

a fugitive in order to preserve his life. This tumult, after raging four days, and extending its direful effects over the adjacent populous district, was quelled by military force. Many of the rioters were apprehended and brought to trial, but three only were capitally punished.

The latter months of the year were passed over in gloomy silence, and the parliament was not convened till the 31st of January, 1792. The speech from the throne announced the marriage of his royal highness the duke of York with the daughter of the king of Prussia; and intimated, that the general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, which induced his majesty to hope for an immediate reduction of both the naval and military establishments of the country, and to afford the hope of a gradual relief from a part of the existing taxes. The debates on the address, and several succeeding discussions in both houses, principally turned upon the line of policy pursued by the ministry in their interference in the quarrel between Turkey and Russia, and in the hostility they had displayed towards the latter power. Mr. Jenkinson (the present earl of Liverpool) in a maiden speech, much admired for its extensive views of the existing state of Europe, as bearing upon this country, remarked, that the strength and influence of France being at an end, we certainly had no farther danger to apprehend from that once formidable rival; but a power had succeeded to France, no less deserving of attention from its restless politics and ambitious views, and that power was Russia.

The subject of the abolition of the slave trade was again brought before the commons this session, and all the force of argument was now brought to bear upon it on both sides, in the different discussions that it underwent. The house having resumed itself into a committee on the subject, Mr. Wilberforce, the active and zealous friend of the oppressed Africans, after a minute exposure of the evils and cruelties attending that odious traffic, moved for its immediate and total abolition. He was supported in the debate by both Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, who spoke in favour of the motion as it stood; others supported the trade throughout; while a third class, among whom Mr. Henry Dundas was the leader, pleaded for a gradual abolition, which was carried by a majority of sixty-eight votes. On a following day the subject was resumed, in order to fix the date at which its total cessation should take place. Much of the same ground was again gone over, and the advocates of slavery endeavoured to defer the abolition as long as possible; but a compromise being agreed on, the term was fixed for the 1st of January, 1796.

The resolutions of the commons being carried up to the lords, it appeared that there was much less anxiety about the abolition in that assembly than in the lower house. After a debate, in which the ministerial lords in general spoke against the measure, and even a prince of the blood, the duke of Clarence, avowed himself a friend to the slave trade, a motion was carried for the appointment of a committee to hear evidence on the subject at the bar of that house;—thus the means were given for an indefinite protraction of the decision. During this session of parliament, however, the bill which Mr. Fox had introduced the preceding year, authorizing juries to pronounce a verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter put to issue in cases of libel, but which had been postponed at the instance of the lord-chancellor, was again brought in by him, and notwithstanding the opposition of the law lords, it was carried, and received the royal assent.

While the dread of that spirit of innovation which the French revolution had fostered, operated as a motive with many to oppose every thing in the shape of reform, there were others who thought that the safest and most rational method would be to conciliate the nation by concession in the matter of parliamentary reform. With this immediate object in view, a society was accordingly now formed under the name of "The Friends of the People," comprehending a number of persons of high character and consequence, among whom were about thirty members of parliament. They published their resolutions on this subject with great freedom; and Mr. Grey, on the 30th of April, gave notice, in the house of commons, of his intention to bring forward the object which the society had in view in the ensuing session.

Mr. Pitt now took the alarm, and inveighed against Mr. Grey's declaration with great warmth. He also took occasion to announce the change of his opinions on this topic, since experience had taught him the danger of altering the established forms of government. And the still more effectually to discountenance every attempt, by writing or association, to excite discontent with any thing sanctioned by the forms of the constitution, a royal proclamation was issued on the 21st of May for preventing seditious meetings and publications, in which magistrates were enjoined to oppose them by all legal means, and the people were strongly exhorted to submission.

These steps occasioned an almost unprecedented ferment throughout the country, and they were generally considered to have been occasioned by Paine's pamphlet, entitled "The Rights of Man," which, at this time, had become a great favourite with the community, and in order to give it the more extensive circulation, it was printed in the cheapest possible forms. When an address was moved in the house of commons, in consequence of the proclamation, several extracts were read from that production, to show its dangerous tendency; while, on the other hand, it was remarked that a whole year had elapsed since its publication, and that if it were really of so noxious a quality, ministers had been highly culpable in not noticing it at an earlier moment. This address, which passed, and the tenor of which was highly loyal, became the model of a great number of others, which were sent up from every part of the country. Prosecutions were now instituted against a great number of persons who were concerned in circulating obnoxious publications, and among others, Thomas Paine himself, who, to avoid the effects consequent on a conviction, prudently took refuge in France, to the affairs of which country I must now once more direct your attention.(1)

LETTER XXIV.

State of Affairs in France, political and military—General Confederacy of the Powers of Europe against France—Dumouriez's Exploits in Belgium and Holland—Reverses of the Army—Struggles of the Mountainists and Girondists—Conspiracy of the 10th of March—Insurrection in La Vendée—Defection of Dumouriez—Fall of the Girondists—Triumph of the Mountainists—Death of the Queen, &c. &c. A. D. 1793, 1794.

THE death of Louis XVI. rendered the parties irreconcilable, and augmented the external enemies of the revolution. The republicans had to combat all Europe, to struggle with the numerous classes of malecontents and with one another. But the Mountainists, who then directed the popular movements, believed themselves already too deeply engaged not to carry things to extremities. To terrify the enemies of the revolution—to excite the fanaticism of the populace by harangues, by the presence of dangers, and by insurrections—to trust every thing to the mob, both the government and the safety of the republic—to communicate to it the most ardent enthusiasm, in the name of liberty, of equality, and of fraternity; to preserve it in this violent state of crisis, in order that they might avail themselves of its passions and its strength: such was the plan of Danton, and of the Mountainists, who had elected him as their chief. It was he who augmented the popular effervescence along with the growing dangers of the republic, and who established under the name of revolutionary government, in place of true liberty, the despotism of the multitude. Robespierre and Marat went still farther, and attempted to erect into a durable government, what Danton had only regarded as a transitory one. The latter was only a political chief, whereas the others were genuine sectaries, of whom the first was ambitious, the other fanatical.

(1) New Annual Register, 1782—1793.—Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.—Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George III.—Erskine's Causes and Consequences of the War with France.—Woodfall's Debates in Parliament, &c. &c.

of remaining neutral between the factions, as circumstances obliged a general to do, and even as an ambitious man ought to have done, Dumouriez preferred breaking with all parties, in order to govern them. He thought of forming a party without France; of penetrating into Holland by means of the Batavian republicans, who were opposed to the stadtholder and the influence of the English cabinet: of delivering Belgium from the rule of the jacobins, and reuniting the two countries into a single independent state; and to give themselves a political protectorate after having acquired all the glory of a conqueror. He was then to intimidate parties, to gain over his troops, to march upon the capital, dissolve the convention, shut up the popular meetings, re-establish the constitution of 1791, and give back a king to France.

This project, which was impossible amid the great shock of the revolution, and of Europe, appeared easy to the violent and adventurous Dumouriez. Instead of defending the line of army which was menaced from Mayence to the Roër, he threw his forces to the left of the enemy's operations, and entered Holland at the head of twenty thousand men. He proposed, by a rapid march, to transport his troops to the centre of the United Provinces, to take fortresses as he retreated, and to be rejoined at Nimeguen by twenty-five thousand men under general Miranda, who was in the mean time to have rendered himself master of Maestricht. An army of forty thousand men was to observe the movements of the Austrians, and to protect him on the right.

Dumouriez vigorously advanced in his expedition against Holland; he took Breda and Gertruydenberg, and prepared for passing the Biesbos, and taking Dorft. But in the mean time the army on the right experienced the greatest disasters on the Lower Meuse. The Austrians assumed the offensive, passed the Roër, and beat Miazinski at Aix-la-Chapelle; made Miranda raise the blockade of Maestricht, which he had in vain bombarded, crossed the Meuse, and put entirely to rout the French army which had joined between Tirlemont and Louvain. Dumouriez received orders from the executive council to quit Holland with all speed, and to take the command of the troops in Belgium; he was accordingly obliged to obey, and thus to lose a part of his wildest, yet dearest hopes.

The jacobins, on receiving the intelligence of all these reverses, became far more intractable than ever. Being unable to conceive the idea of a defeat without treachery, especially after the brilliant and unexpected victories of the former campaign, they attributed all military disasters to the combinations of party. They denounced the Girondists, ministers and generals, whom they believed to have joined with each other to ruin the republic, and they determined upon their ruin. Rivalry mingled with suspicion, and they were as eager to overcome an exclusive dominion as to defend a territory which was threatened: they commenced with the Girondists. As the multitude was not yet accustomed to the idea of proscribing their representatives, they at first resorted to a plan for getting rid of them; they resolved to murder them in the convention when they should all be assembled; and they fixed the night of the 10th of March for the execution of their plan. The assembly had adopted permanent sittings, on account of the dangers with which the commonwealth was surrounded. The previous evening it was decided at the club of the jacobins and the Cordeliers, to sound the tocsin, to shut the barriers, and to march in two divisions on the convention, and the houses of the ministers. At the hour agreed on they set out; but several circumstances prevented the conspirators from succeeding. The Girondists, who had been prepared to expect the attack, did not go to the nightly setting: the sections made some opposition to the plot, and Bournonville, minister at war, marched against them at the head of a battalion of the federates of Brest: all these unforeseen obstacles, joined to the rain, which did not cease to fall the whole night, dispersed the conspirators. The following day Vergniaud denounced the committee of insurrection which had projected these murders, required that the executive council should be charged with making inquiry into the conspiracy of the 10th of March, to examine the registers of the clubs and to arrest the members of the insurrectionary

committee. "We are marching," said he, "from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. A great number of our citizens have gone the length of confounding seditious insurrections with the great insurrection of liberty, of regarding the insolence of robbers as the explosion of energetic minds, and robbery as a measure calculated to secure the general safety. We have witnessed the developement of the strange system of liberty from which maxims such as these are drawn. You are free, but think like us, lest we denounce you to the vengeance of the people: you are free, but bow your heads before the idol to which we offer incense, or we will denounce you to the vengeance of the people: you are free, but you are to join with us in persecuting men whose probity and understandings we dread, or we denounce you to the vengeance of the people! Citizens, it is to be feared that the revolution, like Saturn, may devour its own children, and engender, at length, despotism, with all its attendant calamities." These prophetic words produced some effect on the assembly; but the measures proposed by Vergniaud led to nothing.

The jacobins had been arrested for a moment in their course by the ill success of their first enterprise against their adversaries; but the insurrection of La Vendée took place, and restored all their boldness. The war of La Vendée was an inevitable event in the revolution. This country, which was backed by the sea and the Loire, traversed by few roads, and covered with villages, hamlets and castles, had maintained its ancient state of feudal existence. In La Vendée there was neither education nor civilization, because there was no middle class; and there was no middle class, because there were few or no towns. The class of the peasants had not at this time acquired any other ideas than those communicated to it by the priests, and had kept its interests undivided from those of the nobles. These men, simple, robust, and devoted to the ancient order of things, understood nothing of a revolution, which was the result of opinions and wants altogether unknown to their situation. The nobles and the priests, finding themselves a strong party in this quarter of the country, did not emigrate; and there it was that in reality existed the partisans of the old régime, because there it was that its doctrines and its society were to be found. It was certain that sooner or later France and La Vendée, countries so different, and which had nothing in common but their language, should be in a state of war with each other; it was certain that the two kinds of fanaticism, the monarchical, and that which believed in the popular sovereignty, that of the priesthood, and that of human reason, should raise their banners against each other, and bring about the triumph either of the old or new state of civilization.

Partial troubles had arisen at various times in La Vendée. In 1792 the count de la Rouairie had proposed a general rising, which had only failed in consequence of his own arrest; but every thing was prepared for an insurrection, when the recruiting of the army by three hundred thousand men was undertaken; that levy became the signal of revolt. The Vendéans beat the gen-d'armerie at Saint Florens, and first took for their chiefs, at divers points, Cathelineau the wagoner, Charette an officer in the navy, and Stofflet the game-keeper. In a short time the insurrection spread throughout the whole country: nine hundred communes rose up at the sound of the tocsin, and then the noble chiefs Bonchamps, Lescure, Larochejaquelin, d'Elbée, and Talmont joined the others. The troops of the line and the battalions of the national guard which marched against the insurgents were beaten. General Marcé was overthrown at Saint Vincent, by Stofflet; general Gauvilliers at Beaupreau, by d'Elbée and Bonchamps; general Quétineau at Aubiers, by Larochejaquelin; and general Ligonier, at Cholet. The Vendéans, now become masters of Châtillon, Bressuire, and Vihiers, determined, before pushing their advantages farther, to give themselves a sort of organization. They formed three bodies, consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men each, after the distribution of the Vendéan territory into three branches of command; the first under Bonchamps kept by the banks of the Loire, and received the name of *the army of Anjou*; the second placed in

the centre was called *the grand army*, and was commanded by d'Elbée; and the third in Lower La Vendée, became *the army of the Marsh*, under Charrette. The insurgents established a council to decide the operations, and chose Cathelineau generalissimo. These arrangements, and that disposition of the country, allowed of ranging the insurgents in regiments, of dismissing them to their fields, or recalling them to serve under their banners.

The news of this formidable rising made the convention take still more rigorous measures with regard to the priests and the emigrants. It outlawed the priests and nobles who participated in any assembling of persons, and took away the arms of all who had belonged to the privileged classes. The old emigrants were banished for life; they were not allowed to re-enter France under pain of death; and all their properties were confiscated. On the door of each house the names of all who inhabited it were to be written; and the revolutionary tribunal, which had been adjourned, commenced its terrible functions.

At the same time intelligence arrived of new disasters in the French armies. Dumouriez, on his return to the army of Belgium, concentrated his forces, in order to oppose the Austrian general the prince of Cobourg. His troops were in a state of discouragement, and wanted every thing: he addressed to the convention a threatening letter against the jacobins who denounced him. After having inspired his army with some of the confidence it formerly had in its own success, by means of some small advantages, he hazarded a general engagement at Nerwind, and lost the battle. Belgium was evacuated; and Dumouriez, placed between the Austrians and the jacobins, beaten by the one, and attacked by the other, recurred to the culpable method of a defection, in order to realize his former projects. He had conferences with colonel Mack, and arranged with the Austrians to march upon Paris to re-establish the monarchy, while he was to quit them upon the frontier, leaving them several strong places as a guarantee. It is likely that Dumouriez meant to place upon the throne the young duke of Chartres, who had distinguished himself in that campaign; while the prince of Cobourg hoped that if the counter-revolution reached that point, it would go farther, and re-establish the son of Louis XVI. and the ancient monarchy together. The jacobins were very soon informed of the intentions of Dumouriez, who took no pains to conceal them, whether it was that he wished to sound his troops, or to terrify his enemies, or whether he abandoned himself to the usual levity of his disposition, is uncertain. In order to make themselves still more certain of the facts, the club of the jacobins sent him a deputation, consisting of three of its members, called Prolly, Pereira, and Dubuisson. On being admitted into the presence of Dumouriez, they obtained of him more acknowledgments than they had even expected. "The convention," said he, "is an assembly of seven hundred and thirty-five tyrants. As long as I hold four inches of steel, I shall not allow it to reign and to pour forth human blood, by means of the revolutionary tribunal which it has just created. As to the republic," added he, "it is but an empty word; I believed in it for three days; but since the affair of Jemappe, I have regretted every success I have obtained in so bad a cause. There is but one way of saving the country, and that is, by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, and a king." "Are you in your senses, general?" cried Dubuisson: "the French hold the name of royalty, and the sound of the name of Louis XVI., in horror." "But what matters the name? Of what consequence is it whether the king is called Louis, James, or Philip?" "And your means, where are they?" "My army—yes, my army will accomplish all this; and from my camp, or the security of a fortified place, will tell you that it demands a king." "But your project compromises the safety of the prisoners in the Temple." "The last of the Bourbons must be slain, even those at Coblenz, before France will want a king; and if Paris added this murder to those with which it is already dishonoured, I should immediately march upon the capital." After declaring himself with all this want of precaution, Dumouriez commenced the execution of his im-

practicable design: he found himself in a position truly difficult, his soldiers were sincerely attached to him, but they were also devoted to their country. He was bound to give up strong places of which he was not the master, and it was to be supposed that the generals under his orders would act with regard to him as he had himself acted with La Fayette. His first attempt was not encouraging. After establishing his camp at Saint Amand, he wished to seize upon Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes; but in this attempt he failed. This piece of ill success led him to hesitate, and prevented him from commencing the attack.

As soon as the convention was informed of his projects, it summoned him to its bar: he refused to obey, but did not yet hoist the standard of revolt. The convention immediately despatched four of its representatives, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, together with the minister at war, Bournonville, to bring him before them or to arrest him in the midst of his army. Dumouriez received the commission at the head of his staff: they presented to him the decree of the convention, which he read, and returned it to them, saying that the state of his army did not admit of his quitting it. He offered to resign his post, and promised that at a calmer time, he would himself demand an investigation into his conduct, and give an explanation both of his designs and his actions. The commissaries entreated him to submit, alleging the example of the ancient Roman generals: "We are always wrong when we quote," said he, "and we degrade the history of the Romans, when we give the example of their virtues as an excuse for our crimes. The Romans did not murder Tarquin—the Romans had a well regulated republic and good laws: they had neither a club of jacobins, nor a revolutionary tribunal. We live in a time of anarchy, a band of tigers desire my head, and I do not wish to give it them." "Citizen general," said Camus, "will you obey the decree of the national convention, and go to Paris?" "Not now." "Well then I declare you suspended from your functions: you are no longer general; and I command you to be taken into custody." "This is too much!" cried Dumouriez: and ordered some German hussars to seize the commissaries, whom he delivered as hostages to the Austrians. After this act of revolt, it was no longer possible to hesitate. Dumouriez made a new attack upon Condé, but it was as unsuccessful as the former: he wished to seduce the army to follow him in his defection, but it deserted him. The soldiers were much more likely to prefer the republic to their general; for the attachment to the revolution was now in all its strength, and the civil power in all its energy. Dumouriez experienced in declaring himself against the convention the same fate which La Fayette had undergone when he declared himself against the constituent assembly. Dumouriez passed into the Austrian camp with the duke of Chartres, colonel Thouvenot, and two squadrons of Berchiny; the rest of his army joined the camp at Famars, and united with the troops under the command of Dampierre.

The convention, on learning the arrest of the commissaries, established itself permanently, declared Dumouriez a traitor to his country, authorized every citizen to treat him as an outlaw, set a price upon his head, decreed the famous committee of public safety, and banished the duke of Orleans and all the Bourbons from the republic. Though the Girondists on this occasion had attacked Dumouriez as angrily as the Mountainists, they were nevertheless accused of being accomplices in his desertion; and thus was a new complaint added to all the rest. Their enemies daily became more powerful, and it was in moments of public danger that they were especially redoubtable. Till now in the long struggle which had been going on between the two parties, they had gained the victory on all points: they had stopped the prosecutions relating to the massacres of September: they had supported the usurpations of the commune: they had first obtained the trial and then the execution of Louis XVI.: through their intrigues the pillages of February and the conspiracy of the 10th of March had remained unpunished: they erected the revolutionary tribunal, in spite of the Girondists: by means of

repeated insults they had driven Roland from the ministry: and they had triumphed over Dumouriez. It now only remained for them to take away from the Girondists their last asylum, the assembly: this they began to attempt on the 10th of April, and they finished the work on the 2d of June.

Robespierre attacked by name, Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Gensonné, in the convention, and Marat denounced them in the popular assemblies. He wrote in his quality of president of the jacobins an address to the departments, in which he called for "*the thunder of petitions and accusations against the traitors and unfaithful delegates who had desired to save the tyrant by voting his imprisonment or the appeal to the people.*" The right side and the plain of the convention felt that it was requisite to combine their forces. Marat was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This intelligence excited the loudest rumours among the clubs, the mob, and the commune. In revenge, the mayor (Pache) came in the name of the thirty-five sections and of the council-general to demand the expulsion of the principal Girondists. Young Boyer Fonfrède required to be included in the proscription of his colleagues, and the members of the right and of the plain rose up, crying out—*All! all of us!* This petition, though declared calumnious, was the beginning of attacks from without against the convention, and prepared the minds of all for the ruin of the Gironde.

The accusation of Marat was far from intimidating the jacobins, who accompanied him to the revolutionary tribunal. Marat was acquitted and carried in triumph into the assembly. From this moment the avenues to the hall were occupied by audacious sans-culottes, and the tribunes of the jacobins trenced upon those of the convention. The cluabbists and the hirelings of Robespierre continually interrupted the orators of the right, and disturbed the deliberations: while out of doors all means were sought for to get rid of the Girondists. Henriot, commandant of the sans-culotte section, excited for this purpose the battalions which were ready to depart for La Vendée. Guadet then saw that it was useless any longer to confine matters to complaints or harangues: he mounted the tribune and said, "Citizens, while virtuous men confine themselves to lamenting over the misfortunes of their country, conspirators are endeavouring to ruin it. Like Cæsar, they say, *Let them speak, and let us act!* Well, then—do so too. The evil lies in the impunity of the conspirators of the 10th of March, in the existence of the authorities of Paris—authorities at once desirous of money and of power. Citizens, it is still time: you may yet save your country and your honour, which is compromised. I propose to annul the authorities of Paris, to replace within twenty-fours the municipality by the presidents of the sections, to assemble the proxies of the convention at Bourges with the shortest possible delay, and to despatch our decree into the departments by expresses." This motion of Guadet's served for a moment to surprise the Mountain. If the measures proposed had been adopted on the instant, the dominion of the commune and the projects of the conspirators were gone for ever: but it is also probable that the parties would have taken some steps, that civil war would have spread, that the convention would have been dissolved by the assembly of Bourges, all centre of action destroyed, and that the revolution would not have been strong enough to resist its own internal struggles, and the attacks of Europe: and this is what was feared by the moderate part of the assembly. In terror of anarchy if the commune was not repressed, and of the counter-revolution, if the multitude was not confined, the moderate party wished to maintain a balance between the two extremities of the convention. This party composed the committees of general surety and public safety; it was directed by Barrère, who, like all well-meaning men of weak character, was the supporter of moderate measures, until terror made him an instrument of cruelty and tyranny. Instead of the decisive measures of Guadet, he proposed to name an extraordinary commission of twelve members charged with the examination of the conduct of the municipality, to discover the authors of the plots carried on against the national representation, and to secure their persons. This middle course was adopted: but it left the commune undisturbed, and the commune necessarily triumphed over the convention.

The commission of twelve spread alarm among the members of the commune by its inquiries: it discovered a new conspiracy, which was to break out on the 22d of May; ordered the arrest of several conspirators, among others, the secretary of the commune, Hébert, author of *Père Duchesne*, who was seized in the very midst of the municipality. The commune, which at first was in a state of stupefaction, now took measures of opposition. From this time there were no longer plots—there were insurrections. The council general, encouraged by the Mountainists, surrounded itself with the agitators of the capital: it spread a report that the twelve wished to purge the convention, and replace the tribunal which had acquitted Marat by a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The jacobins, the cordeliers, and the sections now established themselves permanently. On the 26th of May, the agitation began to be felt; and on the 27th, it became strong enough to lead the commune to open the attack. The commune presented itself to the convention, and demanded the liberty of Hébert, and the suppression of the twelve. It was followed by the deputies from the sections, which expressed the same wish; and the hall was surrounded by large assemblages. The section of the city even ventured to require that the twelve should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Isnard, president of the assembly, replied in a tone of solemnity, "Listen to what I am now about to say. If once the convention is degraded; if ever, through one of these insurrections, which have so frequently taken place since the 10th of March, and of which the magistrates have not given notice to the assembly, it happened that a blow was struck at the national representation, I tell you, in the name of the whole of France, that Paris would be annihilated; yes, all France would take vengeance on the attempt, and soon it would be necessary to inquire on which bank of the Seine the capital once stood." This reply became the signal of a great tumult. "I declare to you also," cried Danton, "that so much impudence begins to be insufferable; we will resist you." Then turning towards the right—"No more truces between the Mountain and the cowards who wished to save the tyrant."

The greatest confusion now reigned in the hall; the tribunes uttered cries against the right—the Mountainists broke out into menaces; every moment the deputations succeeded each other from without, and the convention saw itself surrounded by an immense multitude. Some sectionaries of the mail and the Butte des Moulins, commanded by Raffit, had placed themselves in the passages and avenues to defend it. The Girondists fought as long as they could against the deputations and the Mountain. Threatened from within, and besieged from without, they attempted to make use of that violence to excite the indignation of the assembly. But Garat, the minister of the interior, deprived them of even that resource; and on being called to render an account of the state of Paris, he assured the meeting that the convention had nothing to fear; and the opinion of Garat, who passed for impartial, and whose conciliating disposition sometimes led him to take equivocal steps, emboldened the members of the Mountain. Isnard was compelled to quit the chair; Héraul de Séchelles replaced him; and this was the signal of victory to the Mountainists. The new president replied to the petitioners whom Isnard had till then kept down—"the force of reason and the force of the people is the same thing: you ask us for a magistrate and justice; the representatives of the people will render it to you." It was too late; the right side was cast down; several of its members had departed; the petitioners had thrust themselves from the bar into the seats of the representatives, and these mixed with the Mountainists, amid cries and disorder, they all voted together the suppression of the twelve, and the enlargement of the prisoners. It was at half-past twelve, among the plaudits of the tribunes and the people, that the decree was carried.

The next day the members of the right regained the field of battle in the convention; they resumed the discussion on the decree of the preceding evening, as being illegally carried amid tumult, and by force, and the commission was re-established. "You did yesterday," said Danton, "a great act of

The Mountainists by the catastrophe of the 21st of January had obtained a great victory over the Girondists, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the revolution, without staining it with blood. But their humanity, and their spirit of justice were useless, or rather injurious to them. They were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses; with being *accomplices of the tyrant*, because they wished to save Louis XVI.; and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation. It was with these reproaches that the Mountainists pursued them even into the midst of the convention, from the 21st of January to the 31st of May, and the 2d of June. The Girondists were for a long time supported by the centre, which ranged itself on the side of the party on the right against the murders and the anarchy prevailing, and on the side of the left as far as regarded measures of public safety. This mass, which, properly speaking, formed the spirit of the convention, displayed some courage, and balanced the power of the Mountain and the Commune, as long as it possessed among its members the intrepid and eloquent Girondists, who carried with them into their prisons and upon the scaffold, all the firmness and the generous sentiments of the assembly to which they belonged.

The military situation of France had been hitherto cheering. Dumouriez had just crowned the brilliant campaign of Argonne by the conquest of Belgium. After the retreat of the Prussians, he had gone to Paris, in order to concert the invasion of the Austrian Low Countries. He returned to the army on the 20th of October, 1792, and began the attack on the 28th. The plan which had been attempted so unsuccessfully, and with such a want of men and means in the beginning of the war, was resumed and executed with superior forces. Dumouriez, at the head of the Belgian army, which was forty thousand strong, marched from Valenciennes upon Mons, supported on his right by the army of Ardennes, consisting of nearly sixteen thousand men, under general Valence, who came from Givet upon Namur; and on his left by the army of the North, which consisted of eighteen thousand men, under general Labourdonnaie, who advanced from Lille upon Tournay. The Austrian army, posted before Mons, looked for the attack in its intrenchments. Dumouriez defeated the Austrians completely; and the victory of Jemappe opened Belgium to the French, and began in Europe the ascendancy of the French armies. After his victory of the 6th of November, Dumouriez entered as a conqueror into Mons; on the 14th into Brussels; and on the 28th into Liege: Valence took Namur, Labourdonnaie obtained possession of Antwerp, and by the middle of December the invasion of the Low Countries was entirely achieved. The French army, now commander of the Meuse and the Scheldt, took up its winter-quarters, after having driven the Austrians beyond the Roër, whom it might have driven beyond the Lower Rhine.

From this moment dated the hostilities between Dumouriez and the jacobins; a decree of the convention of the 15th of December abrogated the Belgian customs, and organized the country into a democratical shape. The jacobins sent on their part agents into Belgium, to propagate the revolution there, and to establish clubs in the country similar to those of the mother society; and the Flemings, who had received the French with enthusiasm, were cooled by the requisitions demanded of them, by the general pillage and the intolerable anarchy which the jacobins brought along with them. All the party which had opposed the Austrian dominion, and which hoped to be free under the protection of France, found their rule much severer, and regretted having called them in, or supported them. Dumouriez, who had framed plans for the independence of the Flemings, and of ambition for himself, returned to Paris to complain of such impolitic conduct as it regarded conquered countries. He now changed his behaviour, which had been hitherto equivocal. He had omitted no method of keeping well with the two factions; he had ranged himself under the banners of neither, in the hope of making use of the right through his friend Gensonné, and of the Mountain through Danton and Lacroix, and thought to dazzle both the one and the

other by the splendour of his victories. But in his second journey he attempted to arrest the progress of the jacobins, and to save Louis XVI.; and having failed of success, he returned to the army to commence his second campaign, extremely discontented, and determined to make his new victories serve to suspend the revolution and to change its system of government.

All the French frontiers were to be attacked at this time by the powers of Europe. The military successes of the revolution, and the catastrophe of the 21st of January, had caused the greater part of the governments till then undecided or neutral to enter into the coalition. England, which had been long prepared for a rupture, seized this occasion for appearing on the theatre of hostilities. The tower of London was stored with arms; a fleet was ready to sail from Spithead, the ministers had obtained about three millions and a half sterling for extraordinaries.

On learning the fate of Louis XVI., the cabinet of St. James's recalled their minister lord Gower, and brought Holland along with it into the rupture with France. Spain had just undergone a change of ministry; the famous Godoy, duke of Alcudia, and afterward prince of Peace, had been placed at the head of the government. That power broke with the republic after vainly interceding for Louis XVI., and having estimated its neutrality at the price of the king's life. The Germanic confederation had entirely agreed upon war; and Bavaria, Suabia, and the elector palatine joined the opinion of the belligerent circles of the empire. Naples followed the example of the holy see, which had already declared itself; and there remained no longer any other states neutral than Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. Russia was still occupied with her second division of Poland.

The republic was thus menaced on all sides by all the best disciplined troops in Europe. It was soon to combat fifty-five thousand Austro-Sardinians from the Alps; fifty thousand Spaniards from the Pyrenees; sixty-six thousand Austrians or imperials, reinforced by thirty-eight thousand Anglo-Batavians on the Lower Rhine and in Belgium; thirty-three thousand four hundred Austrians between the Meuse and the Moselle; one hundred and twelve thousand six hundred Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and imperials, on the Middle and Upper Rhine. In order to make head against so many enemies, the convention ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men. This measure for the defence of the exterior was accompanied by a party measure of defence for the interior of the country. At the moment when the newly-raised battalions were to quit Paris, and when they presented themselves to the assembly, the Mountain required that an extraordinary tribunal should be established for the support of the revolution within, which these battalions were preparing to defend on the frontiers. This tribunal, composed of nine members, was to judge without jury and without appeal. The Girondists opposed with all their might an institution at once so arbitrary and so redoubtable, but in vain; for they seemed to favour the enemies of the republic, in rejecting a tribunal ordained to punish them. All that they gained by their opposition was, the introduction of a jury, the removal of violent partisans, and the weakening of its action, as long as they had any influence in the state.

The principal efforts of the coalition were directed against the vast frontier, which stretches from the North Sea to Huningen. The prince of Cobourg was to attack, at the head of the Austrians, the French army upon the Roër and the Meuse, and to penetrate into Belgium, while the Prussians, on another point, were to march against Custine, to give him battle, to surround Mayence, and to renew the preceding invasion after taking it. These two armies of operation were upheld in their intermediate positions by considerable forces. Dumouriez, who was filled with his own ambitious plans of reaction, at a time when no one ought to have thought of any thing but the dangers with which France was surrounded, proposed to establish the monarchy of 1791, in spite of the convention and of Europe. What Bouillé could not do for absolute royalty, nor La Fayette for the constitutional throne, at a time far more propitious, Dumouriez believed he could execute with his own power for an annihilated constitution, and a monarchy without partisans. Instead