

justice; but I tell you, that if the commission preserves the tyrannical power it has exercised;—if the magistrates of the people are not restored to their functions;—if our good citizens have yet to dread arbitrary arrests—then, after having proved to you that we surpass our enemies in prudence and wisdom, we will surpass them also in boldness and in revolutionary vigour.” Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountainists as much as that of the Girondists; accordingly, he wished by turns to prevent the 31st of May, and to moderate its results; but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory.

The agitation, which had been somewhat calmed by the suppression of the twelve, became threatening on the news of their re-establishment. The tribunes of the sections and popular societies echoed with invectives, cries of danger, and appeals to the insurrection. Hébert, after quitting prison, repaired to the commune. There was placed on his head a crown, which he placed upon the head of Brutus, and then flew to the jacobins, to call for vengeance upon the twelve. Upon this, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache joined to organize a new movement. The insurrection was modelled on that of the 10th of August; the 29th of May was employed in preparing the public mind for it. On the 30th, the members of the electoral body, the commissaries of the clubs, and deputies from the sections, assembled at the Evêché, declared themselves in a state of insurrection, annulled the council-general of the commune, and afterward restored it, making the members take a new oath. Henriot received the title of commandant-general of the armed forces, and the sans-culottes had forty sous per day, as long as they remained under arms. After these arrangements were decided on, early in the morning of the 31st the tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beat, the troops assembled and marched upon the convention, which for some time had held its sittings in the palace of the Tuileries.

The assembly had been sitting for some time; it had met at the sound of the tocsin. The minister of the interior, the administrators of the department, and the mayor of Paris had been successively called to the bar. Garat had reported the agitation of Paris, but appeared to feel no dread of dangerous consequences from it. Lhuiller, in the name of the department, had assured the assembly that it was merely “a moral insurrection!” Pache, the mayor, came last, and, in a most hypocritical manner, disclosed the operations of the insurgents; he pretended to have employed all his efforts to maintain order; he assured the assembly that the guard of the convention had been doubled, and that he had forbidden the alarm guns to be fired. However, at the very moment he was speaking, the report of a gun was heard at a distance. The general surprise and agitation were extreme. Cambon requested that all the assembly would join to avert the general danger; he implored the tribunes to be silent. “In such extraordinary circumstances,” said he, “the only method of defeating the designs of ill-meaning persons is to cause the national convention to be respected.” “I demand,” said Thuriot, “that the commission of twelve be annulled on the instant.” “And I demand,” said Talien, “that the sword of the law be raised to smite the conspirators who shelter themselves in the very bosom of the convention.” The Girondists on their side required that the audacious Henriot should be brought to their bar, for having fired the alarm guns without the order of the convention. “If there is any struggle now,” said Vergniaud, “the result will be the ruin of the republic, let either party gain the victory. Let all our members swear to die at their posts.” The whole assembly then rose, and supported the opinion of Vergniaud. Danton flew to the tribune: “Annul the commission of twelve,” cried he, “the cannon has fired. If you are political legislators, so far from blaming the explosion of Paris, you will turn it to the profit of the republic, by reforming your errors, and cancelling the commission.” And hearing some murmurs, he continued, “It is to those who possess some political talent that I address myself, and not to those foolish persons who allow their passions only to speak. I say to them, consider the greatness of

your object: it is to save the people from their enemies, from aristocrats, and from its own fury. If a few really dangerous men, no matter to what party they belong, wished afterward to prolong a movement which would be useless when you have rendered justice to yourselves, Paris itself would reduce them into their proper insignificance. I demand in coolness the pure and simple suppression of the commission, under its political view.” The commission was violently attacked on one side, and feebly defended on the other. Barrère and the committee of public safety, who had created it, proposed its suppression, for the sake of peace, and in order to prevent the assembly from being put at the mercy of the multitude. The moderate Mountainists were disposed to stop at this measure when the deputations arrived. The members of the department, those of the municipality, and the commissaries of the sections, on being admitted to the bar, not only demanded the suppression of the twelve, but likewise the chastisement of its members and of all the Girondist chiefs.

The Tuileries were now blocked up by the insurgents, and the presence of their commissaries in the hall of the convention emboldened the extreme Mountainists, who wished to destroy the Girondist party. Robespierre, their chief and their orator, then addressed the assembly: “Citizens, let us not lose this day in vain clamours and in insignificant measures: this day is, perhaps, the last in which despotism may combat tyranny! Let the faithful representatives of the people unite to secure its happiness!” He urged the convention to follow the plan suggested by the petitioners, rather than that proposed by the committee of public safety. “Conclude, then,” cried Vergniaud. “I do, and against you! against you, who after the revolution of the 10th of August wished to bring to the scaffold those who had accomplished it! against you, who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris! against you, who wished to save the tyrant! against you, who conspired with Dumouriez! against you, who pursued with fury the same patriots whose heads Dumouriez demanded! against you, whose criminal projects of vengeance have provoked the very cries of indignation of which you now wish to make a crime in those who are your victims! Well then, my conclusion is a decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez and those pointed out by the petitioners!” Notwithstanding the violence of this attack, the party of Robespierre did not obtain the victory. The insurrection had been only raised against the twelve; and the committee of public safety, which proposed its suppression, carried the day against the commune. The assembly adopted the decree of Barrère which annulled the twelve, put the public force in permanent requisition, and which, to content the petitioners, charged the committee of public safety with investigating the plots they had denounced. As soon as the multitude which surrounded the assembly was informed of these measures, they received them with acclamations, and dispersed.

But the conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph: they had gone on the 31st of May still farther than on the 27th: and on the 2d of June, they went still farther than on the 31st of May. The insurrection became, instead of a *moral* one as they styled it, *personal*: that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against *deputies*: it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune. On the night of the 31st a jacobin deputy said, “That there had only been one-half done, that the business ought to be finished, and that the people should not have time to cool.” Henriot offered to place the armed force at the disposal of the club. The insurrectional committee openly established itself near the convention. The whole of the 1st of June was devoted to the preparation of a grand movement. The commune wrote thus to the sections: “Citizens, keep yourselves prepared: the dangers of your country impose this upon you as a law.” In the evening Marat, who was the principal actor in the 2d of June, went to the Hôtel-de-Ville, mounted the clock, and sounded the tocsin: he advised the members of the council never to yield until they had obtained a decree of accusation against the *traitors* and the *statesmen*. Some deputies met in the convention, and the conspirators proceeded thither to demand a

against it both plots and insurrections. Their plots gave rise to the commission of twelve, which appeared to give a momentary advantage to the Gironde, but which only the more violently excited its adversaries. The latter put the multitude in motion, and carried away from the Girondists first their authority, by destroying the commission of twelve, and then their political existence by proscribing their chiefs.

That the Girondists would not submit to their defeat, and that an insurrection of the departments against the Mountain and the commune of Paris, would be the consequence of the 31st of May, was to be expected. It was the only remaining experiment for them to make. They tried it; but this decisive measure was marked by the same want of concert which had occasioned the loss of their cause in the assembly.

After the 2d of June, all the moderate men of the party remained under the decree of arrest, and the residue withdrew to a distance. Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Fonfrède, were among the first: Pétion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, Lanjuinais, among the second. They retired to Evreux in the department of the Eure, where Buzot had great influence, and thence to Caen in the Calvados. They made this town the centre of insurrection. Brittany lost no time in joining it. The insurgents, under the name of the assembly of the departments, convened at Caen, collected an army, gave the command to general Wimphen, arrested the Mountainists Romme and Prieur de la Marne, commissaries of the convention, and prepared to march to Paris. From Caen it was that a beautiful and brave young maiden, Charlotte Corday, set off to punish Marat, the principal author of the proceedings of the 31st of May and the 2d of June. She thought to save the republic by sacrificing herself: but the tyranny did not hang upon one man; it depended upon a party, and the state of violence in which the republic was placed. Charlotte Corday,⁽¹⁾ after having effected her generous but useless enterprise, died with an unalterable serenity and a modest courage, accompanied with a satisfaction of having performed what she conceived was a noble action. But Marat became, after his assassination, an object of still greater enthusiasm than he had been during his lifetime. He was invoked in the public squares; his bust was seen in all popular assemblies; and the convention was forced to grant him the honours of the Pantheon.

At the same time Lyons rose up, Marseilles and Bourdeaux took arms, and more than sixty departments joined the insurrection. These measures soon caused a general rising of all parties; and the royalists availed themselves of the movements which the Girondists had commenced. Lyons became the centre of the insurrection of the royalists. This city was strongly attached to the ancient order of things: its manufactures in silk, and embroidery in gold and silver, rendered it dependent on the higher classes: it was necessary therefore to declare in good time against a social innovation which confounded old relations, and which, in degrading the nobility and clergy, destroyed its trade. Thus Lyons, in 1790, even under the constituent assembly, when the emigrant princes were in its neighbourhood (at the court of Turin) had made attempts at insurrection. Although these attempts, directed by the nobility and clergy, had been repressed, the spirit still remained the same. There, as elsewhere, after the 10th of August, a revolution by the multitude, and the establishment of its government, had been attempted. Châlier, a fanatical imitator of Marat, was at the head of the jacobins, the sans-culottes, and the municipality of Lyons. His audacity had increased since the massacres of September and the 21st of January. Nothing however had yet been decided between the lower class of republicans and the middle class of royalists, one of whom possessed the seat of power in the municipality, and the other in the sections. But the contest having

(1) Some of the answers of this heroic girl, when before the revolutionary tribunal, are as follow:—"What was your design in killing Marat?"—"To put an end to the troubles of France."—"Is it long since you formed this project?"—"Since the affair of the 31st of May, the day of the proscription of the deputies of the people."—"Then you learned from the journals that Marat was an anarchist?"—"Yes, I know that it was he who corrupted France. I have killed," said she, raising her voice to a high pitch, "one man, to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch, to save the innocent; a ferocious monster, to procure peace to my country. I was a republican before the revolution, and I never wanted energy."

become more violent towards the end of May, they fought, and the sections prevailed. The municipality was besieged and taken by storm. Châlier, who withdrew himself, was taken, and sometime afterward executed. The sections, not being yet in a situation to throw off their dependence on the convention, excused themselves for what had occurred, by the necessity in which the jacobins and the members of the municipality had placed them of resorting to violence. The convention, whose existence depended on its boldness, would not listen to them. During these transactions the events of June took place, the insurrection of the Calvados became generally known, and the Lyonese, thus encouraged, no longer hesitated to raise the standard of revolt. They put their city in a state of defence; they raised fortifications, formed an army of twenty thousand men, received emigrants among them, gave the command of their forces to the royalist Précý and to the marquis de Virieux, and concerted their intended operations with the king of Sardinia.

The revolt of Lyons was the more to be feared by the convention, because, being in the centre of France, it was supported by the south, which took arms, while the west was also in motion. At Marseilles the news of the 31st of May had raised the partisans of the Gironde. Rebecqui had resorted thither in great haste; the sections had become reunited; the members of the revolutionary tribunal were put out of the protection of the law; the two representatives, Baux and Antiboul, were arrested; and an army of ten thousand men raised to march against Paris. These measures proceeded from the royalists, who, as in other places, only waiting for an opportunity of restoring their party, had at first presented themselves under the semblance of republicans, and had ended by acting in their own character. They seized upon the sections; and then the commotion no longer operated in favour of the Girondists, but of the counter-revolutionists. On perceiving the new direction of the insurrection, Rebecqui had thrown himself in despair into Marseilles. The insurgents took the road to Lyons, and their example was quickly followed by Toulon, Nismes, Montauban, and the principal towns of the south. In the Calvados the insurrection became distinguished by the same character of royalism, as soon as the marquis de Puisaye had, at the head of some troops, introduced himself into the ranks of the Girondists. The towns of Bourdeaux, Nantes, Brest, and L'Orient were favourable to those of the Gironde who were proscribed on the 2d of June, and some actually declared for them; but they afforded no effectual aid; for they were either restrained by the jacobin party, or diverted by the necessity of opposing the royalists in the west.

The latter, during this almost general rising of the departments, extended their enterprises. The Vendéans, after their first victories, had seized upon Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars. Being entirely masters of their own country, they formed the design of occupying the frontiers, and of opening the road to the revolutionary part of France, as well as a communication with England. On the 6th of June the Vendéan army, composed of forty thousand men, under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and Larochejaquelin, marched upon Saumur, which they carried with great spirit. They next prepared to attack and take Nantes, to secure the possession of their own country, and make themselves masters of the river Loire. Cathelineau departed from Saumur at the head of the Vendéan troops, leaving a garrison there; he took Angers, passed the Loire, made a feint of marching upon Tours and Mons, and then threw himself on the side of Nantes, which he attacked on the right bank, while Charette was to attack it on the left.

Every thing seemed to conspire to overthrow the convention. Its armies were beaten in the north and at the Pyrenees; at the same moment it was threatened by the Lyonese in the centre, the Marseillois in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendéans in the other. That military reaction which, after the brilliant campaign of Argonne and the Netherlands, had taken place in consequence more especially of the disagreement between Dumouriez and the jacobins, and between the army and the

government, had become much more decided since the defection of the general-in-chief. There was no longer agreement in their operations, ardour in the troops, or concert between the convention, now occupied with its own quarrels, and the dispirited generals. The wreck of Dumourie's army had been collected together at the camp of Famars, under the command of Dampierre; but they were compelled, after a defeat, to retire under the walls of Bouchain. Dampierre was killed. From Dunkirk to Givet, the frontier was threatened by a superior force. Custine was suddenly recalled from the Moselle to the army of the north; but his presence did not re-establish affairs. Valenciennes, the key of France, was taken; Condé shared the same fate; and the army, driven from one position to another, retired behind the Scarpe in front of Arras, the last post for retreat between them and Paris. In another quarter Mayence, suffering from famine, and briskly pressed by the enemy, lost all hope of being relieved by the army of the Moselle, which was then reduced to a state of inaction; and despairing of being able to hold out any longer, it capitulated. The situation of the republic could not be worse.

The convention was in some measure taken by surprise. It was disorganized, because it had just issued from a struggle; and the government of the victors had not yet had sufficient time to become established. After the 2d of June, before the danger became so pressing in the departments and upon the frontiers, the Mountain had sent commissioners from all parts, and had begun to occupy itself with the constitution which had been so long expected, and from which it hoped so much. The Girondists had been desirous of having it decreed before the 21st of January, so that, by substituting the order of law for a state of revolution, they might save Louis XVI. They made a similar attempt before the 31st of May, that they might avert their own proscription. But the Mountainists had twice diverted the assembly from this discussion by two strokes of policy,—the sentence of Louis XVI., and the banishment of the Girondists. Being now masters of the field, they hastened to bring back the republicans to their party by decreeing the constitution. Héroult de Séchelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. In a few days this new constitution was adopted by the convention, and submitted to the acceptance of the primary assemblies. With the ideas which then prevailed on the subject of democratic government, its nature may be easily conceived. The constituents were looked upon as aristocrats: the law which they had established was considered as an infraction on the rights of the people—because it imposed conditions upon the exercise of political rights; because it did not establish the most absolute equality; because, by its provisions, deputies and magistrates were to be named by the electors, and the electors by the people; because in certain cases it limited the sovereignty of the nation, excluding a part of the active citizens from great public offices, and the lowest grade of the people from the functions of active citizens; lastly, instead of fixing population as the sole basis of rights, it was combined in all its operations with wealth. The constitutional law of 1793 established the pure government of the multitude: not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. A government without limits; an extremely rapid succession in the magistracy; direct elections, without any delegation, in which every one joined; primary assemblies, which met at an appointed time without being convened, which named representatives and controlled their acts; a national assembly annually renewed, and which was, properly speaking, nothing more than a committee of the primary assemblies:—such was this constitution. As it made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but at a period of general warfare it was peculiarly so. The faction of the Mountain, instead of extreme democracy, stood in need of the most absolute dictatorship. The constitution was no sooner made than suspended; and the revolutionary government, while they were amending it, was maintained until the peace.

During the discussion of the constitution, and when it was sent to the pri-

mary assemblies, the Mountain learned the extent of the danger with which it was threatened. Having to unite three or four parties in the interior, to put an end to civil wars of various kinds, to repair the disasters of the army, and to repel the whole of Europe, these bold men were not intimidated at their situation. The representatives of forty-four thousand municipalities came to accept the constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded the *arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people*. "Very well," exclaimed Danton, "let us consent to their wish!" The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise among us the system of terror. I demand that the convention—which ought now to feel its whole dignity, for it has just been clothed with the whole authority of the nation—I demand that, by a decree, it invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to report the state of arms, of provisions, and of ammunition, to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the citizens, and to put four hundred thousand men in requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die or annihilate the tyrants!" The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. A few days afterward, Barrère, in the name of the committee of public safety—which was revolutionarily composed, and which became the centre of operations, and the power which governed the assembly—proposed still more general measures. "Liberty," said he, "is become the creditor of every citizen; the industry of some, the fortune of others, are due to her; these owe her their counsels, those their arms—all owe her their blood. Thus, then, every Frenchman, each sex, all ages, are called by their country to the defence of liberty. Every physical and moral faculty, all the powers of policy or industry, belong to her; every metal, all the elements, are her tributaries. Let every one occupy his post in the national and military commotion which is now preparing. The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms, transport the baggage and artillery, and prepare the provisions; the women shall make clothes and tents for the soldiers, and extend their kind offices to the wounded in the hospitals; children shall manufacture lint for them; and the old men shall resume the occupation which they had among the ancients, shall cause themselves to be carried into the public places, where they shall excite the courage of the youthful warriors, infuse into all a hatred of kings, and propagate the unity of the republic. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks, the market-places into workshops; cellars shall be used for preparing saltpetre; all the saddle-horses will be required for the cavalry, all the carriage-horses for the artillery; fowling-pieces, bayonets, and pikes shall be appropriated for the service of the interior. The republic is nothing more than a great city besieged; France must be nothing more than one vast camp." The measures proposed by Barrère were instantly decreed: all Frenchmen from eighteen to twenty-five years of age took arms; the armies were recruited by levies of men, and contributions of provisions were levied for their support. The republic had soon forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. France became on the one hand a camp and a workshop for the republicans, and on the other a prison for the disaffected. In marching against their avowed enemies, they determined to secure their secret ones; and the famous *law of the suspected* was carried. Strangers were arrested on account of their plots; and the partisans of the constitutional monarchy or of a moderate republic were imprisoned, that they might be secured until the peace. This at the present time was but a measure of precaution. Merchants, citizens, the middling class, furnished prisoners after the 31st of May, as the nobility and clergy had done after the 10th of August. A revolutionary army of six thousand soldiers and one thousand artillerymen was created for the interior. Every poor citizen was allowed forty sous a day, that he might assist in the assemblies of the sections. Certificates of citizenship were delivered, that they might be assured of the opinions of those who co-operated in the revolutionary movement.

decree against the proscribed; but they were not yet sufficiently strong to force it from the convention.

The whole night passed away in preparations: the tocsin sounded, the *générale* was beat, and the crowds assembled. On Sunday morning, towards eight o'clock, Henriot presented himself to the council-general, and declared to his accomplices *in the name of the insurgent people*, that they would not lay down their arms till they had obtained the arrest of the conspirators among the deputies. He next put himself at the head of the vast multitudes who were in the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville, harangued them and gave them the signal to depart. It was near ten when the insurgents arrived on the Place de Carrousel. Henriot surrounded the palace with devoted bands, and very soon the convention was surrounded by twenty thousand men, of whom the greater number did not know what they were required to do, and felt themselves more inclined to defend than to attack the deputation.

The greater part of the proscribed had remained absent from the assembly. Some who were resolved to keep up their courage to the end, had come to brave the storm for the last time. As soon as the sitting commenced, the intrepid Lanjuinais mounted the tribune: "I demand," said he, "to be allowed to ask why the *générale* is now beating in every part of Paris?" He was instantly interrupted by cries of *Down! down! He wants a civil war! He wants the counter-revolution! He calumniates Paris! He insults the people!* In spite of the menaces, outrages, and cries of the Mountain and the tribunes, Lanjuinais denounced the projects of the commune and of the factions: his courage augmented with the danger. "You accuse us," said he, "with calumniating Paris! Paris is pure; Paris is good; Paris is oppressed by tyrants who seek for blood and dominion!" These words became the signal of the most violent tumults, several Mountainist deputies rushed to the tribune in order to drag Lanjuinais from it; but he clung to it, and in the tone of the most generous courage, cried out, "I require all the revolutionary authorities of Paris to be annulled: I demand that all those who desire to arrogate to themselves a new authority contrary to the law be outlawed, and that every citizen be authorized to treat them accordingly." He had scarcely finished when the insurgent petitioners came to demand his arrest and that of his colleagues. "Citizens," said they in conclusion, "the people is tired to see its happiness postponed: it leaves it yet a moment in your hands; save it then, or we declare that the people will save themselves!"

The right called for the order of the day on the petition of the insurgents. The convention passed to the order of the day. Upon this the petitioners left the hall in a threatening attitude, the men quitted the galleries, the cry was heard *To arms!* and a great noise was going on without. "Save the people from itself," said a Mountainist, "and save your colleagues by decreeing their provincial arrest." "No! no!" replied the right and even a party of the left; "We will all share their fate!" cried Lareveillère Lepaux. The committee of public safety charged with the report, and terrified at the greatness of the danger, proposed, as on the 31st of May, a measure in appearance conciliatory, which should satisfy the insurgents without entirely sacrificing the proscribed. "The committee addresses itself," said Barrère, "to the patriotism and the generosity of the members accused: it asks of them the suspension of their power, by representing to them that it is the only means of staying the divisions which afflict the republic and of bringing back peace to it." Several among them supported that measure. Isnard suspended himself: Lanthénas, Dussaulx, and Fauchet followed his example. Lanjuinais did not agree with him. "I have, I believe, till this moment," said he, "discovered some courage; therefore neither look for suspension or dismissal as far as I am concerned." Here he was violently interrupted, but he continued, "When the ancients," said he, "prepared a sacrifice, they crowned the victim with flowers and garlands; when they conducted it to the altar, the priest immolated, but did not insult it." Barbaroux was as firm as Lanjuinais. "I have sworn," said he, "to die at my post; and I will keep my vow." The conspirators of the Mountain themselves rose up against the proposition of the committee. Marat said that those who made sacrifices ought to be

pure: and Billaud Varennes demanded the judgment of the Girondists, and not their suspension.

While this debate was taking place, a deputy from the Mountain (Lacroix) hastily entered the hall, rushed to the tribune, declared that he had been insulted at the doors, that he had been prevented from leaving the house, and that the convention was no longer free. A great number of the Mountainists showed their indignation at the conduct of Henriot and his troops. Danton said that "the outraged national majesty should be vigorously avenged." Barrère proposed that the convention should present itself to the people; "Representatives," said he, "command your own freedom, suspend your sitting, and make the bayonets which now surround you bend before you." The whole of the convention then rose, and marched out, preceded by its ushers, and with the president at its head, who wore his head covered, in token of his distress. On arriving at a passage which led to the Place de Carrousel, they found Henriot on horseback with a sabre in his hand. "What demands the people?" said the president Héault de Séchelles to him, "the convention is only occupied with its welfare." "Héault," replied Henriot, "the people is not risen up to listen to phrases, it demands that twenty-four criminals be given up to it." "Let us all be given up," cried those who surrounded the president. Henriot then turned to his party, and cried, *Cannoniers, to your guns!* Two cannons were immediately pointed at the convention, which drew back, entered the garden and crossed it; and then presented itself at several avenues, which were all equally closed. Every where the soldiers were under arms; Marat went up and down their ranks; he excited and encouraged the insurgents: "No weakness," said he, "and quit not your posts until they shall have been given up to you." The convention then entered the hall, overwhelmed with the sense of its own impotence, and the uselessness of its efforts, and altogether subdued. The arrest of the proscribed was no longer opposed. Marat, the real dictator of the assembly, decided completely on the fate of its members. "Dussaulx," said he, "is an old dotard, incapable of being a chief of a party; Lanthénas is a poor blockhead whom nobody cares about; Ducos holds but a few erroneous opinions, and is unqualified to be the chief of a counter-revolution. I demand that these be excepted, and that they be replaced by Valazé." Accordingly, Dussaulx, Lanthénas, and Ducos were retrenched from the list, and the name of Valazé added to it. The list was thus composed, though half of the assembly took no part in the decree.

The following are the names of those illustrious individuals who were proscribed of the Girondists. Gensonné, Guadet, Brissot, Gorsas, Pétion, Vergniaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Birotteau, Lidon, Rabaud, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lehardy, Le Sage, Louvet, Valazé, Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, and Clavière, minister for contributions. The members of the twelve arrested were Kervelegan, Gardien, Rabaud Saint Etienne, Boileau, Bertrand, Vigée, Molleveau, Henri Larivière, Gomère, and Bergonin. The convention placed them in a state of detention at their own houses, and under the safeguard of the people. Immediately the countersign which had held the convention prisoners was given, and the multitude dispersed: but it must also be said that from this time there was no freedom in the assembly.

Thus fell the party of the Gironde, a party which was illustrious for the great talents and courage of its members: a party which honoured the rising republic by its horror of blood, its hatred of crime, its disgust at anarchy, its love of order, of justice, and liberty; a party which was unfortunately placed between the middle class whose revolution it had combated, and the multitude whose dominion it rejected. Condemned to inactivity, this party could only adorn the certainty of defeat by a courageous struggle, and by a bold death. At that time its end might have been foreseen with certainty, it had been driven from post to post; from the jacobins by the invasion of the Mountainists; from the commune by the dismissal of Pétion; from the ministry by the retreat of Roland and his colleagues; and from the army by the defection of Dumouriez. It had no longer any hold but on the convention; there it retrenched itself, struggled, and was overcome. Its enemies attempted by turns