and Madame Elizabeth

both came with his Majesty. The King seated himself by the side of the President, and said, he came to the Assembly for protection, and to prevent the commission of a great crime. The President returned a civil answer, and the King remained seated by his side. The remark, however, being repeated, that all deliberation was stopped by the King's presence, his Majesty joined the Queen at the bar, and then retired into the box of the short hand-writer behind the President. M. Ræderer, who had introduced the King to the Assembly, reports that he and the mayor were at the Thuilleries at midnight, and had made every disposition in their power to preserve peace and security. That at four o'clock the commander in chief went to the Hotel de Ville, and M. Pethion was called to the Assembly. Since that time the department of
Paris

Paris had been separated from the municipality, and remained at the castle without men or authority. M. Ræderer added, that he had desired the troops of the castle not to attack, but repel force by force. A national guard came to announce, that cannon was planted against the Thuilleries, and the people threatened to raze the castle. A commission of ten deputies was ordered to go and attempt to quiet the mob. In the mean time came a letter from Pethion to say he was a prisoner at home under arrest. Just at this stage of the business about nine o'clock in the morning, the cannon of the Thuilleries shook the House repeatedly: the Assembly was much disturbed, and the President, in order to declare the danger, put on his hat, and told the members that they should remember they were at their posts. The King, too, informed the President that he had

had ordered the Swifs not to fire firft. Frequent difcharges of mufketry accompany the field pieces. The Houfe obferves a profound filence. They then fwear to maintain liberty and equality, and that they will unite in the prefervation of the empire : this propofition is fent to the people without, who were demolifhing the Chateau, with a farther affurance that the Affembly was not at that moment unmindful of their interefts. The députés were eager to make their peace with the mob, for the balls were flying about the Hall, and nobody could tell how foon they would be directed againft it. The fection des Thermes de Julien, who had appeared at the bar to avow the approbation of the *decheance du Roi*, were charged with this commiffion. Next appeared the new felf-created municipality with three banners, on which
were

were written '*Patrie, Liberté, Egalité.*' They came to do homage to the Assembly. They declare, that if the people have fired upon the castle, it was because they had been first set upon by the Swiss guards; that when they saw the people's blood spilt, they could contain no longer. The Assembly send words of peace to the people by the municipality, after the oath of fidelity had been administered to them, and they had been received with applause.

The firing, which lasted from nine o'clock till past eleven, ceased before the arrival of the new municipality, for the castle was surrendered, and its contents, at least parts of them, were brought from time to time to the Assembly. A box containing diamonds of the Queen, the plate of the King's chapel, a hatfull of louis d'ors, a bundle of letters, and a variety

riety of other articles, arrive in succession and are deposited on the table. The Swiss officers are taken, and in the custody of the people ; others from Courbevoie were intercepted in their way to Paris. The King and the President join in an order to oblige them to lay down their arms. Other citizens appear at the bar to say that the Swiss received the people kindly at first, and then fired on them. This I believe to be true in part, and you will see why hereafter.

M. Verginaux, in the name of the extraordinary committee, proposed the following decree : The people are invited to form a national convention ; the executive power and the civil list shall be suspended, and the committee shall recommend to the legislature to settle a certain sum for the subsistence of the King and
his

his family. The ministers shall go on to exercise their functions; a governor shall be named for the Dauphin; the King shall be lodged at the Luxemburgh, and remain under the safeguard of the law, and the nation. The ministers, according to the motion of M. Brissot, it was then decreed, have lost the confidence of the nation.—Thus ends this memorable session. In my next I will endeavour to tell you how things were conducted at the Thuilleries from twelve at night till twelve at noon.

LET-

LETTER XVI.

I ATTEMPTED in my last to give you a bird's-eye view of one side of the country, where the last act of a tragedy was represented, which concluded with the extinction of the nobility, gentry, priesthood, and monarchy of a kingdom to which petty sovereigns exhaust their ambition in aspiring, even in a dream. ' *Le plus beau reve, qu'on puisse rever, a dit le grand Frederic, est d'être Roi de France.*'

The fears and apprehensions of the court were awake many days before the people came in person to storm the castle.

As

As soon, indeed, as the Marseillois were arrived, on the 30th of July, it was no longer doubtful that the visit was shortly to be paid. No inhabitant of the Thuilleries ventured to retire to bed from the 5th to the 9th till three or four o'clock in the morning. The troops of St. Antoine and St. Marceau burnt with impatience to march on the 8th and the 9th, but the chiefs were not quite ready with their plan. On the 9th, at half an hour after five o'clock I drove through the Caroufel without obstruction, nor did I perceive any great concourse of people, or any thing extraordinary in their numbers; the streets of Paris are always well filled. At nine however, when I wished to return by the way I came, it was represented to me as impossible on account of the vast crowd which filled the quay between the pont neuf and the pont royal,

and all the avenues to the place du Caroufel. I was obliged, therefore, to make a circuit round by the Pont Neuf in order to cross the water. There were no troops however in this crowd, they were, for the most part, sans culottes without arms, other than an old pistol, or a rusty sabre, or a pike. Things remained in this position without, till midnight, when the national guards began to arrive which the commanding officer had required for the security of the castle, and were distributed through the courts, and at the entrance of the garden from the place de Louis *quinze*. The artillery was disposed of in the different courts between the palace and the Caroufel, and at the Pont Tournant: the court opposite the gate-way, or great entrance, was guarded by two pieces of cannon, if not three. M. M. Petion and Ræderer were at this time both

at the castle ; Petion, it was said, was in council with the King, providing means for his security ; it does not appear, nevertheless, that the King had him during the whole time he was missing ; for when he was sent for express, he was not with the King, and it was some time before he could be found. As soon as the alarm-bell had rung, all the citizens were under arms ready to march, waiting for the word of command. When you recollect the force that was now in the castle, and about it, you will be persuaded, that it could want nothing for its defence. The number of the Swifs amounted to nearly seven hundred ; there were ten thousand also ready to join the King ; and M. Mandat had two thousand national guards at his disposal, which, as I have just been saying, arrived in the night ; but he had also an order from the Mayor to repel
force

force by force. All the avenues were sufficiently guarded by the gendarmerie à pied, and à cheval, five hundred of the latter being distributed, under the command of M. de Rhulieres, before the colonnade of the old Louvre, in order to prevent the arrival of the troops from the Faubourgs, St. Antoine, and St. Marceau, by the quai du Louvre, or to drive them on to the Elysian Fields. Here the new municipality, with Petion, Manuel, and Danton, of the old, shewed the first specimen of their generalship. They sent an order to Mandat to appear before them; Mandat was told by Ræderer that he must obey; and left his post, which he was never suffered to resume; he was soon dispatched, and Petion's orders which were found upon him cancelled. Thus the head being cut off from the body, it was an easy matter to put on a new head,

which might give the corps a new direction. M. de Mandat, it was said, had signed an order to this effect:—‘*Le premier coup de canon sera tiré aux Thuilleries.*

BOISSIEUX,

Plus bas, DE MANDAT.’

The same sort of game was played with the M. de Rhulieres, de la gendarmerie Nationale, whose orders were to attack *la colonne des citoyens par derriere*. In order to counteract this arrangement, M. Carteaux, lieutenant of the *gendarmerie à cheval*, having his suspicions of the colonel of the twenty-ninth division, who had received the orders, came upon the ground at three o'clock in the morning, and at six, when the orders were publicly known, and the King was then reviewing his troops, he asked M. Rhulieres, ‘*brusquement que comptez vous de faire de cet ordre?*

ordre ? d'obeir dit Rhulieres ; et bien ! dit Carteaux, vous ne ferez point obei ; Je vous en repond ; et de suite il va rejoindre sa compagnie, et crie, vive la Nation.'

Between five and six o'clock in the morning, intelligence having been brought every half hour of the state of things without, the King's friends were very urgent with Louis *seize* to go down into the courts, and review the Swiss-guards, and the national troops, and encourage them by his voice and presence, to be faithful to his person, and defend him and his household on the day of trial, which was now at hand. Accordingly, the King made the tour of the castle, and walked through the ranks encouraging the troops, who all received him with shouts of applause, and cries of *vive le*

Roi, promising to stand by him. The inhabitants of the chateau shewed themselves at the windows, and testified their joy at these welcome sounds. Whilst the King was reviewing the soldiers, and the refreshment of rum was handing round, a battalion of St. Jean en Greve desired to be admitted, and cried *vive le Roi*. Another section came and required the same thing, but as soon as they were in, they cried *vive la Nation*, even in the presence of the King, as they passed before him. He was now in the garden in his way to the review of the reserved corps at the Pont Tournant. On his return back again, he found that royalty existed only in the courts of the castle, and beyond those limits, that the language was *à bas le traître*. This, instead of fortifying his spirit, I am afraid, depressed it, and prepared him effectually for the fatal and humiliating

miliating propofal now ready to be made to him. In fhort, M. Ræderer came with his municipal honours, and perfuaded his Majesty, much too eafily, to quit the only poft where the dignity of his perfon, the honour of his crown, and the fafety of his houfehold, might have been moft royally defended, if not moft fuccèssfully maintained: nor did he want a fteady counfellor in his confort to enable him to refift every importunity that urged him to a fhameful and inglorious flight, by which his oaths and promifes were to be broken, and his faft friends and firm adherents were to be given up and facrificed to the furious rage of a deluded populace. The greateft defire to live in fuch a cafe ought not to make a man a coward; and though it were neceffary to fend the Queen with her children, and women, to a place of fecurity, the King fhould have remained

in the front of his army. The great difficulties and dangers the King experienced in forcing his way into the National Assembly, must have brought to his remembrance the words of the Queen, ‘ That if they were to be massacred, it was much better that they should die with some dignity in their own castle, than perish by an ignominious flight.’ As soon as the King and his suite had left the Thuilleries, escorted by the Swiss, and the national grenadiers, and their flight was known in the different courts of the castle, things began to change their aspect. The Swiss guards, who had seen him not two hours before in the midst of them, offering to lead them to battle, would not believe it, they thought it impossible. About the time that the King was preparing to go to the Assembly, or a little before that fatal moment, the first blood was shed in
the

the court of the Feuillans. The number of people on foot from nine at night till nine in the morning, who were mere spectators and inquirers into what was going forward, was certainly very considerable in every part of the town, most of them were armed with sword or pistol, or any weapon that was in their power to procure. Groups of three and five, or more, were met frequently by the guards, who made themselves masters of their persons, and hurried them away to the cour des Feuillans, and delivered them to the corps de garde. Many of those who were brought were probably emissaries from the Thuilleries, and many were sent in from the country by the commander in chief, M. Santerre, to assist at the great festival which they had been told was going to be celebrated at Paris.

Early

Early in the morning, about seven o'clock, the guard-house of the Feuillans was surrounded by an immense crowd, who came to see what was to be done with the prisoners taken in arms; those who had been seized in the night found means to escape through the garden, the others were, after having been interrogated by the section and dismissed, as completely innocent of any other offence than that of walking in parties by night, obliged to pass through the flaming ordeal of the mob, which consumed them in an instant; in vain did the captain of the guard promise that the law should take cognizance of the guilty, and beseech the people to let the innocent pass unmolested; had he not descended from his stool, he would have been roughly handled himself. Mademoiselle Theroigne soon set him at nought, and brandishing her sabre, she ordered

dered the prisoners for immediate execution. Five of them were in consequence hurried away to the place de Vendome, and beheaded in an instant. Four of their bodies, which were nearly of a length, were placed in a line, and the fifth across at right angles. Among these was a very obnoxious character, M. Suleau, whose murder was of itself a complete sacrifice to the mob. The fifth body placed across at the feet of the rest was called a priest by the name of Bouillon, a man of enormous stature and horrid aspect. The heads were placed on pikes, and sent round the town, and M. Goupilleau reported, as you remember, to have met one of them. The King was now at the Assembly, and the Marseillois were in the Caroufel. All authority, and much strength, went with the King to the National Assembly. The castle was left without a commander, and
as

as full of foes as of friends, and of pikes as of muskets ; but had its defence been still weaker, and its champions less numerous, it might have made a longer and more gallant stand, though it were not possible but that it must be overwhelmed at last. The moment was now come, the ammunition was arrived, and M. Santerre had made all his arrangements for the attack which had been delayed on account of the powder and ball. The Caroufel was now completely filled with Marseillois, with pike-men, with national troops, and idle spectators in the background, who little suspecting that the explosion was so near, on the first discharge forced their way back into the rue St. Honorè by the rue St. Nicaise ; they were perfectly right in so doing, for the House of a M. Brunton, opposite the great gates of the cour royale, had, in the course of

the two hours the firing lasted, forty odd shots in it. You remember the gate-way nearly opposite to the horse-guards: it was past nine o'clock when the Marseillois advanced to the horse-guards and demanded admiffion, at the fame time a shot was fired from the middle of the Caroufel, which went fairly above the palace and struck againft the roof. Others were alfo fired (for I counted feveral difcharges of cannon before the musketry) but with little effect. The Marseillois then forced the gates with their own cannon, and entered fhouting. As foon as they were in, they faluted the palace with a difcharge of musketry. The Swifs had already fired from the windows of the pavillion de Flore, and killed the captain of a battalion of the fection of St. Germain, on the pont royal, as he was advancing at the head of his men to prevent the fans culottes

culottes from pillaging, and to preserve order; this happened before any action took place, and was undoubtedly a very indiscreet and ill-judged thing, and became the means of irritating the well-disposed and uncorrupted national guards against the Swifs. I had this account from the lieutenant of the corps, who, when I observed that the Swifs were provoked to fire upon the Marseillois breaking into the court, told me, that might or might not be, but they had no provocation to kill my captain who was coming to their assistance.

L E T-

LETTER XVII.

THE national guards were the first who fired upon the Marseillois on their entrance in the court, and did no inconsiderable execution. The summons to surrender had now brought down the Swiss from the apartments, who were for the most part within the castle, from whence came innumerable voices crying, *vive le Roi!* This was a signal for a general attack, and both armies were engaged in an instant. The Swiss and the national guards availed themselves of the two pieces of cannon before the great staircase, and pointing them towards the thickest groups to the right and left, swept the
court,

court, and levelled whole battalions like packs of cards. The troops of the castle pursued those, whom the cannons charged with old iron and heads of nails had only put to flight, to the square of the Caroufel, and continued firing upon the fugitives till they had cleared the place. The Swifs then took possession of the artillery in the Caroufel, and returned to their posts, which was hardly done before the Marfeillois began to rally, and having formed themselves anew, marched into the court, eight a-breast, with impenetrable front. The attack was renewed from all sides, from the pont royal, from the great terrace, in the garden, and from the terrace des Feuillans; and the castle-walls were cannonaded in every direction, but with so little effect, that in the afternoon of the battle I could not count above a dozen places where the balls had made
any

any impression. The deepest mark I saw, was over the windows of Madame Elizabeth's apartment facing the Pont Royal. On the renewal of the attack many of the Swifs fought from their barracks, whither they had retired on the approach of the enemy, with great success. The Gendarmerie contented themselves with looking on till they saw the Swifs overpowered and giving way, when they joined the conquerors in pinning them after they were down. A party of thirty-five, which was driven through the passage into the gardens, were received upon the bayonet of the national guards who had first fired on the Marseillois on their irruption into the court. The Gendarmerie à cheval now came to the aid of the brave Marseillois, and having set fire to the barracks, forced the Swifs to quit their posts, and attempted to regain the

staircase. In doing this, many perished before they could descend into the court. The confusion now was at the highest, and you saw the red and the blue uniforms fighting on the same side against the blue on the opposite, for all the national guards had not as yet deserted the Swifs; but in proportion as victory declared for the blues, the Swifs were left to fall alone. Every part of the castle bore witness to their defeat, within and without, in the courts, and in the gardens, at the door of the National Assembly, and in the Elysian fields; but the greatest numbers were slain in the vestibule, at the foot of the staircase, and on the terrace of the garden. The Captain of the Marseillois boasted at table, with Mademoiselle Theroinne, the day after the action, that he had killed eleven d'emblée, who were concealed in a closet of the apartments of
the

the Dauphin, on which that bloody Amazon remarked, who, too, had stomach for them all, ‘*O le gourmand.*’—My friend, who had the singular fortune to dine at the table with this lovely pair, was made so sick with their favourite idea of a roasted Swiss, that he lost his dinner, and was laughed at by the whole company for his excessive squeamishness. Excuse this digression.—It was now past eleven o’clock, and the castle was pillaging, for the battle was over *faute des combattans du côté des Suisses*. Those who were found in the cellars or on the roof were all dispatched. The Swiss-guards, however, were not the only objects of popular fury, which descended so low as to attack the *cuisinier en chef*, the *aide de cuisine*, and the *marmite*. The rags even of the *pauvre commissionnaire du chateau* could not protect him from the general slaughter: the

wretched errand-boy, who for douze sous shewed you a private way to the chapel, and introduced you to a view of the devoted monarch and his family, when no admiffion was granted to any one without a ticket, was involved in the fame ruin with M. d'Affry, and Clermont Tonnerre. Death hovered over every inhabitant of the caſtle on that fatal day, and all were ſubject to his ſtroke.

Le pauvre en fa cabane ou le chaume le couvre,
Et la garde qui veille aux barrières du Louvre.

I could go on all day to tell you how the Swiſſes were hunted down in every part of Paris, and that every man, even a chaffeur Breton, who wore a red coat, was aſſaffinated before the identity of the perſon could be recognized. It mattered little whether they aſked for quarter or
not,

not, they every where found none, and not all the protection of the legislature could save a single individual. The women who attended to strip the dead were particularly savage and inhuman, when they found one of the cent Suisses, or a handsome body-guard, or a tall grenadier, at such a sight their eyes swelled with ecstasy, and they shewed more activity in maiming and disfiguring, than in robbing and stripping. The Swisses of hotels and of churches, with their wives and children, who had taken no part in this day's blood, were murdered most inhumanly, one in the Rue de Richelieu, another in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and in many other parts of Paris. If this were the case, those of the caserns of Courbevoye, and those who had been once in arms, however sincere their repentance, or humble their submission, must of course be cut

off, *usque ad internecionem*, to a man, and so it was.

During the whole of the horrid interim between eight o'clock and twelve, the King and Queen were laid as it were in their narrow cell, and doomed to hear the taunts and reproaches of the national deputies, who were not slow to insult their miseries, exult over their fallen state, and tax them with being the immediate cause of that day's carnage. Nothing was heard but indignities, such as *Louis seize tu n'es plus roi! Louis seize tu as creusé ton propre tombeau, c'est le seul bien que tu as jamais fait pour la France.* The applauses that accompanied these bons-mots from the galleries were incessant and unbounded, since they were repeated at the arrival of every new messenger from the castle, who reported the

pro-

progress of the battle, and deposited the *opima spolia* on the table. The capture of the Swiss officers, and the news of the re-inforcement from the caserns at Courbevoye having been intercepted, made the House mad with joy.

As soon as the heat of the battle was over and the cannonading had ceased, the inhabitants, who had shut to the folding gates of their courts, began to open them little by little, and to venture into the street, and long before six o'clock in the evening, almost all Paris was on foot, and in the field of battle. The quays on both sides the river from the Pont Neuf to the Pont Royal were filled with women, children, and curious spectators, as on the eve of a great festival, or the noon of a procession-day; the steps of the multitude seemed all to be bent one way towards the

Thuilleries ; but as the day declined the numbers on the fourth side were the greatest to see the fine effect of the fire in the Caroussel through the guichets of the Louvre. At the end of the Pont Royal nearest the gardens, there was a collection of drunken pike-men darting their offensive weapons most irregularly in all directions, and acting over again the feats of the day. There was no making one's way through this group, however like a *fans culotte*, or an Englishman you might be dressed, without some risk ; it was therefore necessary to make a short circuit, and by keeping close to the new iron rails erected since the 20th of June, before the pavilion de Flore, to get unobserved into the garden. The inscription on the gates of hell in Dante would have suited this entrance exactly—' *Per me si va tra la perduta gente.*' The moment you were in
you

you saw a dead body to the right, and to the left a body dead drunk. The area below was piled up with these latter lying in heaps at the cellar doors. The kitchen and all its dependent offices had been ransacked completely and turned inside out; for all its moveables were carried away, or thrown out at the windows. The terrace was full of mangled carcases, for the most part stripped and mutilated, and turned over to hide their defects. The *beau valet de pied de la reine* lay in the garden near the terrace with his face upwards, cut and slashed like Deiphobus. If it had not been for these bloody and infallible marks of war, and civil outrage, you might have mistaken the Thuilleries for a fair or annual festival, at which the people were permitted to see the palace and walk through all its apartments as at the fête formerly of St. Cloud. In spite of all

the difficulties of approach on every side through the fire and over the dead, there was no window in the castle that was not crowded with spectators, to say nothing of the numbers that were walking through the apartments. The rest of Paris, except the place de Vendome, was deserted and abandoned; the shops were shut up even in the palais royal, and the iron gates of the colonnades all closed; not a Jew or a money-changer was to be seen in the rue Vivienne, and no one of the theatres was open. In the place de Vendome there was a drunken crew mounted on the pedestal of the equestrian statue, endeavouring to overset it, in obedience to the proclamation of the section of the French theatre, now changed in honour of the brave Marseillois, to the section of Marseilles. This proclamation invited all good citizens to efface every mark of royalty

alty in Paris, and every inscription of prince, monarch, or house of Bourbon, from the gate-ways or corners of the streets, wherefoever they occurred, even the Prince de Galles was immediately taken down from the hotel of that name.

The King and Queen, after having been now twelve hours in their narrow cell of ten feet square, and seven high, were conducted to their apartments, which consisted of three small rooms with two beds in each for them and their suite.

Affassinations and proscriptions continued in full force during several days after the tenth. On the eleventh M. Pethion came to the National Assembly to show himself the moment his arrest was taken off. The Assembly desired him to remain in the committee rooms, in order to be at hand

hand when it might be necessary to request his services.

Numbers of plunderers and free-booters have been executed by the people, who caught them in the fact, either at the place de Greve, or in the Thuilleries. The panegyrist of the day, for the liberty of the press is only permitted to those of the right sort, who say the people can do no wrong: the panegyrist, such as Condorcet, Marat, Carra, Roberfpierre, &c. talk of the 10th of August as replete with heroism. ‘ *Mille actions dignes des plus grands eloges, mille traits heroiques, on dit, étoient melés à ces scenes de sang, et en diminuoient l’horreur.*’

The arm of vengeance was bared; these apologists pretend only against the guilty, such as the aristocrate Carle, the
les

les sieurs d'Affry, fils, et d'Erlac, le libelliste Suleau, l'exconstituant Duport, auteur de l'Indicateur, l'ex-minister de la marine Fleurieu, Stanislas Clermont Tonnerre, founder du club monarchique, le commandant general Mandat, et le beau valet de pied de la Reine. How the three last became the marked objects of popular vengeance, is not so very clear, the people, indeed, reproached Clermont Tonnerre with selling his flour too dear. ‘ *Ce bougre de farinier qui nous a vendu sa farine si chere* ; and as to Mandat, his crime was in adhering to his orders ; but the offence of the beau valet must have been his beauty. D'Affry the father got off for a short imprisonment and a trial, in which he laid the blame on the Queen, and being known for his democratic principles, was released.

The

The busts of la Fayette, Bailly, and Necker, which adorned the council-chamber of the commons, are reduced to powder, with the equestrian statue of Henri quatre. This statue of the great Henry was very thin and filled up with clay, which crumbled to dust on the touch. The materials of Louis the 14th and 15th were more valuable; M. Mafers de la Tude agreed for the right hand of Louis 15th, which had signed the order for his imprisonment in the Bastille. The satisfaction, I think, must be but small to possess a bronze hand which could not even have been moulded on the original. Antony's was infinitely more complete in being master of Cicero's tongue which the murderers were ordered to cut out and bring to him; that very tongue which had given him so much offence.

In

In the night of the 11th and 12th two brothers were taken up at St. Eustache named Soubeyrand. One of them had been aide de camp of M. de la Fayette, when he was commander in chief at Paris, and has resided here since April last. The other has been at Paris but eight days, and is an aide de camp of la Fayette at this time. The report now is, that four hundred persons have escaped from their hiding-places, perhaps forty, in the castle in the night of the 11th and 12th. They say that M. de Champcenet was of the number, he lay concealed a considerable time under dead bodies.

LETTER XVIII.

Paris, August 13, 1792:

YESTERDAY the royal family was conducted to the Temple. It was found impolitic to lodge the King at the Luxemburgh, on account of the probability of his escaping through the subterraneous passages. The house of the minister of justice was then proposed, but this was also overruled, and the temple was irrevocably fixed for the royal residence. The National Assembly then decreed that the King should be consigned to the care of the good and virtuous citizens of Paris. In conformity to this decree the council general of the commons chose the temple

ple for the habitation of Louis seize and his family, and M. Santerre arranged the procession, which was preceded and closed by a detachment of cavalry. The forty-eight sections each furnish two pieces of cannon and twenty men, which were posted from the gate of the Feuillans to the Temple by the way of the Place de Vendome, and the Boulevards. The King's guard of the day accompanied him the whole way. The orders were, '*Le Roi partira des Feuillans à trois heures précises.*' All Paris attended, for the sight was sufficiently novel. The King and Queen, with her family and suite, were all placed in the same miserable old carriage which was fitted up with cross-benches in order to accommodate the whole company. The King and Queen with Pethion between them occupied one

bench, and appeared to be much crowded, and very ill at their ease. The King's aspect was dejected in the extreme, stupid, and vacant. The Queen appeared calm but haughty; she looked about her with much apparent coolness, and examined the million with great unconcern. Pethion was so much alarmed at her manner, that he told her she must not look so proudly at the people. The Queen said, "she thought the people were very quiet."—"No, Madam; they are very unquiet at this moment; they may appear calm to you, but I can by no means answer for their being so a moment hence."—During the whole of this march with solemn step and slow, torrents of abuse were poured forth from every quarter. The air rang with '*le sacchon au diable, à la guillotine, à la Louise,*

ise, la garce à l'hôpital. When the waggon with its royal load, drawn by four horses, arrived at the Place de Vendome, it was ordered to stop opposite the great equestrian statue of Louis XIVth, which was upon the ground, on purpose to present the passing monarch with a real image of fallen greatness, and show him the sublimest of all his ancestors rolled down from his utmost height. To this speaking picture was added a grand chorus of a thousand voices, '*c'est ainsi que nous abattons les tyrans.*' One poor man was indiscreet enough in the course of the expedition to cry, '*Vive le Roi*' on the Boulevards, and was cut down and torn to pieces in a moment, and in as short a time not the smallest trace of him was to be seen. At length, after a most tedious journey of several hours, the King

and his family arrived at the Temple, and were deposited in the old Gothic tower, which is distinct from the priory where the Comte d'Artois was lodged when at Paris. M. Pethion went back, however, to the commons to know, '*si elle persistoit à loger Louis XVI. dans la tour du Temple ou dans le palais prieural.*' The answer was, '*dans la tour.*'

I have now brought my narration to a conclusion, having shut up the King and confined the executive power. It is time also, I hear from all quarters, to quit this place. My *lacquais de place*, who I am persuaded would cut my throat for six livres, yet cannot forget his politeness, told me but yesterday, in my way to the Mairie for a passport: '*Je suis bien aise que vous en allez, les tems sont perilleux,*'
and

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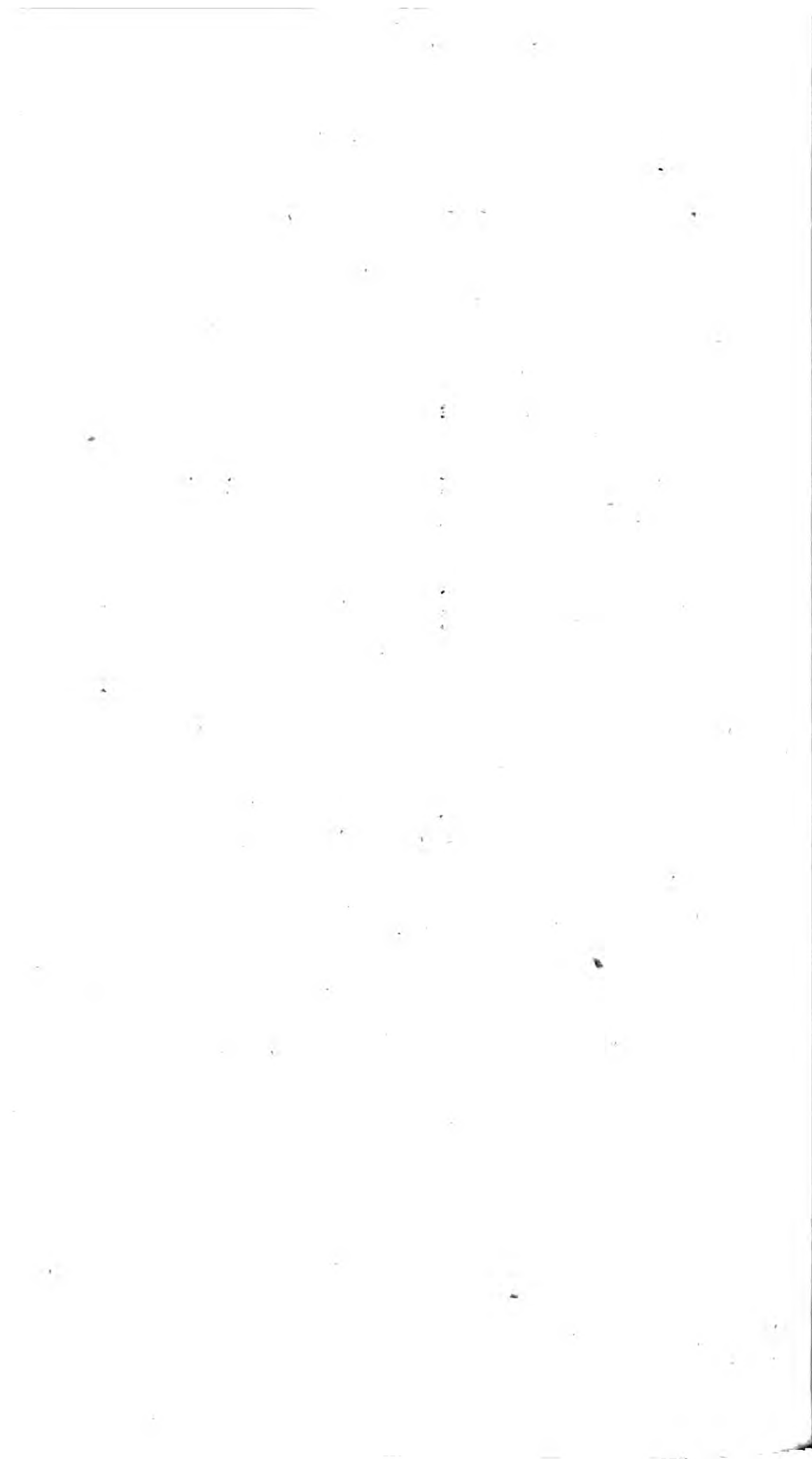
and I am quite of his opinion that it is by no means safe and discreet to remain in a country where you may be killed by mistake, or for six livres.

Adieu, I shall see you soon,

Ever your's.

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REFLEC-



REFLECTIONS.

Acceptation of the Constitution.

THE aristocrates say, that the King, when he accepted the constitution, should have gone to the National Assembly and told the deputies that he neither could accept, nor refuse the new government, because he could not bring himself to swear that he would maintain laws which he thought dangerous to the state, and impossible to be enforced; that on the other hand he could not in his conscience renounce the throne, because that must be the effect of fear and timidity: but that he had brought his life and his head to the

National Assembly, which they might dispose of as they pleased. To say nothing of the difficulty of finding *un roi philosophe, et un philosophe roi*. It required a much stronger party than the King could boast of to hold such language as this. Various and multiform were the plans delivered to his Majesty, in which he was made to understand he had the concurrence of the Queen; but they required many of them some little resistance to be made, some short stand at particular points, that would have brought on a quarrel with certain disgrace and bloodshed, from which Louis XVI. could not conquer his aversion. This was the cause of all the projects of the courtiers being laid aside, and of the adoption of the letter, drawn up by M. M. Thouret and Emmery, which was sent to the National Assembly.

Na-

National Assembly.

At length, at the end of two years and five months, the Assembly of the nation laid down its sovereign command, and resigned the scepter of legislation into the hands of the new deputies of the people. The character of this Assembly stands high for wisdom and for talents, by contrast, if it may be compared with its successors, and appreciated according to that comparison; but when judged abstractly, it must be according to the good it has produced, and the fruit it has borne: what, then, is the result of its experiments on five and twenty millions of people? Has it increased their political happiness? Most certainly—by liberating them from the gripe of despotism, and raising them to life and freedom from the oppression of
tyranny;

tyranny ; if you ask for what purpose ?—
the answer must be, why to kill them
afterwards by excess of liberty.

Where is the mighty difference of being
squeezed to death by the iron hand of a
king, or being robbed and murdered by a
free-booter ? What are we to think of
reason, liberty, and humanity, which pro-
duce all the effects of folly, tyranny, and
barbarity ?

The second National Assembly.

The new deputies met for the first
time on Saturday, the first of October,
1792, and after they were called over, it
was found that there were four hundred
and thirty-four present.

One of the clerks asked if there was any of the deputies older than sixty-eight? one of sixty-nine then appeared and took the chair as first President: he began his office by ringing his bell, and met with the most unbounded applause. The two youngest were the first secretaries, M. M. Demolan and Voezarel, each twenty-five years of age. The most considerable part of the Assembly was found to be under thirty, and the oldest member, the father of the convention, was announced to be M. Batteau.

Abbé Fauchet.

The Abbé Fauchet, or Bishop of Bayeux, had his election contested, but was nevertheless returned the fitting member. There were but two more deputies in the
same

same case with himself.* The Bishop of Bayeux is famous for his zeal in maintaining

* An idea of the violence of the Bishop of Bayeux may be acquired by his speech against M. Delessart, whom he accused of high treason, prevarication, and perfidy, and a total ignorance of the constitution; of having starved the constitutional priests, and of having paid no attention but to the refractory; of being the cause of all the slaughter of Avignon. "I wish," says the orator, "that the ghosts of the slain would for ever flit round his path, and the gnawings of remorse prey upon his vitals. Let him live, but let it be amidst the dead bodies in the glaciere of Avignon, whom his savage and brutal rage has deprived of existence." The Abbé was called to order, though covered with the applause of the galleries, and was told that his words were unworthy of a priest and a bishop. He nevertheless proposed the decree of accusation against the minister, which was referred to the committee of legislation, and the result was to be brought up in three days. M. Delessart exculpated himself on the report of the decree on all points most completely, not forgetting the priests and Avignon, and concluded with deploring the hard fate of ministers who were obliged

taining the new system of things, and for his panegyric on Benjamin Franklin, in which he is himself the principal figure on the canvass, whilst his hero is thrown into the shade. For instance, he tells us, “ *Je loe un grand homme, instituteur de la liberté Americaine ; je suis homme aussi, je suis libre, j’ai le suffrage de mes concitoyens, c’est assez, mes paroles sont immortelles.*” Here the Abbé puts himself in the place of his hero, and fairly forestalls him by leaping into the niche prepared for his saint. But if his words are immortal, his conceptions are still more sublime. “ *Le sage lui-même qui par la force de ses réflexions, et l’activité de sa grande ame, s’élève en implorant l’assis-*

obliged to defend themselves against unfounded calumnies and groundless accusations. L’Abbé Fauchet sat silent, but apparently much agitated. Delessart was highly applauded, and fairly obtained a victory over an enraged patriot.

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tance divine, au dessus des vulgaires pensées, ne fait que flotter dans l'immensité des conceptions éternelles. To float in the immensity of eternal conceptions wants an explanation which we look for in vain in the panegyric. The Bishop has a loud, powerful, and alarming cry, which may be of use in warning against approaching dangers, but is of little service in repairing the evils of anarchy and destruction, by the milder influence of sense, reason, and philosophy.

Pethion and Roberspierre.

At the conclusion of the last sitting of the *Assemblée Constituante*, some hundreds of women and children, and frequenters of the galleries paid their homage to M. M. Pethion and Roberspierre, and placed a civic crown on their heads; they then

then led them to their carriages accompanied by the music of the national guards, and were preparing to unharness their horses. The patriots begged leave to decline this great honour. Whilst these marks of distinction were shown to Pethion and Roberspierre, many others, who had formerly been the idols of popular adoration, were hissed and abused. The present Assembly is composed of a variety of parties, but the most prevailing ones are those of monarchy-men and republicans. The former prefer the government which, they say, *finit en pointe*; the latter that which terminates *en platte forme*. *M. l'Abbé Sieyes prefere le triangle à la platte forme*. The club of *quatre vingt neuf* was the school where the art of governing France was taught, and Mirabeau was of it, till the Jacobins persuaded him to come over to them. During

some little time this association was in a manner extinct, till a division among the Jacobins gave it an opportunity of distinguishing itself as the sole office of protection and fountain of favour and emolument. Universal government was the object of its chiefs. The king they wished to set up was to be without authority, or power of defending himself: the ministers they meant to appoint were to be independent of the crown, and subject to the assembly of the nation. Birth and the merit of ancient service was to be driven from the throne, and the distribution of all honours reserved for the legislative body. The Jacobins and the coté droit disconcerted these schemes by rejecting the decree intended to establish the re-eligibility of the existing deputies in the second legislature, and by voting that any place whatsoever in the ministry was incompatible

compatible and untenable with a seat in the National Assembly. From this moment the Jacobins and the club of 1789 were divided, and their separation was publicly announced after the affair of the Champ de Mars. The ministerialists, as they have been called from that time, assembled at the Feuillans. Here they were soon joined by Barnave, Lameth, Duport, Goupil, Menou, and Beauharnois; men, who having lost the confidence of the Jacobins, by leaning too much to the King's party, made a sudden change in their principles and their language. Their accession, however, was a powerful reinforcement to the weaker side, and enabled it to carry the day on many questions in the National Assembly. These divisions brought patriotism into disgrace, and Barnave was sold for a penny and la Fayette for two-pence. The hopes of any long

continuance of tranquillity which is to arise from the collision of opposite parties, who both, at one time or other, have looked forward to the same end, the dissolution of the monarchy, ought never to be too sanguine.

Education.

Education in France, on which many new and ingenious treatises have been proposed for the instruction of youth, seems at present to be centered totally and entirely in the drum, the fife, and the musket, and all French children to a boy are brought up in uniform.

Religion is as completely left out of the question, how children are to be educated, as if it never existed in the country ; one would think they had borrowed and improved

proved on the system of an English Baronet and a great female historian, who recommend particularly, the one, that the name of God should not be mentioned to his son till he is seven years old; and the other, that no idea of religion should be given to children till they were twelve years of age. In the beginning of the second Assembly some time was spent in contriving how the oath of the deputies could be made as solemn as possible without mixing with it the smallest particle of divinity, because it was thought that the name of God might carry with it a superstitious influence.

Prejudices.

Early prejudices against royalty, even in its constitutional form, shewed themselves in the National Convention. The depu-

tation sent to the King to inform him that the Assembly was definitively constituted, gave great offence on account of the mode of doing it, which was by inquiring of the keeper of the seals when the King would be pleased to receive the deputation. It was, therefore, ordered to be discontinued, and an immediate communication with the King himself was decreed, and the titles of majesty and sire, upon the motion of M. Grangeneuve, were commanded to be suppressed; the former of which, he said, only belonged to God and the people. The reception of the King in the Assembly disgusted the republican patriots; the fauteuil was too fine, and even ‘*scandaleux par sa richesse,*’ and ought not to be better than the chair of the President. Then M. Thouret bowed too low to the first servant of the people, and offence was taken

that the King's approach should be signified by a herald at arms, and not by one of the ushers of the Convention. Thus the Assembly showed itself zealous of trifles and eager to correct them in the head of the constitution, but totally unable to reform their own excesses, which must in the end be their ruin. M. Bazire's attempt to controul the galleries and prevent their exhibiting any signs in future of approbation or displeasure, was too feeble and too little supported to be carried into effect, and he himself was reduced to silence by the order of the day.

Mirabeau.

The bust of Mirabeau, which was presented to the National Assembly by M. Palloi, architect of the republic, and placed in the hall of the Convention, is

now no more the object of adoration. Fortune has dealt with that great man as she did with Dionysius and Louis seize, and all the generals of the French armies. When Palloi brought the bust of Mirabeau to the Convention, he flattered himself that he had had the good fortune to make the very stones of the Bastille subservient to the cause of liberty.

Galleries.

The galleries of the National Convention are disgraced by hired and venal troops, who are placed there for the service of the chiefs of the different parties; the advocates of the King are now and then found to be mixed with them, who speak very freely of the deputies, and reproach them with their poverty and their insignificance, and call them, *un tas de gueux,*

gueux, who have no stake in the country. It is very singular that these people have not the fear of being turned out before their eyes, when they cast reflections on the general body, and abuse the Assembly, as it were, to a man. For example, a voice comes from the gallery on the President's reproving the members for coming so late, '*C'est qu'on raccommodait leur culottes.*' It is not from the fans culottes alone that the Assembly is made to hear disagreeable truths; they come, too, from the bar, and petitioners now and then will deliver in a list of their grievances which bear hard on the deputies, and accuse the law-givers in direct terms of being the authors of them. M. Dessau-dray, in the name of a society of artists, united and associated under the title of *point central des arts, et des metiers*, had the courage to tell the Assembly of the

annihilation of arts, and of all commerce ; of the necessity of instructing the people in their duties and their business, as well as their rights ; that it was the business of the Convention to inform the nation that its sovereignty would neither feed it, nor cloath it ; that the best constitution a country could enjoy, was that under which it might live quietly, and find encouragement and reward for the fruit of its industry ; that no country could prosper whose specie was exported, and whose population was decreasing. M. Deffaudray added, that the city of Tours was reduced from a very flourishing state of population to seventeen thousand inhabitants, of which eight thousand were on the registers of its charitable institutions.



Paper-

Paper-Money.

The want of hard crowns in France is not so great an evil when you can transact all business at home with the assistance of paper; for when you want money to go to a foreign market, it is only to coin more paper, with which you may purchase what gold you please at an enormous profit for the feller. Upon these occasions the miser is tempted to bring out his hoard, and part even with his gold for a double portion of assignats, with which he buys stocks, and makes a rapid fortune in case he survives the hurricane. It has happened, not unfrequently, that the assignats already issued are not easily manageable on account of their bulk, such as those of one hundred and two hundred

hundred

hundred livres, and they have been exchanged for others of more convenient sums; as when ninety millions of five livres in the month of November 1791 were issued to be exchanged for other ninety of a hundred and upwards; but the manner in which this has been done, under the pretext of expedience, was not only unwarrantable, but destructive. The ninety millions of five livres were in circulation long before the other ninety of a hundred and upwards were brought in; that is, sixty millions only of the first ninety had been burnt when the second ninety were delivered out.

M. François de neuf chateau.

The fourth article of a proposal made some time ago in the National Convention, went to deprive the non-juring priests

priests of every patriotic privilege, and reduced them to the state of foreigners. M. Torné having made a fruitless attempt to set aside this fourth article, called himself to order, and confessed he was wrong. M. Torné had conceived that the constitutional act gave the right and title of French citizen to all strangers who asked for it, without an oath of obedience in return ; but here the whole House showed him his error, and added farther, that every non-juror was to be dealt with as a foreigner. In 1789 the Assembly of the nation declared the lands of the clergy at its disposal, and determined that they should be sold. On refusing the oath of the 27th of November, 1790, every man whose conscience was somewhat tender, found himself deprived of his situation.

By

By an effort of humanity and commiseration the priests who refused the oath were considered, and a pension was allowed them, and mention was made in the act of the constitution, where it was said to be a part of the debt of the nation which could never be cancelled or annihilated. But in one year's time the matter wears another face; an oath is offered to these creditors of the state, and on their refusing to take it their stocks are confiscated. Supposing that the nation at large, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was so dealt with, could any legislative body be suffered to dispose of the property of the public in the face of all the laws made to protect it, merely because it chuses to require a peculiar test of attachment to acts of seizure and usurpation, in spite of its own professions and engagements to the contrary?

La Fayette.

The small number of votes La Fayette could procure for the place of mayor surprised many people exceedingly, when they considered his apparent ardor in pursuit of the revolution, and his services to the people of Paris, which they imagined might have entitled him to their peculiar countenance and protection, instead of which, he experienced the reverse of all popular favour, if we are to judge from the minority in which he was left. The government was then, and it is now, in the hands of the Jacobins, if that may be called a government, where the people are without controul, and called to account for none of their actions; a government from which it is time for all honest men to retire.

Quid

Quid est Catulle quod moraris emori ?
 Sella in curuli struma Nonius fedet,
 Per consuiatum pejerat Vatinius ;
 Quid est Catulle quod moraris emori ?

But to return to la Fayette ;—this great man is accused of being a weather-cock, and at the mercy of every wind ; he is unsteady, they say, because he wants judgement to direct him ; he is incapable of attachment to any party, where the prospect of celebrity does not allure him with perpetual gratifications of his vanity, or his ambition, which are without bounds.

Books.

Memoirs in four volumes have been lately published for the purpose of relating the events of the year 1789, in which literature

terature is not forgot, though the detail of it is soon finished. If every year of the revolution were to be written thus at full length, a small library might soon be collected, and then adieu à *la bibliothèque du roi*.

War.

Perhaps it may appear somewhat extraordinary that the French republic should be so ready to carry war into the territories of all her neighbours, when it is so very lately, and in the recollection of every individual, that she appeared to wish like Father Paul, for perpetual peace, and declare that by no other means could universal liberty be established. But that her whole intention was not developed in this profession is as sufficiently clear from the subsequent declarations of her oracles in
the

the Convention, as from her hostile proceedings against all countries. It was her design, before she executed her project of perpetual peace, to reduce all countries to the standard of her own, ‘ *ut plebem suam in eterno imperio locaret, quæ patricos nunquam aliò natos quam ad serviendum putat.*’ M. Isnard’s discourse upon this subject was ordered to be printed. He tells you, “ That an enemy attacked
 “ with vigour is already half subdued ;
 “ the only way,” says he, “ to neutralize
 “ great powers, and to make France the
 “ most respectable country in Europe, is
 “ to introduce French liberty among
 “ them. The majesty of the people
 “ against the majesty of kings is always
 “ an uneven conflict that ends in the
 “ overthrow of the monarch. Now the
 “ hands of France are at liberty, it is not
 “ possible she should show the smallest
 “ signs

“ signs of fear, though all Europe were
 “ combined against her. At the instant
 “ the troops of any foreign power should
 “ be going to contend with the Gallic sons
 “ of freedom, the light of philosophy
 “ would so blind their animosities, that
 “ the swords falling from their hands,
 “ they would run with eagerness into
 “ mutual embraces.”

*Whig-Club, or Society for Constitutional
 Information.*

When M. Pastoret read an address from the Whig-Club, or the Constitutional Society of Whigs in England, the Assembly proposed that honourable mention should be made of the address, and an immediate answer should be returned to the people of England. M. Thorillon, however, took the liberty to set the House

right in this particular, and to inform it, that the address which had just been read, came from a private club of individuals, and not from the whole English nation at large, which was the error of M. Lacrosette. The Whig-Club is no more the people of England than the Feuillans or the Jacobines are the people of France. The Assembly nevertheless decreed that the address should be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments, stuck up against the church-door of every parish, and finally carried up to the King with the decree that was to receive the royal sanction. The President's answer to the sixty members of the Constitutional Society of Whigs concluded thus : ‘ *Salut à l'antique société des Whigs, salut à vous innombrables défenseurs de la liberté, c'est par de tels ressorts qu'un état est vraiment imperissable ; qu'il brave les conjurations,*

et

et les revers, et qu'il sortiroit même du naufrage debout et majestueux à coté de ses droits.'

French Generals.

The great success of the French commanders in their last campaign seems to entitle them, in some measure, to a comparison with Alexander and Cæsar, and the most fortunate generals of antiquity. They have raised armies like Pompey by stamping with the foot, and subdued countries like Cæsar by showing their colours. Who could refuse to follow such leaders?

Et le fameux Cefar qui presque fans combattre,
Venoit, voyoit, vainquoit, ne le suivois tu pas ?

At the same time it must be understood, that the rapidity of these modern conquests is greatly owing to the express desire of the people to be subdued, and their own wish to belong to the conquerors. In process of time we may probably see some man adventurous above the rest, some hero gifted with the arts of empire in the field and the cabinet, start up as the protector of France: but then he must be superior to the factions of the day, and able to extinguish them with his nod or his fiat; he must tread the levellers under foot; he must have a treasury, a certain income, and an army at his devotion.

Liberty of the Press.

If one should be inclined to hazard a truism on the liberty of the press in France, it would be exactly what a man
was

was put into the Bastille for saying of Louis the XIVth's towns '*aussitôt perdue, que gagnée*;' and I am far from being sure that were you to go to Paris and say the same thing now, that you would not still be sent to the prison of the day, à l'Abbaye; a pretty clear proof that things are come round to the same point from whence they set off.

As soon as the liberty of the press was established, antecedent to the last revolution, when it was extinguished, I mean the 10th of August, every thing felt its new and delightful influence, and nothing was said or done which was not immediately in print,

'*Imprimiturque intra muros sermo omnis et extra.*'

There is nothing very extraordinary in all this, because the press is one of the first flowers of the tree of liberty. The use that was made of it in its infancy at Paris, was to write down the monks, and to reduce their lives and actions, like the Iliad, into five acts. *Les Victimes du Cloître* was a piece of this sort, in which the scenes are blackened with peculiar horror, and the incidents of so diabolical a nature, that it requires some strength of nerves to sit out the mere representation of them.

Liberty and Equality.

There are no people in France make better use of their liberty and equality, than the drivers of waggons or roulliers, since they will not go out of their way for any body. M. Cahier de Gerville complained to the Convention of this
 tribe

tribe of liberty-boys, that they made travellers turn out for them, and broke the carriages of those who refused to give way : it is now some time since this complaint was made, but no redress has yet been obtained, and the evil remains without remedy. Woe, then, to those whose carriages are broken under the Republic ! For it is not enough that they are put to great inconvenience and detained on the road, but they are laughed at even by their own postillions, or at best comforted with a reflection, that it is the will of the sovereign it should be so. ‘ *Je vois bien, dit un postillon à un maître, (dont la voiture avoit été cassée par un roullier) que ces messieurs ne se derangent plus pour personne.*’ These sovereign waggons, who insist upon keeping the middle of the road, call themselves the equals of their fellow-travellers, but make themselves their su-

periors : they put us in mind much more of the Comte d'Artois, who drove over the people of Paris in his English phaeton, than of the fellow-subjects of an equal legislature under Armodius and Aristogiton.

The Revolution, indeed, has turned France upside down. Lawyers are become magistrates, plain citizens intriguing ministers, plebeians nobles, soldiers officers, and officers commanders. The rich are poor, and the poor rich under the new government. The same thing seems to have happened to the whole country that is recorded of a private family, the master of which, M. Mazarin, being in general discontented with the services of all his domestics, was resolved to change them ; in order to do this, he put all their names into one hat, and all their employ-
ments

ments into another, and drew one alternately from each; so that the coachman came out cook, the maitre d'hotel, marmiton; the lacquais, limonadier, and the valet de chambre, valet de pied.

Right of Indemnity.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, when the church began to be liberally endowed in France, it was usual, in case of a donation of any magnitude, to have the consent of the heirs of the donor, even to the infants at the breast, for whom the mothers, the nurses, and the guardians undertook to answer. And because in process of time the lords and owners of great estates alienated, in favour of the church, lands to a considerable amount, which their descendants in due time claim for their own, (notwithstanding

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ing they had been made to consent to dispose of them by proxy.) The monks or other ecclesiastical possessors of these estates were obliged to pay to such descendants or heirs of lands so given, a sum of money, from whence the right of indemnity had its origin.

The Tenth of August.

The King left the Thuilleries on the morning of the tenth, in consequence of the advice given him by Pethion the night before. The mayor saw plainly that the whole of the royal family would be slaughtered without his being able to prevent it, if they remained in the castle, and in order to save the King he advised his Majesty to throw himself upon the National Assembly for protection.

The

The National Assembly had refused to find la Fayette guilty, and appeared very reluctant to proceed in the business of the decheance. The impatience of the people and their leaders could no longer brook this delay by which the favourite question of the King's forfeiture was protracted: they came, therefore, in person to execute their own decrees, and were just as much surpris'd, I believe, as the Swiss-guards themselves, when they found the King had slipped through their hands.

French Character.

Voltaire has been often quoted of late for a character of his countrymen, in which he says, that Frenchmen are either monkies or tygers. No one would imagine he could be so little acquainted with

with this people as not to be a judge of the first resemblance, and few, antecedent to the Revolution, could have guessed at the second. Prior to this period a Frenchman was half dissolved in effeminacy, especially the younger part, they were all

Juvenes, ut fœmina, compti.

Of whom you might ask—‘ *Horum quis est, qui non malit regnum turbari, quam comam suam? qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui decore, quam de salute generis humani?*’ But these appearances are now greatly changed; and careless of the exterior, le damoiseau affects a roughness without, corresponding to the cruelty within. The same temper and disposition of mind has, no doubt, ever existed in the same people; but then, as Lord Bolingbroke says of the Court of Charles the

the

the Second, ‘ It was gilded with wit, and varnished with politeness,’ and lay concealed under the enamel of courtly smiles and courtly communications ; till dire necessity broke the talisman and dissolved the charm. During the reign of the monarchy, the fierce, the savage, and the brutal, were all controuled by a single lettre de cachet, and confined in a dungeon. In the mean time the business of insolence and oppression was carried on with unremitting ardor ; and whilst the minister was running away with all the power, and the court with all the pleasure, the country was left without resource, nerveless, and exhausted.

Calais.

The stage from Calais to Haut Buiffon, for the first half league, looks like ground
reco-

recovered from the sea, from the quantity of horn poppies, *Chelidonium glaucium*, that are to be seen on both sides of the roads.

Vines.

The first vines between Calais and Paris are before you come to Breteuil ; and these are chiefly for the table. On the other side of Breteuil are sixteen flower-mills of Clermont-Tonnerre which the people threw in his teeth, when they killed him at his own door on the eleventh of August. At Breteuil they spoke of him with tears, and called him their friend, and benefactor.

Duke Fitzjames.

At the corner of Fitzjames's wall, one mile from Clermont, the view of the town
and

and the Prince of Condé's chateau on the hill is unusually grand and magnificent. This point of view is marked by a noble elm with a round and tufted top within the stone fence to the right. I am shocked to say, however, that its lower branches have been cut up to let the eye into the French ridings; it was hardly worth while to apply the sheers to the lovely wildness of nature, in order to get the best view in the world of an indefinite strait line. Elms with round heads spreading like oaks, are by no means common things: there are some fine ones of this sort in the avenue at King's Weston. The present possessor of the chateau at the bottom of the hill is in Italy; he has given a proof of his high spirit in a letter he wrote early in the revolution to the King, which might have inspired some monarchs with hints of courage and resistance.

Chantilly.

A deputation of the Marseillois came hither from Paris, having first visited the President Mollet's at Ecoeuen with a commission to burn and destroy all relics of aristocracy. At Ecoeuen they contented themselves with defacing and carrying away a statue and a bust; and when I passed them they were making merry on the grass before the castle, and hailing the passengers with *vive la nation*, to which, if you made no answer, and did not put your head out of the window and join the cry, the whole band grew outrageous in a moment. At Chantilly they were somewhat less temperate; after having destroyed the arms of the Condé's, and purloined a small silver cannon, they eat all the carp, sparing neither age nor sex:

—————' Centum que per annos,
En sua fervatos comedunt in sæcula pisces.'

I forgive them freely this act of gluttony, since they have left the stables standing, the castle, and the armory untouched, with the chair of Comte de Fuentes at the battle of Rocroi, the Greek bucklers, and a shield with the arms of the Talbots upon it found at the battle of Crecy.

People.

I think the people in France are as ragged, as shirtless, and as sleeveless, since the Revolution, as before; though the contrary should appear to be the case, as they have paid very little in taxes for three years. The experiment of the impot territorial is a proof of this. It was thought that a land-tax would be very productive, but it was

found only to return one twelfth of what it was laid at.

Beggars

Are more importunate at the post-houses, in the towns, and at the inns than ever. They plague you to death for paper-money, and seem to want that or some other relief most certainly: there never was, indeed, any regular parochial provision in France for the indigent; but the religious houses, and the convents, the numerous hospitals and the infinity of charitable donations paid the poor-rate, and gave broth to the hungry, and cloaths to the naked. Since charity has been driven out to make way for liberty and equality, she herself is left to starve in the streets,

‘ A naked subject to the weeping skies,
 ‘ And waste for churlish winter’s tyranny.’

Paris, which was richer in convents, abbeys, and religious houses of all descriptions, than any other city in the whole kingdom of France, exhibits more instances of want and misery than any other place, though not so much, perhaps, in petitioning beggars, as in robbers, and plunderers. Paris alone has contributed, out of her church-revenue, at least two hundred and fifty thousand a year; how much of this is allowed for the pay of the priests, who have taken the oath, and the monks, I cannot pretend to say; but of this I am certain, that the second of September wiped out the pensions of some thousands. The country too, no doubt, has saved a good deal by the annihilation of the civil list, and

the dissolution of the court-establishment, which must have cost four or five millions annually of our money; but then if you consider that these savings must go into other channels, and probably without being brought into any account, but that of secret service, it will be found that the revolution has been very expensive, and, to say nothing of the war, which has cost above two hundred millions in a month, it will be difficult to raise the supplies where taxes fail, though there be no king to pension, or no priests to feed. But kings, monks, and priests, are not the only source of wealth to the French republic. The estates of the emigrants, and the forfeited lands of the absentees are mines of gold and treasure inexhaustible. The proverbs, nevertheless, are against them. *‘Male parata, male dilabuntur.’—‘Ce qui*

qui vient par la flute, s'en va par le tambourin.'

Bois de Bologne.

There are two plants which are to be found in every part of this beautiful wood almost to the exclusion of every other. *Euphorbia Cyparissias*, and *Asclepias Vincetoxicum*. Thus the gazon or lawn before the castle of Chantilly is covered with *Asperula Cynanchica*, and all the old walls at Paris with *Sisymbrium Sophia*.

Palais Royal.

The Palais Royal, which, for its central attractions, draws all strangers within its vortex, may be called the cradle of the Revolution where it was nursed and educated. Had it not been, indeed, for this

place, which has served for a *point de ralliement* to the mutinous, there might yet have been no Revolution. The Revolution, indeed, was occasioned by a series of oppression antecedent to the old or new Palais Royal ; it was here only that it was matured and perfected.

La Jacquerie.

Jacquerie is the name of a party to which the imprisonment of King John, and the regency of his son, the Dauphin, gave birth. The nobles, during the state of desolation in which the kingdom lay after the battle of Poitiers, insulted the public miseries, and carried their insolence and their luxury to greater lengths than at any other period : like the emigrant princes, who have been accused of living on delicacies whilst their followers wanted bread.

bread. Every species of insult and oppression was practised by the nobles at this period on the peasants; they were flea'd without mercy, and if they dared to complain, the answer was, '*Il falloit bien que Jacque bon homme p ayat tout.*' The peasants, unable to bear the injuries and oppressions which the nobles were perpetually heaping upon them, began to revolt, first at a village near Beauvais. Some few of them discoursing together on the times, naturally fell upon the subject of their own grievances, which they traced up to the vicious excesses of the nobility, whom they accused of deserting their king, and grinding his subjects by a series of expence and profusion that passed all former bounds. Fired with these communications, and heated with their own wrongs and resentments, they snatched up what arms they could find—'

quid rimanti telum fuit'—and ran to the first chateau, and murdered all the inhabitants without distinction. During three weeks the nobility of Picardy, Artois, and Brie, experienced the rage of this mob, which were increased to ten or twelve thousand. They were, however, defeated and cut to pieces near Meaux, by Gaston Phebus in 1356, and at length totally and entirely separated and dispersed, so as not to collect again, by the Regent and the King of Navarre.

Place Vendôme.

This famous square, if I may call it so, with its more famous statue, erected to the glory of Louis XIV. and now prostrate in the dust before the all-levelling mob, has been more like a place of execution than any thing else, from the number of
 peo-

people who have been massacred at the foot of its idol, and the trunkless bodies which have been exposed before its windows. It was here that the hundreds of folio volumes were committed to the flames, of herald's coats, and armorial ensigns, with pedigrees of a thousand years, full of illuminations, and rich

‘ With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.’

The astonished aristocrate was compelled to take a final leave of all his distinctions without a murmur, for fear of being burnt himself. Voltaire looked forward to this fiery sacrifice, when he said,

‘ Adieu cercle à fleurons de Marquis et de Comte ;
Et ces larges mortiers à grands bords abbatu,
Adieu.’

The

The King's Flight.

When the Thuilleries were searched previous to the 26th of July, and the 10th of August, for offensive weapons, which it was asserted had been carried in by individuals who entered the castle completely armed, and came out completely disarmed, no guns, no bayonets, no swords or sabres, were to be found. This was the case also with the inquiry after trunks, and carriages, and preparations for departure, and sudden flight, which M. Pethion said publickly was the only reason that the people of St. Antoine and St. Marceau assembled, in order to prevent an escape. But no trunk or extraordinary portmanteau was found in the Thuilleries, and no carriage but Pethion's in the yard.

Tocfin.

Tocfin.

The found of the Tocfin or alarm-bell is the found of a clapper which strikes quick and double strokes, and is called ringing backwards.—See Lithgow's account of an alarm at Malaga on the approach of the English fleet in the year 1620, pages 421, 438 of his Travels.

False Patrole.

The first patrole that had not the watch word, called a false patrole, was a party of the King's friends, who went from the Thuilleries early in the morning in order to inquire into the state of the different parts of the town, and learn the dispositions of the people. This patrole was
taken

taken in the Elysian fields, and brought to the captain of the guard, a famous banker, who having interrogated them, found nothing criminal in their proceedings, and sent them away; and had it not been for Mademoiselle Theroigne, they would have escaped unhurt.

Numbers Slain.

The account of the numbers who were killed on the 10th of August varies exceedingly as it has been taken by different people upon report, and on actual inspection. It was pretty generally agreed upon at Paris, two days after the massacre, that three thousand at least had perished. A paragraph in a French journal, *De la Rue de Chartres*, makes the numbers still less: ‘ *Le nombre des morts est considerable, l'on ne pouvait pas faire un pas*

pas que l'on ne trouve sang et cadavre, même à la place de grève, ou on a fait la levée de trente six gardes Suisses; on fait monter l'énumération des soldats, et autres citoyens tués, à deux mille cinq cents.'

In the evening of the 10th you could not have counted fifteen hundred dead on the field of battle, because the bodies had been carried away in carts in the course of the day, to be buried in a rude manner in a great pit in the Fauxbourg St. Honoré at the west end of the Boulevards. These waggons were employed also during the night of the 10th and on the 11th, the remaining bodies were burnt in the Caroussel with the furniture and the spoils of the palace. I remember to have been told by my host that the numbers of slain must have been nearer thirteen thousand than three, "For," says he, "there
" were

“ were seven hundred Swifs with thirty
 “ rounds a man, (fuppofe only eighteen,
 “ which is nearer the truth) and every
 “ Swifs may have been reckoned to have
 “ fired twelve effective fhots, when you
 “ confider that they fired on flocks, and
 “ coveys, and that the greateft part of
 “ them had difcharged all their ammuni-
 “ tion before they were killed; add to
 “ this, the effect of the two pieces of can-
 “ non *chargé à mitrailles* which filled the
 “ the cour royale with dead bodies to the
 “ right and left of the palace; add alfo
 “ fourteen or fifteen hundred national
 “ guards loft in the engagement; and
 “ you will find the calculation of thirteen
 “ thoufand more exact than the calcula-
 “ tion of three thoufand.”—In confirma-
 tion of the greater numbers came an ac-
 count two months ago from Paris to fay,
 that there had been a great miftake in the

note taken of the killed on the 10th of August, since it had been discovered that the numbers amounted to ten or twelve thousand.

The Governor of the Thuilleries.

Of the three hundred servants and dependents of the crown, which were inhabitants of the Thuilleries, very few escaped after the King had fled. A noble high in office of all others had the least chance of getting away. In such a situation, when the prize for which you were to fight had been carried off, it was no longer to be expected that you should wait like Cicero, till the assassins came up to you, or hold out your neck with Cæsar to an obscure murderer. A certain great officer of the castle, seeing things in this point of view, very prudently threw
him-

himself among a heap of dead, and lay quietly till the night should permit him to withdraw himself; whilst he was in this situation, the skirt of his coat, which fortunately hung over a neighbouring body, was pierced through repeatedly with daggers and bayonets. As soon as an opportunity offered, he extricated himself from his confinement, and went to the house of a woman whom he persuaded to prevail on her husband, just returned from slaughter, and full of his victories, to convey an Englishman, who had taken refuge in her house, to the English ambassador's. I suppose he might pass for an Englishman by speaking French with an English accent, with which he was perfectly acquainted. The story appears a little marvellous, but I believe there is no doubt of its being accurately true.

Spoils.

Spoils.

The dearest and most precious spoils were pieces of red cloth torn from the uniforms of the Swiss-guards, or bits of bloody shirts twisted about the ends of the pikes of the *fans culottes*. The women wore the shirts of the slain as handkerchiefs about their heads, in imitation of the heroine *Theroigne*. Some, indeed, were not contented with any thing less than the heart, and heart's blood of the vanquished, and twisted their entrails round their necks like *Hottentots*.

Statues.

The first statue that was pulled down was the equestrian statue of Louis XIV.

executed by Keller, on the model of Girardon. In attempting to overturn Louis XV. one man was wounded and another killed. M. Polloi, the national architect, was then called in to prevent more mischief, by substituting skill in the place of mere strength and blind zeal. I have forgot the exact year in which the statue of Louis XIV. was erected; I looked nevertheless at the date which was in the hoof of the horse's near foot before, but made no note of it. The report was, that it had been up just one hundred years; set up in 1692, and pulled down in 1792, in that case it was not erected till twenty-three years after the square itself, which was built in 1669. The famous figure of Louis XIV. crowned by victory, fell next. In the year 1686 M. le Duc de la Feuillade, at an enormous expence, consecrated, as it were, a pedestrian figure of

Louis XIV. to the glory of the grand monarque. The figure was of gilt lead and sixteen feet high, set up in the middle of the Place de Victoire. The device was, a sun surrounded with stars; the motto, ‘*nec pluribus impar.*’ It was lit night and day by four lamps, which gave occasion to a pleafantry, which put out the light of the lamps in the day-time.

Ah la Feuillade Sandi tu nous bernes,
Mettre un soleil entre quatre lanternes.

Henry Quatre.

In the report of the Iconoclasts to the National Assembly, some regret is expressed on the destruction of the statue of Henry IV. he was so good, and so great; *le monarque accompli*, the patriot King;

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but

but they recollected in good time that he was not a constitutional King, but a despot, and the statue fell. This puts us in mind of the priest who gave directions to the Catholics to murder the Protestants. What, say the murderers, shall we do if there are Catholics mixed with them? Why kill them all. *‘Tuez les tous, et Dieu reconnoitra ceux qui sont à lui.’* This statue of Henri quatre, long the idol of the people of Paris, was thought to have had some silver in its composition, but on its fall, it appeared to be of bronze exceedingly thin, filled up with clay. The horse of Henry IV. was not a fine one, though by Jean de Bologne, at least it was not so fine as the horse of Louis XIII. by Daniel Ricciarelli, upon which the critics remarked, that to make a perfect group you should give to Henri quatre the horse of Louis XIII.

XIII. But, alas! the horse and his rider are thrown into the river, and the whole nation is upon the pavé.

French Newspapers.

The account in the French newspapers of the proceedings on, before, and after the 10th of August, are all the same without any material variations. The writers on the court side were all driven away, murdered, or reduced to silence by the destruction of their presses. If the *Mercure de France* of the 18th of August had been permitted to be written by M. Mallet du Pan, the author till then of the political part of that journal, we might have had certain facts ascertained which we are now in doubt about; for in the shock of opposite parties the truth is oftentimes struck out.

Nonjuring Priests.

The priests *non affermentés* are as great objects of protection and commiseration, as the most persecuted citizens of France. Nothing can be conceived more cruel or more outrageous than the treatment these people have met with from men who set themselves up as models of perfect freedom, and unbounded toleration. It is not that the French priests refuse to swear allegiance to the law and the nation, that they are imprisoned, murdered, and forced to fly to foreign countries for shelter; but because they will not renounce their spiritual sovereign, and be guilty of schism and separation from the church of Rome. They have no objection to the oaths of fidelity and allegiance, but they cannot swear away their consciences, they cannot
swear

swear to observe the constitution of the church, such as it is at this moment in its maimed and cashiered state, in which its image is blotted out, and its true form and figure are not discernible. It cannot be expected that a law of the state should be an ordinance for the conscience. If an ecclesiastic swears to be obedient to the state, it ought to be sufficient; it is tyranny to expect him to swear that every thing the state says is right in matters of religion and of conscience. In 1702 an ecclesiastic was denied absolution because he would not say the sense of the Bull of Innocent X. condemning the five propositions of Jansenius was the true sense, although he agreed to condemn them according to that sense. Many Doctors of the Sorbonne nevertheless declared that absolution should not have been refused,

nor the question, if the Bull gave the true sense, have been asked.

EPIGRAMME.

Dans la France aujourd'hui de Paris jusqu'à Berne
On ne rencontre plus la grenouille moderne,
 Qui n'est pas maitresse chez soi.
Ce peuple imitateur des grandes republicues,
Est resté croassant des grenouilles antiques,
 Qui ne voulurent point de roi.

TRANSLATION.

Search France from Calais to its utmost bound,
No modern frog petitioner is found,
 Poor sovereign ridden thing!
Sprung from those ancient tenants of the pool,
The hoarse republicans of Cato's school,
 The French cashier their King.

Tarare.

Beaumarchais's play of this name had some few years ago a great run at Paris,
and

and interested all ranks of people. There are many things in it which look like prophecies of the anti-despots and fierce republicans, who characterize the French very happily at this moment. The following passage I well remember was received with repeated applause :

‘ Homme ta grandeur sur la terre
 ‘ N’appartient point à ton état,
 ‘ Elle est tout à ton caractère.’

Republic.

The device of motto of a republic, is ‘ *tout coule de source, point d’inégalités;*’ apply this to France, and it will answer only in one point. France has neither equal laws, equal liberty, equal religion, nor equal government. Her equality is merely nominal, all her subjects are called
 by

by the same name, they are all citizens. Harrington in his Oceana, p. 203, fol. has hazarded a prophecy about France which must have appeared incredible at the time it was made; he says, “That France will one day become a great republic, and mistress of the world.” When he wrote, the great King considered himself as a sort of fifth monarch, and called himself the master of the world. I see nothing very extraordinary in this declaration of Harrington, who published his book under the immediate influence of system, and foretold events as he wished they might come to pass. Thus Evelyn says, the Cross was of oak, because oak was his favourite timber. France has, no doubt, good natural claims to be the first people in the world, but not as a republic, I conceive, for that sort of government will not probably long suit the
genius

genius of the country, and the dispositions of the inhabitants. Were the French to adopt the system of King, Lords, and Commons, as combined in this country, I see no difficulty or doubt of their fulfilling Harrington's prediction to its utmost extent, but then they must not starve the executive power and leave their King without patronage.

Maxime.

*Ne prens pas votre politique des pretres,
ni votre religion des politiques.*

Government.

All governments have their defects in the love of liberty ill understood, in the lust of power, or the grasping after universal dominion. The first is the defect
of

of popular government, the second of the nobles, and the last of the sovereign. As the tempers and passions of mankind change and revolve from one extreme point to another extreme point, so forms in the administration of human affairs vary, and the same people who at one period were passive and obedient, at another are full of opposition and resistance. Rome began its career of government with kingly power, which for its abuses was dissolved in its 245th year in the person of Tarquin the proud, who was forced from his post. Consuls then managed the country under the form of an aristocracy, till the people drove them out, and introduced tribunes in their room. The consuls, however, some time after, were restored to their office, on condition that one should be chosen from the people. Lastly, the Cæsars raised themselves
upon

upon the shoulders of patricians and plebeians above the heads of both parties. The people of Florence also lived now in obedience to the emperors, and now in submission to the popes, till after some time taking advantage of the quarrels of their two sovereigns, they withdrew themselves by degrees from the dominion of both. They then established an aristocracy, which the intrigues of the great men that formed it, soon reduced to an oligarchy. The people, impatient of being ruled by a few over-bearing chiefs, seized the government, and changed it to a democracy. The nobles, highly displeased at having no share in the administration, Silvester de Medici headed a party of the people, and meaning to strengthen the democracy, subjected the country to the control of a mob; at length, by the joint energy of all parties a republic was
esta-

established on the broad base of monarchy upheld by the people and the nobles.

Mixt Government.

Tacitus, in the fourth book of his *Annals* and the 33d chapter, doubts whether a government composed of King, Lords, and Commons, could be practicable. Lord Monboddo calls Tacitus no philosopher for this doctrine, But as all government is an experiment, and Tacitus had never seen this particular species put to the trial, he is never the less a philosopher for doubting the success of it.

Dissolution of Monasteries in France.

All religious houses should have been dissolved in France when the Jesuits were dispersed, for if one, then all, the leaders

ders first, then the gentes minores. A hint might have been taken from Æneas in Virgil.

Ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentes
 Cornibus arboreis sternit; tum vulgus, et omnes
 Miscet ageris telis nemora inter frondea sylvam.

Male Child with two Heads.

This unhappy phenomenon was exhibited in the month of August on the side of the Palais Royal which leads to the theatre des variétés. Mr. Twiss has given an accurate account of this child, and quoted a long description from Buffon of another of the same sort.

It is necessary, however, to mention the leading particularities of a singular lusus naturæ, in order to compare it with

and

another which I have met with in a scarce book of travels that has seldom the good fortune of being read, because it is more in request for its heads than its letter-prefs.

The child exhibited at Paris had two heads and four arms, with two bodies joined at the chest. The faces were opposite, and could come together and embrace each other at pleasure. One head would cry, whilst the other laughed, and sleep, while the other was awake.

Lithgow in his Travels, p. 53, London, 1692, 8vo. gives us an account of a monster he saw at Lefina, an island in the Adriatic sea. — ‘ Which unnatural child being brought, I was amazed at the sight to behold the deformity of nature; for below the middle part there was but

one

one body, and above the middle part there were two living souls, each one separated from another, with several members. Their heads were both of one bigness, but different in phisnomy: the belly of the one joined with the posterior part of the other, and their faces looked both one way; as if the one had carried the other on his back, and -often before our eyes he that was behind would lay his hands about the neck of the foremost. Their eyes were exceeding big, and their hands greater than an infant of three times their age. The excrements of both creatures issued forth at one place; and their thighs and legs of a great growth, not seemable to their age, being but six and thirty days old; and their feet were proportionally made like to the foot of a camel, round and cloven in the midst. They received their food with an insatiable

desire, and continually mourned with a pitiful noise.

That sorrowful man (the father) told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in nature. The mother of them bought dearly that birth with the loss of her own life: as her husband reported, unspeakable was the torment she endured in that woful, wrestling pain. I was afterwards informed that this one, or rather twofold wretch, lived but a short while after I saw them.'

Equality.

All men are equal. There is no doubt of the truth of the assertion in a limited sense, because according to a French writer

ter

ter of the last century—‘ *Tout homme est
fils de la terre, et petit fils de rien.*’

Cuthbert.

The house of Cuthbert or Colbert is of Scottish extraction, and was established in Champagne in the thirteenth century, which appears by the tomb of Richard Colbert, at the convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, with an inscription engraved around the stone in Gothic letters: ‘ *Cy git ly preux chevalliers Richard Colbert, diet ly ecoffois Ki F.* (then follow four or five words which cannot be made out) *1300 priez pour l’ame de ly.*’ In the middle of the tombstone is the shield, with the arms of the knight: a serpent twisted in pale, and under the shield two verses in Gothic characters:

En Ecoffe j'eus le berceau,
 E Rheims m'a donné le tombeau.

Monks lately reformed in France.

The French religious orders had formerly not only the care of the soul, but of the body also, which proved, in case of persecution, a comfortable resource against the evils of contempt and poverty; and should a man at any time be spoiled of his spiritual estate, though he were unable to dig, and ashamed to beg, he might still obtain an honourable maintenance by curing the body, when he could get nothing for healing the soul; for few men refuse to pay a physician for a little present ease, though he may eventually leave them worse than he found them; but very few, indeed, will pay any thing in præsentia for salvation in futuro. This be-

ing particularly the case in France, it would be no bad plan for the French clergy to practise physic in order to eke out their scanty incomes. Examples they might find without end in the history of France. I will set down a few names for their encouragement : Obizo Moine de S. Victor, Medecin de Louis le Gros ; Rigord religieux de l'Abbaye de St. Denis, l'etoit de Philippe II. Peter Lombard, Canon of Chartres, was phyfician to Louis VII. Robert of Douay, Canon of Senlis, who contributed much with Robert de Sorbonne to the rich foundation of the college of that name, was phyfician to Margaret of Provence, wife of St. Louis ; Gervais Chrestien, first phyfician to Charles V. was canon of Notre Dame, at Paris, and founded the college of Maitre Gervais ; Louis Coffier, bishop of Amiens, was phyfician to Louis XI. Marcile

Ficin was both priest and physician, and Petrus Hispanus, a learned practitioner, was raised to the Pontificate by the name of John the twenty-first. Frere Côme also of our own times is in point. This famous man did not succeed in his operation on the Chancelier Maupeou, who died under his hands,

La France.

La France is named at present by the aristocrates, *Le cour du Roi Peto*, where every thing is in confusion and disorder. In the assembly of the king of the beggars, *tout le monde est libre, tout le monde est egal, et tout le monde y est le maitre.*

Suiffes

Suisses decapités.

About two o'clock on the 10th of August sixty Swiss-guards were discovered in the *petites ecuries*, whither they had fled for shelter, after all their ammunition was expended, and they were reduced to their sabres, the only defence that was left them, against cannon shot and fire-arms. In this case, and thus circumstanced, that they should fly, may not, perhaps, be thought so cowardly; 'Car contre une arme à feu il a fallu rengainer.' As soon as they were secured they were conducted to the office *de la commission permanente*, sitting à la *maison commune*. They were soon ordered from hence to prison; but being obliged by the people to go down stairs

one after another, they were all murdered on the last step before they got into the court.

This unprecedented act of savage treachery is so like an historical trait of the Turks in August sixteen hundred, that I cannot forbear comparing the two facts together.

The treachery of the French was exerted against their fellow citizens, that of the Turks against their enemies. I call it treachery in the French, because the Swiss soldiers were assured they should be conducted to prison and not to death.

The Florentines, to the number of eight hundred, having purchased the fortrefs of Scio in the Archipelago of the Genoese, landed in the night, scaled the
walls,

walls, killed the watch, and spiked the cannon; their galleys in the mean time not daring to enter the harbour, uncertain of the fate of the besiegers, who had so successfully stormed the castle, were forced out to sea by a sudden squall, and driven into a creek three miles from Scio. The next morning, the Turkish bashaw, and all the islanders were under arms. The Florentines not perceiving their galleys in the harbour, and being able to make no use of the cannon in the fortrefs, were obliged to surrender to the bashaw, who promised religiously to send them to their ships. On the third day they evacuated the fort, and passed one by one over the draw-bridge, and then in the same order into the bashaw's tent, where every man left his head. See the history of the grand Duke Ferdinand, and Lithgow, p. 103.

Passage

Passage des Feuillans.

The passage of the Feuillans which communicates with the Thuilleries, on account of its connection with the National Assembly, will always be spoken of as long as the memory of the Revolution shall live. There was formerly, that is, twenty years ago, a grotto in this passage of shell-work, constructed at the expence of Gaston d'Orleans, which grotto was also a chapel ; near it stood a blind beggar who got something almost of every passenger, not so much on account of his infirmity, as for the sake of the verses which were pasted against the wall, and had been given him by Piron, who probably having no gold or silver, had presented the blind man with a Poet's coin. The verses were never printed in
Piron's

Piron's works, and can hardly be said to have been ever published. It was not in my power to transcribe them whilst they were upon the board, but I here give an exact copy as communicated to me by a very learned and most amiable professor of the belles lettres at Caen, Monsieur Moisant :

Chrétiens, au nom du tout puissant,
Faites moi l'aumone en passant ;
Le malheureux, qui la demande,
Ne verra point qui la fera.
Mais Dieu, qui voit tout, le verra ;
Je le prierai, qui'l vous la rende,

T R A N S L A T I O N.

Hail, Christians, ever meek and bland!
In God's name an alms I ask,
These eyes ne'er see the ready hand
That performs the pious task :
But to th' all seeing God I'll pray,
And he your bounty will repay.

Pre-

Prediction de Voltaire.

Du 2 Avril, 1764.

Tout ce que je vois jète les semences à une revolution qui arrivera immanquablement, et dont je n'aurai pas le plaisir d'être témoin.

Les François arrivent tard à tout, mais enfin ils arrivent.

La lumiere s'est tellement repandue de proche en proche ; qu'on eclatera à la premiere occasion, et alors ce sera un beau tapage.

Les jeunes gens sont bienheureux, ils verront de belles choses.

Atheism.

Atheism.

Atheists of all countries seem to have taken refuge at Paris from the days of Lucilio Vanini down to the time of David Hume, who courted the reputation of a free-thinker even to the exclusion of a first cause, and yet was much shocked and affronted with Madame Mallet, because at the Abbé Noailles table she included him in her address to the company, ‘*nous autres Athées.*’ The very appellation of Atheism seems, as it were, to affright its professors, and however strongly impelled by vanity they labour in the closet to acquire the name, in public they recoil at the title. Is this the case or only an exception in favour of a modest Scotsman.

In Louis the Fourteenth's reign if you wished for court favour, it was more easy to obtain it as a notorious Atheist, than as a luke-warm Jansenist. When the Duke of Orleans was going to command the armies of Philip V. King of Spain, Louis XIV. asked him whom he took with him? The Duke named Fonterpuis to his Majesty. 'What!' said the King, "my nephew, the son of that mad enthusiast of a woman, who has been trumpeting aloud the praises of Doctor Arnaud, the Jansenist! No—no—I do not chuse that you should have him with you."—"Sire," replied the Prince, "I am totally ignorant of what the mother has been doing, but as to the son's being a Jansenist, why he does not believe even in God!"—"Is that possible!" cried the King; "and are you sure of it? Then in that case
 " there

“ there is nothing wrong, and you may
 “ take him with you.”——His Majesty
 had been taught to believe, that to have
 no religion at all was a small fault in com-
 parison with the horrid impiety and un-
 pardonable offence of Jansenism.

An Address to the People of Paris.

Brave citizens of Paris ! Conquerors
 of the Bastille ! whose patriotic zeal has
 been so instrumental in effecting a revo-
 lution which is to give happiness to your
 country, if you are not spoilt by success,
 listen to my counsel. I am old and full
 of experience, and have reflected much
 and often on the events of which I have
 been a witness ; I am neither priest, nor
 monk, nor noble, but one of the people,
 and I am proud of my rank. I see clear-
 ly, my friends, that you are misled ; I
 see

see that you have been inflamed for your own destruction, in order to give your tyrants a pretext to deceive you, and strengthen the hands of oppression. Let us reason coolly on this matter, and see if I am wrong.

The object of your wishes is government; is it not true? You want laws; and what do they give you? inflammatory compositions, writings calculated to persuade you to the very acts which every law condemns. What is the object of these writings, of these infernal pens which suggest murder and parricide, and prompt to acts of brutality and ferociousness? Why, I will tell you; their object is to wade to empire through your blood, and make your bodies the steps that lead to the throne. If the acquisition of laws be your object and petition, you must begin

gin by obeying them ; do you wish for protection ? reverence the laws : would you be free ? respect the legislature. The laws are the only bulwarks of liberty and security. Where these are not obeyed, force and violence command, and no one is free, and no one is secure ; but he who is master to-day, and uses his power to strip, spoil, and assassinate, shall himself to-morrow be exposed to the same treatment by one who is stronger than himself. But the law which affords equal protection to all, will defend us from these abuses.

The moment you suspect a man, your uniform plan has been to call out *à la lanterne* ; but is there one among you that is not subject in his turn to this alarming cry from the first madman that

he meets who shall take an offence at the look of his face, or the colour of his coat.

Where every man sets up for being master, the conclusion generally is, that every one is a slave; some artful individual establishes his authority on the ground of a general confusion, and every one is obliged to submit, and out of an innumerable multitude of claims one only is acknowledged. Licentiousness is the fruitful parent of slavery, and this is the exact point to which those wish to conduct you, who by concealed springs and invisible machinery, excite to acts of libertinism and illegal process.

The great injury which is done by these means is done to yourselves. Who is it that supports the people? Why the rich, who buy your labours, and purchase your
in-

industry with their wealth. But your horrors and your excesses have driven them all from you, and your instigators have seized all the property which the wretched fugitives have not been able to carry with them, but you have none of it; commerce is dead, and labour stands still; the merchant and shop-keeper are reduced to live on their means, and can neither employ the people, nor feed them on the miserable pittance of their savings. The National Assembly was the magnet of attraction to an innumerable crowd of strangers, who came continually to Paris to see so novel a sight, a sight which had not occurred during the space of more than one hundred and seventy years. The numbers of the curious were ever increasing, and the wealth of foreign nations was circulating through the country, but it now circulates no longer. The exhibitions

bitions and spectacles of dread and horror which you have presented to these visitors, were such as no enlightened nation could bear; the travellers are all fled, all but the scum and outcasts of their own country; the rich, the curious, and the inquisitive, are gone: they are all departed, and none are come to succeed them. I pray you who is the sufferer in this loss but yourselves? The solemnity of the States General might have been made a river of wealth and abundance to France, but in your hands it is become a source of misery. In driving strangers from your coasts you have furthered the project of those who wished to cut off your resources by intercepting them yourselves.

You are naturally a kind and compassionate people. Is any one hurt or
 wounded

wounded in your streets, you fly to his relief, and are lavish both of pity, and assistance. How comes it that by some wretched fatality you have all at once changed your character? Take back, I beseech you, that which nature has given you, and become once again humane and benevolent; you have ever been honoured in the eyes of other nations for these peculiar virtues, and you have hitherto enjoyed the reputation of them; but what do they say now? I draw a veil over those horrors which of late have so terrified our senses, and leave you, the actors of the tragedies, to reflect whether savage cruelty be the characteristic of a free man, or murder and assassination the base of liberty.

Need I ask you, do you love your children? I already know your answer, most passionately. Tremble, then, for what I

am going to say ; when you cut off heads before them, and applaud those who cut them off, and exhibit these heads with parade and triumph, what do you do but sow the seeds of cruelty in their hearts ; and point out to them, as it were with an index, the certain road to destruction ? Cruelty will beget brutality, and brutality is always criminal, and must sooner or later be sacrificed to law and justice. The interest of your children is your own interest, take care how you lose sight of this great and fundamental principle.

EXTRACT

FROM

FROISSART'S CHRONYCLES.

Fo. LXXXVIII. Vol. 1. Pynson, 1523.

¶ *Howe the Provost of the Marchantes
of Paris slewe thre Knyghtes in
the Regentes Chambre.*

IN this feason that the thre estates thus ruled: there rose in dyvers countrees certayne manere of people callying themselves companions, and they made warr to every man. The noble men of the realme of France and the prelates of holy church began to waxe wery of the rule and ordynance of the thre estates: and so gave up their rule, and suffred the Pro-

voft of the marchantes to medyll with
 fome of the burgefles of Paris, bycaufe
 they medled farther thane they were
 pleased withal. So on a day the regent
 of France was in the palays of Paris,
 with many noble men and prelates with
 hym.

The Provost than affembled a great
 nombre of commons of Parys, fuch as
 were of his opynion, and all they ware
 hattes of one colour : to the entent to be
 knowen. The Provost came to the pa-
 lays with his men about him, and entred
 into the Duke's chambre: and ther
 egerly he defyred hym that he wolde
 take on hym the medlying of the bufy-
 nefse of the realme of France: that
 the realme which pertayned to him by
 enherytance might be better kept, and
 that

that such companyons as goeth about the realme waftyng, robbing, and pylinge the fame, might be subdued. The Duke answered howe he wolde gladly entende therto yf he had wherwith: and said they that receyve the profet and the rights pertayning to the realme ought to do it yf it be done or nat, report me.

So they multiplied such wordes bytwene them, that thre of the greateft of the Duke's counfayle were ther flayne fo near him, thae his clothes were all bloody with their blode, and he himfelfe in great peryll: but there was fette one of their hattes on his heed, and he was fayne there to pardon the deth of his thre knyghtes, two of armes and the thyrd of the lawe: the one called the Lorde Robert of Cleremont,

mont, a ryght nobleman, another the Lord of Cōflans, and the Knyghte of the lawe, the Lord Symonde of Bucy.

¶ *Of the begynning of the ryfing of the Commons called Jaquere in Beauvosyn.*

Cap. C. LXXXII.

AFTER the delyveraunce of the King of Naver ther began a merveloufe tribulacion in the realme of France, as in Beauvosyn, in Bry, on the river of Marne in Leamoys, and about Seoffons: for certain people of the common vyllages without any heed or ruler, affembled together in Beauvosyn. In the begynning they
passed

passed nat a hundred in numbre: they sayd howe the noble men of the realme of France, knyghtes and squyers shamed the realme, and that it shulde be great welth to destroy them all, and eche of them sayd it was true, and sayd all with one voyce, shame have he that dothe nat his power to distroy all the gentylnen of the realme. Thus they gathered togyder without any other counfayle and without any armure: favyng with staves and knyves, and so went to the house of a knyght dwelling therby, and brake up the house, and slewe the knyght and his lady, and all his children great and small, and brent his house, and than they went to a nother castel, and took the knyght thereof, and bounde hym fast to a stake: and than vyolated his wife and doughter before his face, and than slewe the lady, and his doughter, and all his other chyl-

2

dren,

dren, and than flewe the knyght by great torment, and brent and beate down the castell : and so they dyd to dyvers other castelles and good houses : and they multiplied so that they were a fix thousand, and ever as they went forwarde they encreased, for suche lyke as they were fell ever to them, so that every gentylman fled fro them and tooke their wyves and chyldren with them, and fledde X or XX leagues to be in suretie, and left their houses voyde, and their goodes therin. These myschevous people thus assembled without capitayne or armoure : robbed brent and flewe all gentylmen they could lay handes on : and forced and ravyshed ladyes and damosels and dyd suche shamefull dedes that no humayne creature ought to think on any suche.

And

And he that dyd most mischiefe was most preased with them and greatest maister : I dare nat wryte the horryble dedes that they dyd to ladyes and damofelles. Amonge other they flewe a knyght, and after dyd put him on a broche, and rosted hym at the fyre : in the sight of the lady his wyfe and his chyldren, and after that the lady had been enforced and ravished with a X or XX thei made her perforce to eat of her husband, and after made her to dy an yvell deth and all her chyldren. They made among them a Kynge, one of Cleremont in Beauvosyn : they chose him that was most ungracioust of all other, and they called hym Kyng Jaques Goodman : and so therby they were called companions of the Jaquery. They distroyed and brent in the countrey of Beauvosyn, about Corby, Amyense, and Montdydier, mo than threfcore good
I
houses

houses and strong castelles. In lyke manner these unhappy people were in Bry and Arthoyes : so that all the ladyes knyghtes, and Squyers of that countrey were fayne to fly away to Meaulx in Bry, as well the Duches of Normandy and the Duches of Orlyauce, as dyvers other ladyes and damofels, or els they had been vyolated and after murdered.

Also ther were a certayne of the same ungracyous peple bytwene Parys and Noyon, and bytwene Parys and Soyffons, and all about in the land of Coucy, in the county of Valoys, bytwene Brieche and Loan : Noyon and Soyffons. There were brent and distroyed mo than a hundred castelles and good houses of knyghtes and Squyers in that countrey.

Howe

¶ *Howe the Provost of the Marchantes
of Parys caused walles to be made
about the cytie of Parys.*

Cap. LXXXIII.

WHEN the gentylmen of Beauvosyn, of Corboys of Vermandoys and of other landes where as these myschevous peple were converfant : sawe the * woodnesse amonge them, they sent for focours to their frendes into Flanders, to Brabant, to Heynault, and to Behayne : so there came fro all parties. And so all these Gentylnen strangers with them of the countrey assembled togyder : and dyd sette on these peple where they might find them and flewe and hanged them upon trees by heapes.

* Madnes.

The

The King of Naver on a day flewe of them mo than thre thousande : besyde Cleremount in Beauvosyn. It was tyme to take them up : for and they had been all togyder assembled, they were mo than a hundred thousande : and when they were demaunded why they dyd so yvell dedes, they wolde anfwere and say they coude nat tell : but that they dyd as they sawe other do, thynkyng thereby to have destroyed all the nobles and gentylmen of the worlde.

First Servant of the State.

Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley both agree, that a king is the first servant to the people for good, but that he is improperly called Sovereign Lord, because he is a limited Monarch; Parliament, or the people being the only sovereign. This was also the language of Van Berkel, Gyzlaer, and Roo de Westmaas on the memorial of Monsieur de Thulemeyer from the court at Berlin upon the insult offered to the Princess of Orange. The Dutch republicans declared, that a sovereign state could never consent to make excuses to the wife of its first servant. In order to avoid all altercation for the future, and to cut off all occasion of dispute about names, what a king is to be called, or how he is

to be described, the safest and the best way will be to follow the example of James the First, and say with him, "That I am a servant is most true; I never will be ashamed to confess it my principal honour to be the great servant of the commonwealth." Journals Com. I. 145, March 22, 1603. In these days it will be wise for every monarch to declare these sentiments, and speak this language on his accession to the throne. "In absolute governments," says Lord Bolingbroke, "the public service is to the prince; in free governments a principal service is due to the state; even in such a limited monarchy as our own, the King is but the first servant of the people."

La Fayette.

It is a question that has often been asked, why the King of Prussia should imprison la Fayette, and show so much repentment to a General who left his army, to come to Paris in order to call the National Assembly and the whole city to account for its most outrageous treatment of the King on the twentieth of June: to say nothing of his services in standing for the place of mayor, and the great minority in which he was left on that election: to pass over the perfidious tricks of Pethion and the Jacobins, who, on his arrival at Paris, sent agents and spies charged with louis d'ors to corrupt his army: to omit, in short, many other particulars which seemed to prove that la Fayette

was the fast friend of the King, or, at least, strenuously active in the service of his country, in order to establish for her a government somewhere between an absolute monarchy, and the despotism of a republic. But it is pretty generally believed, that the principle on which all these exertions were made was self, and the General's own particular aggrandizement; that every other consideration was secondary in his mind, and that he had ambition enough to wish, and to endeavour to be first man in the kingdom, and resolution enough to stick at nothing to procure him this pre-eminence; affecting the maxim of a tyrant borrowed from a poet—'That if wrong and robbery were excusable, it was on the score of empire.' The proof of these charges is drawn chiefly from the general tenor of la Fayette's conduct; and from a design which he had

had planned of seizing the government on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, with the aid of Monsieur d'Orleans, who as the tool of la Fayette, it was intended, should have murdered the royal family at Versailles by his myrmidons, and then be put to death in his turn by the commander in chief at the head of the national guards, who were to revenge the King's murder. The field would then have been open for la Fayette to have proclaimed himself protector. Two things are, it is said, certain, that the Duke of Orleans was at Versailles on the fifth in disguise, and that la Fayette, after having promised to protect the King, retired to a corner incognito on a pretext of writing to the National Assembly.

It may be urged, probably, that these transactions were of an early date, and
had

had been effaced by later services ; but I doubt much if they ever were forgot. When la Fayette was imprisoned he was in the act of desertion and robbery, having taken with him the military chest as the companion of his flight. I cannot see what hopes such a man can entertain of escaping undetected, who endeavours to cheat both parties.

Retreat of the Duke of Brunswick.

The cause of the sudden and hitherto unaccountable retreat of the Duke of Brunswick from France, seems to have been as little known as the man in the iron mask, or any other mysterious personage in the history of modern times. It ought not, however, to be concealed that the retrograde movements of the Prussian army have been attributed, and with
 great

great plausibility, to the superior talents of Dumourier for negotiation, who at the moment he was going to be routed with all his forces, contrived, like Fabius, to save himself by delay and procrastination. During this interval and cessation of hostilities, the French General procured a letter to be written by the King of France to the Prussian monarch, in which Louis Seize beseeched the King of Prussia not to advance a step farther in his country if he wished not to involve the King and all the royal family of France in one common massacre. The letter had the desired effect, and the Duke of Brunswick was ordered to retire. The mystery thus explained accounts for the excellent order that accompanied the retreat, to which M. Kellerman himself has given his voluntary testimony without assigning any reason why he made no attempt to disturb it.

From this moment the hopes of the French were raised to an uncommon pitch, and their pretensions exalted much beyond the attainment of common advantages. The spirits, too, of the democrates of other countries were elevated to an astonishing height of presumption, and they began with eagerness to collect together, and to associate for the purpose of levelling with the dust every crowned head in Europe, and bringing down to their own standard every individual who should be higher or stronger than themselves.

Extract

Extract from Marcouville's Recueil Memorable, à Paris 1564, p. 1.

‘ MAIS c’est chose merveilleusement estrange que la France soit devenue si sanguinaire, furieuse, et enragée, veu que Trogus Pompeius a laissé par escrit que les anciens Romains trouverent par experience qu’il n’y avoit sous le soleil gent mieux advisée, ny de meilleur conseil, ny plus prudente, que la nation François. Parquoy s’il voyoit maintenant le peuple François ainsi tumultueux, guerroyant, et foudroyant l’un contre l’autre, a bon droit il pourroit dire : ce ne sont pas des François, car le Pere est divisé contre le fils, le frere est armé contre le frere, le voisin tue le voisin, bref, tout est si meslé qu’il semble que tous ayent juré un debat irre-

conciliable entre eux, voire jufqu' à chaffer les uns, les autres de leurs maifons, et les plus forts ruiner et demolir les maifons et forterefles des defchaffes, les pilleries font fi frequentes, et les meurtres fi ordinaires, qu'il femble qu'on ne face que fe jouer du fang humain. Je ne cognois rien en ce peuple icy, de l'humanité et debonnairetté des anciens François, mais ceux cy me femble plus tôt eftre Lyons affamez, ou tygres enragés, ou dragons envenimes, que hommes raisonnables, car ils ne tiennent aucune chofe de l'humanité. Voilà quoi pourroit dire Trogus, s'il revenoit au monde.



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