would be a wise policy for our country to make common cause with France in resisting the despots who were crushing the independence of Poland. Against this scheme, Burke was indignant. He applauded the Revolution of Poland; he hated that of France. He lamented the fate of Poland; but he would sooner let affairs there take their course than enter "into a confederacy with the horror, turpitude, baseness, and wickedness of the French Revolution." * Things in Poland did take their course. The crimes of monarchy were at hand to make men careful not to exhaust all their indignation against the crimes of democracy.

* "Correspondence of Burke," vol. iii. p. 472.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Deaths of the emperor and the king of Sweden.—The Girondin Ministry.—French declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.—The Veto.—Roland, and two other ministers, dismissed.—Insurrection of the 20th of June.—The Country in Danger proclaimed.—Arrival of the Marsellais.—Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick.—Insurrection of the 10th of August.—Attack on the Tuileries.—Royal family removed to the Temple.—Longwy taken by the Prussians.—The Massacres of September.

In March, 1792, two of the crowned heads of Europe who were meditating upon the great question of a war with France were removed by death. Leopold, the emperor, died on the 1st of March. He was succeeded as king of Hungary and Bohemia by his eldest son, Frances II. Gustavus III., king of Sweden, was shot on the 6th of March, at a masked ball, by Ankerstroem, one of the nobles whose privileges he had abrogated in 1789 to establish his own absolute power. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of thirteen years of age. The successor of Leopold was not yet elected emperor when France declared war against him on the 20th of April. This declaration was the act of the Girondin ministry. The administration which represented the Feuillans, or party of the Constitution, of whom Bertrand de Moleville and Narbonne were leading members and political rivals, was broken up by its own differences. The king had now to look to a party of greater power in the Assembly, but more likely to precipitate the Court into dangerous measures. On the 15th of March, general Dumouriez was offered the ministry of Foreign Affairs. By the 23d a new administration was formed. Clavière was appointed minister of finance; and Roland de Platière was appointed minister of the interior; he, of whom Authur Young writes, in 1789, as "a gentleman somewhat advanced in life, who has a young and beautiful wife," and who then filled the humble office of inspector of fabrics at Lyons.* Roland has now brought to Paris his beautiful wife, the daughter of an engraver, to aid him in weightier matters than such as he discussed with the English agriculturist. The grave man goes to Court in plain black, with strings in his shoes; and the horrified master of the ceremonies points to him; and ejaculates to Dumouriez—"Quoi!—no

* "Travels in France," 4to., p. 262

buckles!" "All is lost," said the sarcastic general. Madame Roland, an enthusiastic republican, was admitted to the political meetings of her husband and the men of his party. Dumont says of these committees of ministers and the principal Girondins, at which he was sometimes present and saw Madame Roland, "a woman might appear there somewhat out of place, but she took no part in the discussions. She sat at her own writing-table, busy over letters, but she lost not a word of what was going forward." Madame Roland, he says, "who had an easy and energetic style, was too fond of writing, and engaged her husband in writing unceasingly. It was the ministry of writers." † He conceived that they were too much occupied in labouring to influence the opinions of the moment, not to sacrifice too much to a vulgar policy, instead of rising above the dominion of prejudices. Brissot, equally active in the Assembly, and in the Jacobins' Club, was the head of a faction sufficiently powerful to make himself feared by the ministry. Brissot had strong prejudices against the king. Clavière had become convinced that the king had pure intentions; and he was detailing, at a meeting at Roland's house, an instance of the knowledge of the Constitution which Louis possessed. Brissot and Clavère had angry words; Roland was afraid to be just towards a king, whose minister he was. The dispute was made up by the address of Roland's wife.* Such small circumstances indicate the internal influences that bore upon the actions of the ministry. The war with Austria was forced on by Brissot. It was opposed by all except Dumouriez. "Brissot," says Dumont, "was so violent, that I have heard him propose to disguise some soldiers as Austrian hussars, who should make a night attack upon some French villages; and, upon receiving this news, he would have made a motion for war, and would have carried an enthusiastic decree." ‡ Dumouriez says in his Memoirs, that, as minister, he endeavoured to prevent the war; but that he would have considered the nation cowardly, and unworthy of liberty, if it had longer submitted to the hostile insolence of the Court of Vienna. The king was against the war; although he formally proposed to the Legislative Assembly a declaration of hostilities. The Assembly resolved on war the same night. The plan of the campaign was formed by Dumouriez. Its chief object was to advance into the Low Countries, where it was expected that the French armies would be welcomed by a population which disliked the rule of Austria. The first movements were not successful. La Fayette commanded the army of the centre; Rochambeau, the army of the north; two of his officers, Dillon and Biron, were to move forward with divisions, as a feint, whilst La Fayette made the real advance. The troops under Dillon and Biron were each seized with a panic, at the sight of the Austrian troops. La Fayette, hearing of these misfortunes suspended his own march.

* "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 276—p. 278.

† *Ibid.*, p. 284.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

There was a crsis at hand of more importance in the future destinies of France and of Europe, than the first failure of the French arms in the advance from the frontier. The possibility of the Constitution of 1791 working in times of trial was to be demonstrated. That Constitution gave the king an absolute veto upon the acts of the Legislature. He had the sole power of nominating his ministers; and of appointing to every civil and military office. He had a large and uncontrolled revenue. That he was subject to popular insult was perhaps in some degree an unavoidable consequence of the anomaly that had been established between the power of the crown and the spirit of the people. A democratic legislature; a monarch, with the power in his own person of overturning their decrees, without any reference to ministerial responsibilty. A ministry forced upon him by a party in the Assembly inclined towards a republic; an army upon the frontier, stimulated by the princes of the blood and a body of noble emigrants, in secret communication with him, and resolved to undo the work of the Revolution. The king had too much power of a dangerous nature; and too little power for the preservation of his own authority, in connection with the vast changes which had cut away all the natural props of the monarchy. The Girondin ministry, represented by Roland, were disposed to coerce the king but not to adopt the extreme opinions of the Jacobins. Dumouriez, a man of vivacity and pleasure, was not at ease with his formal associate of the shoe-strings; who went straight forward to the assertion of his own opinions without intrigue or compromise. The king hesitated about his sanction of a decree of the Assembly for the deportation of the priests who had not taken the oath; and of another decree for the formation of a large camp of federates near Paris. Roland, or rather his wife, had drawn up a letter of advice to the king, which he proposed that all the ministers should sign. They declined to do so. Another letter was then drawn up by the enthusiastic lady, which was addressed by Roland to the king in his own name. It demanded, almost in a tone of menace, that the king should give his sanction to the two decrees about which he was deliberating. Dumouriez was asked by the king if he ought to endure this insult; and Dumouriez advised him to dismiss Roland and two other of

the ministry. This was on the 13th of June. Roland went to the Assembly, and read his letter; and it was declared that the three dismissed ministers had the confidence of the country. The king resolved to sanction the decree for a camp near Paris, but not that for the deportation of the priests; and he prepared a letter to that effect to the Assembly, which he asked the remaining ministers to countersign. They refused, and were dismissed. Other ministers were appointed from the party of the Feuillans. They entered upon office on the 17th of June. On the 20th a popular demonstration of the most formidable nature showed where the power resided that would command an interpretation of the constitution according to its own will. Lamartine has truly said, "the first insurrections of the Revolution were the spontaneous impulses of the people. . . . . Public passion gave the signal, and chance commanded. When the Revolution was accomplished, and the Constitution had imposed legal order on each party, the insurrections of the people were no longer agitations, but plans. . . . . Amongst the citizens anarchy had disciplined itself, and its disorder was only external, for a secret influence animated and directed it unknown to itself." * In every quarter and section of Paris there were local leaders, who took their direction from the great agitators of the Clubs and of the Journals.

The 20th of June is the anniversary of the famous day of 1789, when the States-General in the Tennis Court swore never to separate. In the faubourg Saint Antoine, and in the faubourg Saint Marceau, there are great crowds assembled betimes in the morning. Their purpose ostensibly is to plant a tree of liberty, and to petition the Assembly about certain constitutional grievances. They have music; and tricolor streamers on pikes; and dainty emblems with inscriptions, such as a bull's heart pierced through, inscribed "Aristocrat's heart," and a pair of black breeches, with a label intimating that tyrants must tremble at the *sans-culottes*. The mob of armed men and armed women, led by Santerre, the brewer, have reached the Salle de Manége, to the number of eight thousand. They gain admittance, and a petition is read to the Assembly, the text of which is, that "blood shall flow, unless the tree of liberty which we are going to plant, shall flourish." They defile through the Hall, singing "*ça ira*," and shouting "Down with the Veto." The crowd had prodigiously increased when the petitioners came out. The tree is planted; and then, the king must be visited in his palace. The king is expected to come out, but he does not think proper to appear. The Place de Carrousel and the

* "Girondins," book xvi.

gardens of the Tuileries are filled with this wild rabble; and at last they are battering the doors of the palace with axes and crowbars. The king goes to the Council Chamber, where some of the ministers are assembled, and three grenadiers are also there. The rabble are in the adjoining room, when the king orders the door of the Council Chamber to be opened. "Sire, be not afraid," said a grenadier to the king. "Put your hand upon my heart; it is tranquil," replied the king. He asks the mob what they want? His courage somewhat awes them. They then cry "Remove Veto." "This is not the time to do so, nor is this the way to ask it," says the brave Louis. A petition was then read to him by Legendre, a butcher. For four hours did this extraordinary scene continue. The red cap was handed to the king, and he put it on. A drunken man, with a bottle in his hand, offered the king to drink, and he drank "To the Nation." Pétion, the mayor of Paris, at last arrived. He had been very slow in coming, and was not very alert when he did come. To his connivance is attributed the disgrace of this outrage; and it is even alleged that the agitators hoped that the king would fall by the hands of the mob. The education of the people in the school of bloodshed was not yet sufficiently advanced for this scheme to be realised. The king at last got out of the hands of the rude crowd, vociferous but not ferocious, though many were intoxicated. They marched through the apartments of the palace. They passed before the queen and her son, who stood behind a table, protected by some grenadiers; they placed a red cap on the little boy's head. The sun has set before the palace is cleared; but no lives have been sacrificed. The firmness of the king has saved him. Mr. Huskisson, in a letter of the 29th of June, pays a just tribute to the deportment of the king: "His admirable presence of mind during this long and painful scene, have gained him many friends among the better order of people, and seem to have added much to the affection of the army. His friends only wish that his courage was of a more active nature. In his conduct he seems to be supported by the spirit of a martyr, the tranquillity of a good conscience, the resignation of a Christian; but nothing hitherto shows the enterprising courage and intrepidity of a hero, capable of great and astonishing resolutions, executed with that energy which strikes his enemies with terror, and ensures success to his cause." *

General La Fayette, on hearing of the atrocious proceedings of the 20th of June, arrived in Paris from his army, and appeared at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, to urge an inquiry into the

* "Speeches of Huskisson," vol. i.—Introductory Memoir.

cause of these excesses, and to denounce their instigators. La Fayette was received with honour at the Assembly. The Jacobins in their club called for his impeachment. He left Paris in time to preserve his own life; and the Jacobins had only the satisfaction of burning him in effigy. On the frontier there is inaction in the German army and in the French. But events are ripening. On the 11th of July, it is resolved by the Assembly to proclaim "The Country in danger." On the 14th of July there is a festival in the Champ de Mars—another feast of the Federation, when the king again takes the National oath. But there are no shouts for the king. The popular idol of this day is the mayor of Paris, Pétion, who had been suspended from his functions by the Directory of the Department, for his conduct on the 20th of June. "Pétion, or death," is the shout at the Feast of the Federation. On the 22nd of July there is a civic procession to proclaim "The country in danger." The ominous words are inscribed on an enormous flag which is fixed on the Pont-Neuf; and a similar flag is hoisted on the top of the Hôtel de Ville. Each section is headed by its municipal officer; and he is ready to inscribe the names of those who will go forth to fight for their country. Young men of Paris are going out to do battle against the foreigner. Other young men are marching into Paris, from the extreme south of France—how called together no one knows, with what object few can guess. They have travelled six hundred miles from the city of Marseilles, singing that stirring song of the Marseilles, whose chorus was an expression of the patriotism which exalted and the ferocity which disgraced the revolution.

> "Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
> Marchons! qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons!"

These five hundred tired and travel-stained patriots have entered Paris on the 30th of July, and on that same day are fighting with the National Guards. Who has brought these men of the south to Paris; and why are they fighting with the troops who are there to defend the constitution? A few days will show. They began their career in Paris by taking part with a rabble against the sworn defenders of the law. Barbaroux, a fierce republican, who came from Marseilles, had gone out from the city to meet these adventurers, and he was fully competent to give them their instructions in the duty of patriots.

The capital of France was in this state of excitement, when a proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, dated the 25th of July, from Coblentz, arrived; and was immediately printed in the journals. It is impossible to read this declaration without regarding it

either as an act of insanity; or an atrocious attempt to render the most violent instruments of the Revolution more desperate, and thus to deliver up France, torn to pieces by civil war, an easy prey to those who wouldpartition her, as they had partitioned Poland. We must regard it as the madness of the emigrant princes and their besotted followers. The declaration of the duke of Brunswick, in the name of the emperor and the king of Prussia, disavows any intention to make conquests, or to meddle with the internal government of France; but announces that they intend to deliver the king and the royal family from their captivity, and to enable him to make such convocations as he shall judge proper, and to labour in security for the welfare of his subjects. The National Guards are called upon to preserve order till the arrival of the troops of the emperor and the king of Prussia; those who fight against these troops shall be punished as rebels to their king: the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, are held responsible, under pain of losing their heads, for all crimes which they shall suffer to take place; if the inhabitants of the towns and villages shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, they shall be punished according to the most rigorous rules of war. The inhabitants of Paris are called upon to submit instantly to their king; "to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to him and to all royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the National Guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern; and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuileries be forced or insulted—if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done, to their majesties the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction."

There was a Scotch physician of some celebrity, Dr. John Moore, the author of a popular novel, "Zeluco," travelling, in company with the earl of Lauderdale, to Paris, at the beginning of August, 1792. He saw the peasants dancing on a green plain, without any fear of Austrians or Prussians. He met people in

carriages flying from Paris, who seemed to be impressed with a notion that some important event was about to happen; and one person said that a conspiracy would break out on the 9th of the month. Moore and his friend laughed at the notion of a conspiracy so well known beforehand.* There were certainly grounds for apprehension; for Pétion had been, on the 3rd of August, at the bar of the Assembly, at the head of a deputation of the Commune, who demanded the deposition of the king. Louis had sent a message to the Assembly, disavowing the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, and expressing doubts of its authenticity. The friends of the king were in serious alarm, and were concerting measures for his flight. The Court apprehended an attack upon the Tuileries, and were bribing Danton, Santerre, and others of the Jacobin faction, to avert the dreaded insurrection. The decrees of the Assembly were wholly in the power of the Girondins, who desired a Republic, and of the Mountain, who would not scruple to destroy the Monarchy whatever amount of butchery the attempt might involve. The real hope of the Court was that the duke of Brunswick might be able to reach Paris before any serious outbreak. There were men there who had the absolute command of a fierce multitude, who would do their bidding with terrible promptitude, whilst the allied troops were slowly advancing towards the French frontier. There was an insurrectional Committee ready to strike a blow whenever the time came. The faubourg Saint Marceau, and the faubourg Saint Antoine, and the Club of the Cordeliers, were their three centres of action. On the evening of the 9th of August, Danton was crying "to arms." The Marseillais were forming their ranks at the entrance of that Club of which Danton was the leading mover. The Sections assembled, and sent their Commissioners to assume the municipal authority at the Hôtel de Ville, and to displace the Council. At midnight the tocsin was sounded in every quarter. Drums were beating to arms. The National Guards were rushing to the posts of the several departments. The streets were illuminated by order of the municipality. It was a night of terror; but it was more especially terrible to the king and the royal family, who had heard the deadful note of the tocsin. They were surrounded by faithful servants who were resolved to share their perils. The National Guards, who were bound to defend the palace, had assembled very slowly at the beat of the rappel. The protection of the king almost wholly fell upon the Swiss guards. Mandat, a constitutionalist, then commanding the National Guard, made the best preparations in his power to

* "Journal of 1792," August 6.

resist an attack. He had given orders to the gendarmerie about the Tuileries, and at the Hôtel de Ville; which had the sanction of the Council that had been superseded in the night by the Sections. Mandat was sent for to the Hôtel de Ville, as the morning was approaching. He went, and was murdered. There was now no plan of defence for the Tuileries, which, as the sun rose, was surrounded by thousands of insurgents. There were National Guards sufficient to have driven back the multitude, if the men had done the duty to which they had been sworn. The king was advised to go into the courts and the gardens of the palace and review these troops. He was received with cries of "Down with the Veto." Battalions left their positions, and joined the assailants in the Place du Carrousel. The Assembly had hastily met during the night; and continued their sitting whilst this hurricane of popular violence was raging around them. They were debating some unimportant law, having no reference to the crisis whose development they were quietly expecting. The king and his family were strongly urged to place themselves under the protection of the Assembly. They at last consented; and when he entered the Hall, Louis said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime. I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, gentlemen." It was then about nine o'clock.

The royal family were placed in the logographe, a small box used by the reporters. Soon the sound of cannon was heard. No orders were given when the king left the palace. It was known to the leaders of the insurgents that he was gone. The great crime, the murder of the royal family, was averted by their leaving the Tuileries; but a wholesale butchery was to manifest the devotion to liberty and patriotism of the mobs of Paris. All the troops in the courts were received into the interior of the palace. Domestics, male and female; gentlemen of the household; priests; National Guards and Swiss guards, filled the apartments. The king had told the Assembly that he had given orders to the Swiss not to fire. The insurgents had obtained possession of the Court Royale, and they called to the Swiss at the windows to deliver up the palace. The Swiss manifested no disposition to fire upon them. Some of the most furious of the rabble reached the vestibule. There was a barricade at the foot of the stairs; and when it was attempted to be forced, a combat began. The insurgents were driven back. The Swiss, boldly headed by two officers, marched into the court, and drove out the crowd. They even penetrated to the Carrousel, and the multitude fled before them. Had they been supported by the gendarmerie, the contest might have ended differently. An order had been sent by the king that the Swiss should

repair to the Assembly. About two hundred marched thither, fired upon by the National Guards. The insurgents returned to the attack; obtained possession of the vestibule; rushed up the staircase, which was defended by eighty Swiss against the furious Marseillais and the pikemen of the faubourgs, till not a Swiss on the staircase was left alive. A general massacre of all within the walls, with the exception of the women, then ensued. A large number of the Swiss and National Guards, who were in the courts, attempted to make their way to the Hall of the Assembly, but the Swiss were all picked out and murdered.

By eleven o'clock on that morning of the 10th of Agust, the Tuileries was in the complete possession of the rabble of Paris; the greater number of its inmates slaughtered; all its luxurious furniture, and works of art, broken to pieces or burnt. For sixteen hours the king sat in the logographe; and he and his family witnessed those proceedings of the Assembly which accomplished another Revolution. There was no constitutional party here now to control the Jacobins and the Girondins. A body of citizens appeared at the bar to demand the deposition of the king. Vergniaud retired; and soon returned with the draft of a decree by which a National Convention was to be formed; and the chief of the Executive was suspended, until the decision of the Convention. The decree was put and adopted without discussion. A new ministry was appointed. Roland, Clavière, and Servan resumed their offices. Danton was chosen minister of justice. The Assembly sate till one o'clock in the morning, the royal family continuing in their close box all the time. A lodging was provided for them. The next morning they were brought back to the Assembly, to listen to other decrees of their masters. Dr. Moore has describ d the scene, at which he was present: "From the place in which I sat I could not see the king, but I had a full view of the queen, and the rest of the royal family. Her beauty is gone. No wonder. She seemed to listen with an undisturbed air to the speakers. Sometimes she whispered to her sister-in-law, and to Madame de Lamballe; once or twice she stood up, and, leaning forward, surveyed every part of the hall. A person near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the most provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made by some of the members, must have appeared to her highly insolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying situation seemed full of propriety and dignified composure." *

* "Journal," August 11.

It was decided on that day that the king and the royal family should be placed in the Temple—an isolated building surrounded by high walls. On the 13th of August they were removed to this, their prison abode. On the 17th of August, earl Gower, the British ambassador at Paris, was recalled by a letter from Mr. Dundas. A writer of great ability says, "In defiance of every maxim of sound policy, the English ambassador was recalled from France, simply because that country chose to do away with the monarchy, and substitute a republic in its place." * This strong opinion seems scarcely to be borne out by the letter of recall, signed by Mr. Dundas, which is referred to, but not quoted. "Under the present circumstances, as it appears that the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his Most Christian Majesty, the credential, under which your excellency has hitherto acted, can be no longer available. And his majesty judges it proper, on this account, as well as most conformable to the principles of neutrality which his majesty has hitherto observed, that you should no longer remain at Paris. It is therefore his majesty's pleasure that you should quit it, and repair to England, as soon as you conveniently can, after procuring the necessary passports. In any conversation which you may have occasion to hold previous to your departure, you will take care to make your language conformable to the sentiments which are now conveyed to you; and you will particularly take every opportunity of expressing that, while his majesty intends strictly to adhere to the principles of neutrality, with respect to the settlement of the internal government of France, he, at the same time, considers it as no deviation from those principles, to manifest, by all the means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties, and their royal family; and he earnestly and anxiously hopes that they will, at least, be secure from any acts of violence, which could not fail to produce one universal sentiment of indignation through every country of Europe." †

La Fayette, with his army, was at Sedan, when the Assembly, after the 10th of August, sent three commissioners to him with their decrees. La Fayette caused them to be arrested; refused to administer to his troops the new oath which the Assembly had sent; and called upon his soldiers to repeat the constitutional oath of obedience to the laws and the king. On the 17th, when the conduct of La Fayette was known in Paris, he was declared a traitor by the Assembly, and ordered to be arrested. New commissioners

* Buckle—"History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 440.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 143.

arrived at Sedan. The troops of La Fayette, beloved as he was by them, began to waver; and he thought it prudent to quit his camp with a few of his officers, and pass into the Austrian Netherlands. The Austrians arrested him and his companions, as prisoners of war; and for five years he was confined in a castle in Moravia. The Prussian army continued to advance. On the 22nd of August, Longwy was taken by them, after a cannonade of a few hours. They blockaded Thionville; and were advancing towards Verdun. Paris was in great alarm; and it was decreed that thirty thousand men should be immediately raised and equipped, and go forth to meet the invader. The patriotic spirit of the people was honourably excited by the orators of the Assembly. Let the entrenchments round Paris be completed by the voluntary labour of every citizen. Let a deputation of the members of the Assembly go daily to stimulate the labourers and work with them. So spake the fervid eloquence of Vergniaud. But there were other orators who were preparing for the ferocious bands whom they swayed, for deeds of bloodshed surpassing in atrocity any which had gone before. On the 29th of August, by order of the Commune, every citizen was required to be in his house by six o'clock in the evening. The barriers were closed. What was to happen no one knew. At one o'clock in the morning, patrols of pikemen were going through the streets, for the purpose of entering every house, under the pretence of searching for arms, but really to carry off every suspected royalist. That night the prisons were filled with hundreds of destined victims.

On the morning of the 2nd of September, Paris was in great agitation. It was reported that Verdun had been betrayed by treachery into the hands of the Prussians. Some who mixed with the crowd shook their heads, saying, that the traitors within Paris were most to be feared. At noon, the people were started by the firing of cannon, and by the peals of the tocsin. Danton, in the morning sitting of the Assembly, said that the commissioners of the Commune were going to invite the citizens by solemn proclamation, to go forth to the defence of their country. "The tocsin which is about to sound is not a signal of alarm; it is the signal for attacking the enemies of our country: in order to vanquish them we require audacity, audacity, audacity." The Assembly sate again in the evening. Municipal officers came to announce that the people had massacred two hundred priests at the church Des Carmes; that crowds were collected round the prisons, and were about to force the doors. The Assembly appointed five of their members to exhort the people to tranquillity. They returned to say that the darkness

prevented them seeing what was going on. Many in that Assembly knew too well what was going on. Throughout that night of horror the city which, two hundred and twenty years before, had been polluted by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at the command of a crowned bigot, in the name of Religion, was again polluted by a massacre as frightful, at the command of furious demagogues, in the name of liberty. The priests in the prison of Des Carmes, once a convent, were those who have been sentenced to deportation. They comprised many of the higher clergy. The greater number of the National Guards and gendarmerie who were posted at this prison, were removed by order in the morning. The crowd of assassins, headed by Cerat, a friend of Danton and of Marat, forced the gates. They immediately commenced shooting down the priests in the garden and the cloisters; stabbed them in their cells; or brought them out of the church, one by one, to be murdered. For four hours this terrible work went on, till no victim remained. One hundred and ninety bodies were carried away in carts. At the prison of the Abbaye, after a few murders in the afternoon, a general slaughter took place as night drew on. A tribunal was formed, for the pretended trial of the prisoners. The trial consisted of identifying the prisoners by the entries on the prison rolls. That ceremony performed, the president, Maillard, the leader of the women to Versailles on the 5th of October, cried, "To the prison of La Force,"—and the man thus condemned to death by a word, well understood, which sealed his fate, was butchered as he passed to the outer court. Thirty-eight Swiss in the prison were put to death without this ceremony. The murderers became tired as the night advanced; but they were again ready for their business in the morning. Billaud de Varennes, one of the functionaries of the municipality, arrived at the Abbaye, and presented to each of the executioners twenty-four livres as his reward. "Think you," said a baker's boy, "that I have only earned twenty-four livres? I have killed more than forty myself." The Commune paid the dissatisfied scoundrels their miserable wages. To detail the atrocities which were committed at every prison throughout Paris, would be to make our readers as sick at heart as we are in reading of them in the narratives of eye witnesses. The prison of La Force was the scene of a crime that history cannot shrink from recording. That prison contained the persons belonging to the Court, whose lives were spared on the 10th of August. Amongst the ladies there was the Princesse de Lamballe, the intimate friend of the queen. When the slaughter of the prisoners had been

nearly completed, this beautiful woman was brought before the tribunal, where two members of the Commune presided. The judges required her to swear love of equality and liberty, and hatred to the king and queen. "I cannot swear the last," she said; "it is not in my heart." She was led to the door. When she saw the heaps of dead she uttered a cry of agony. She was instantly struck down. Her head was placed upon a pike; and was borne in horrid procession to the Temple. By the permission of the commissioners of the Commune, the ruffians were allowed to exhibit the head before the windows of the royal apartments. The king saw it; but his presence of mind saved the queen from beholding this terrible spectacle.

Of the origin of these dreadful transactions there can be no doubt. They were not the result of any spontaneous popular movement. They were organized by the Commune, acting by their committee of surveillance, and pressed on by Danton and Marat. They were tolerated by the Assembly. No attempt was made to repress them by the commanding officers of the National Guards. A circular was issued on the 3rd of September, in the name of the Commune of Paris, to inform the departments that a portion of the ferocious conspirators detained in the prisons had been put to death by the people—"acts of justice which appeared to them indispensable." The massacre was defended as the subversion of a conspiracy. The massacre, it was maintained, prevented Paris from being given up to foreign troops. Dumont, writing to Romilly from lord Lansdown's seat at Bowood, says: "I walk about half the day in a state of the greatest agitation, from the impossibility of remaining still, with my thoughts fixed upon all the sad events which are flowing from a source whence we had flattered ourselves human happiness was to arise." But he then turns to other thoughts as a counterpoise:—that the Parisians "in their last paroxysm murdered the prisoners, because a report had been spread that, at the approach of the duke of Brunswick, the prisons would be thrown open, and that the prisoners would purchase their pardon by serving their king, and turning against the patriots." To regard these massacres as the spontaneous movement of a people infuriated by the approach of a foreign army, is a belief professed by one of the most recent writers on the French Revolution: "A great cry is uttered, 'The enemy is at Verdun.' Then, seized with the fatal idea that liberty is entering upon its agony; that the torch lifted up by France to illuminate the world, is about to be snatched from her, to be extinguished under the hoofs of the Prussian horse, that the Revolution has no quarter

to expect; that justice is dying, that justice is dead—the spirits of men yield to a black delirium, which formalizes itself, O eternal grief, in these three words of blood, 'To the Prisons.'" * Another eloquent Frenchman,—as experienced as he from whom we have quoted in the immediate causes of revolutionary action,—thus speaks of the September massacres: "After having for a long time cast the blame upon a sudden and irresistible movement of the people, attempts have been made to confine the crime to the smallest possible number of actors. History has no such complaisance: the idea belongs to Marat, the acceptance and responsibility to Danton, the execution to the council of surveillance, accompliceship to many, and dastardly tolerance to almost all. . . . . In Marat it was a thirst for blood, the last remedy of a society which he wished to destroy, in order to resuscitate it according to his dream. In the mind of Danton it was a master-stroke of policy; he consented to become the phenomenon of the revolutionary movement. He believed that his deeds, purified by the intention, and by time, would lose their character of ferocity; that his name would become greater when he had quitted the stage; and that he would be regarded as the colossus of the Revolution. It has since been said that he saved his country and the Revolution by these murders, and that our victories are their excuses. But those who assert this are deceived, as he was. A people who need to be intoxicated with blood to urge them to defend their country, is a nation of villains, and not a nation of heroes. Heroism is the reverse of assassination; and as for the Revolution its *prestige* was in its justice and morality; and this massacre sullied it in the eyes of all Europe." †

The massacres of September produced a signal change in the feelings of the British nation towards the French. "How," says Romilly, "could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation as to think them capable of liberty? wretches who, after all their professions and boasts about liberty, and patriotism, and courage, and dying, and after taking oath after oath, in the very moment when their country is invaded and an enemy is marching through it unresisted, employ whole days in murdering women, and priests, and prisoners! . . . . We might as well think of establishing a republic of tigers in some forest of Africa as of maintaining a free government among such monsters." ‡ Those who had conceived the greatest hopes of the French Revolution—

* Louis Blanc—"Histoire de la Révolution," tome x. p. 4.
† Lamartine—"Girondins," liv. xxiv. c. 22.
‡ "Memoirs"—Letter to Dumont, Sept. 10.

whose confidence in its chief agents had been little diminished by the previous excesses of the mobs of Paris—shrank appalled from the contemplation of the incidents of the 2nd of September. Fox writes to lord Holland, "I had just made up my mind to the events of the 10th of August, when the horrid accounts of the 2nd of this month arrived; and I really considered the horrors of that day and night as the most heart-breaking event that ever happened to those who, like me, are fundamentally and unalterably attached to the true cause." * These fearful scenes had, however, their apologists in some of the extreme admirers of revolutionary principles. Writing to his son, Burke adverts to "the abominable palliation of these horrors in our abominable newspaper." † He regards the scenes of September as a fresh argument to reprove the government for their apparent indifference to these momentous occurrences: "I know it is the opinion of his majesty's ministers, that the new principles may be encouraged, and even triumph over every interior and exterior resistance, and may even overturn other states as they have that of France, without any sort of danger of their extending, in their consequences to this kingdom." ‡ Thus he writes to lord Grenville on the 19th of September, "talking and reasoning as if a perpetual and organized anarchy had been a possible thing." § In this September the English ministry were not moved by the admonitions of Burke, or the terrors of the possessors of property, to think of departing from their safe course of neutrality, even though they had recalled the ambassador to the king of France. But, having a strong conviction how the domination of the Jacobins would end, they resolved that the accustomed English hospitality to political fugitives should not be granted to regicides. Lord Grenville's letter to his brother, of the 20th of September, is interesting: ‖ "The detail of the late events at Paris is so horrible, that I do not like to let my mind dwell upon them; and yet I fear that scene of shocking and savage barbarity is very far from its close. I deliver this day to the Imperial and Neapolitan Ministers a note, with formal assurance that in case of the murder of the king or queen, the persons guilty of that crime shall not be allowed any asylum in the king's dominions. Opinions are a little doubtful about the best means of giving effect to this promise, should the case arise. Our lawyers seem clear,

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 370.

† This newspaper was probably the "Morning Chronicle," then the property of James Perry.

‡ "Correspondence of Burke," vol. iv. p. 7.

§ Coleridge—"Friend," Essay I.

‖ "Court &c., of George III.," vol. ii. p. 217.

and Blackstone expressly asserts, that the king may prevent any alien from coming into the kingdom, or remaining there. But this power has so rarely been used, that it may, perhaps, be better to have a special Act of Parliament applying to this case. This, however, relates only to the mode. I imagine everybody will think the thing itself right, and some people seem to hope it may prevent the commission of the crime in question. In this hope I am not very sanguine."