

querers caused to march before them. No, you will not need to make vows to have avengers rise from your ashes. Ah! The day when your blood shall redden the earth, tyranny, its pride, its protectors, its palaces, its satellites, will vanish away forever before the national omnipotence. And if grief for not having made your country happy poisons your last moments you will at least carry away the consolation that your death will hasten the ruin of the people's oppressors and that your devotion will have saved liberty.

I propose to decree:

1. That the country is in danger;
2. That the ministers are responsible for whatever interior disturbances have religion for a pretext;
3. For all invasion of our territory, for want of precaution to replace in time the camp the formation of which you had decreed.

Then I propose a message to the king, an address to the French, to invite them to take the measures which circumstances make indispensable.

I propose in the fourth place that the 14th of July you should go in a body to the Federation to renew the oath of the 14th of January.

Finally I propose that a copy of the king's message, the address to the French, and the decree which you will make after this discussion, be carried into the departments by extraordinary couriers.

Above all I ask a prompt report on the conduct of General Lafayette.

CAMBON



PIERRE JOSEPH CAMBON, French revolutionist and notable financier, credited with having laid the foundation of the modern financial system of France, was born at Montpellier, France, June 17, 1754, and died near Brussels, Feb. 15, 1820. Elected in 1791 to the Legislative Assembly, and in 1792 to the National Convention, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety and chief of its finances, on which he made several able reports. Opposed to the excesses of Robespierre, he voted for his downfall, and ere long withdrew to his native town, taking no office under the Empire. In 1816, on the return of the Bourbons, he was exiled, taking up his residence at Brussels, where he died four years later.

THE CRISIS OF 1793

FROM AN ADDRESS IN CONVENTION, JULY 11, 1793, REPORTING ON THE
CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC

THE Committee of Public Safety having charged me to apprise you of the actual condition of the Republic, and of the operations it has conducted, I shall try to acquit myself of the duty.

You will recollect that, at the period of the establishment of the committee, the Republic was betrayed; Dumouriez had disorganized the armies of the North and the Ardennes, and there remained but about two thousand five hundred men in the garrisons of that whole frontier. The strongholds lacked provisions and munitions to sustain a siege, and this general, after having delivered to the Austrians the stores and arms for a considerable sum, would also have delivered up the fortifications without defence.

You know that this general abandoned at Liege ten thousand guns and twenty-five thousand uniforms, which he placed in store for the benefit of our enemies, while the soldiers of the Republic were in need, and to deceive them as to his bent, he made this hall echo with his hypocritical complaints of the nakedness of the army, to the end to throw the blame upon this Convention. The armies of the Rhine and the Moselle have been obliged to retreat and to abandon the environs of Mayence. They have sought frontier points and find themselves in a condition of disorganization which is the inevitable result of a forced retreat. The armies of the Alps and of Italy are tranquil since the snow in the mountains has separated them from the enemy. The Spaniards have attacked us in the direction of Bayonne and Perpignan. The armies of the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, of which we have heard much spoken, which were, it was frequently said, always on the point of organizing, are totally destitute. They need general officers, they have no cannon to take the field, hardly any ordnance for their siege guns, but little food stores, and few soldiers. The commissioners, Isnard, Aubry, and Despinassy, whom you sent to Perpignan, made you a reassuring report on the condition of that frontier; nevertheless the representatives of the people, who were there at the first invasion of the Spaniards, write you that it was totally abandoned; that the forts were nearly all dismantled; that most of the cannon found in the works lacked cartridges; that there were few if any stores, and that they were without food. As to our situation in the interior, fanatics having raised armies in La Vendée and adjoining departments, several strong cities came under the power of the rebels. It is hoped, however, that the courage of the Republicans will

stifle this rebellion in its birth; and since it is impossible to send disciplined troops there, the object may be attained by the levies made by requisition on the spot and some small bodies of veteran troops. Unfortunately, as you know, intrigues have weakened the public spirit in part of the departments; the citizens fail to show the energy necessary to combat the fanatics, who have their own form of energy; the bravery of the soldiers was not seconded or else was paralyzed by the perfidy of their chiefs; we lost arms, cannon, and stores, which were used against us. Orders were then given to bring up battalions of the army; they were halted in their march; the committee ordered arms and supplies; the administration checked these in their passage; thenceforward there seemed to be no union in any operations; it might even be said that each administrator seemed occupied only in the defence of his own position; formed his own little army, and named his general, so that it was impossible that any comprehensive system of defence could be followed. At the same time we had to defend the ports of Brest and Cherbourg. There were but a few scattered troops in these garrisons. On the coasts of Brittany, where a revolt had broken out, there were hardly five thousand troops, a number not sufficient even to equip the ships of the line.

The coasts and seaports of the Republic did not present conditions reassuring those who hoped for their defence: everywhere cannon were being asked for, and calls were made for ammunition and men to man the redoubts. But little activity was displayed in fitting out the fleets of the Republic. The ports of Brest, Rochefort, and L'Orient had but six vessels of the line fit to put to sea, and the Mediterranean fleet was being repaired at Toulon.

You had one hundred and seventy representatives of the people in the departments to excite the patriotism of the citizens for the enlistment of three hundred thousand men, or on diverse missions of recruiting; but one of the subterfuges of the enemy was to calumniate and discredit them. To check the success of their operations, nothing was left undone to decry them, to asperse their authority, and to create enemies for them. Everywhere a word was hurled at them which has since become the title of a party, they were called "Maratists"—a name invented by our enemies to decry the most energetic of our patriots. It was said that "Maratists" were assassins, the partisans of the Agrarian Laws and of royalty for the Duke of Orleans. Very soon a portion of this Assembly bore the same reproach. In spite of all these obstacles, the recruiting of three hundred thousand men was a success, but your commissioners had to have recourse to a few revolutionary acts necessitated by the resistance made by the aristocrats and moderates, in the endeavor to paralyze their efforts. Nevertheless I can say to France, without the mission of these commissioners, in place of the three hundred thousand men needed to defend France, you would hardly have had twenty thousand. Such was the condition of the Republic when the Committee of Public Safety was organized.

What has your committee done? It commenced by having from the Executive Council a full statement of the means they had adopted to save the public. But the Executive Council itself was paralyzed. The Minister of War had just been arrested, there was no force in the government, several of the ministers lacked the confidence of the public. The administrations were nullities, inapt and careless; everywhere were wanting men, arms, clothing,

munitions of war, and food. At last demands came from all sections. Our political relations abroad felt the torp. into which our government had fallen.

Your committee felt they must take decided measures. They recognized that at such a critical moment, where all could not be foreseen or united at the centre, the power should be disseminated; that commissioners were needed to save the Republic, excite the zeal of the citizens, improvise armies, survey their equipment, and prevent treason.

They found that the one hundred and seventy commissioners sent into the departments depleted the Convention too much. They proposed to you the recall of those whose missions were fulfilled, or whose duties were not essentially important.

The powers of your commissioners were unlimited, and frequently their purposes and operations crossed each other. The committee thought well to organize a surveillance; they proposed instructions which would definitely determine the power of the representatives of the people. Here the malevolence which pursued all your decrees again sought to check the work of your new commissioners. Everywhere they were held up as disorganizers, "Maratists," "proconsuls," "dictators." Nevertheless, this surveillance, which you created by the law of the thirtieth of April last, has saved the Republic; it has provisioned the army and the forts; it has given activity even to the generals. Over three thousand deliberations have been held by these commissioners—not to commit arbitrary acts, but to organize, arm and equip the armies, which, without their aid, would still be in the most extreme disorder. Since this organization, complaints and demands for food, clothing, and forage have diminished; for the representatives of the

people on the spot have neglected nothing to supply really pressing demands. Our enemies have felt this power, and, not wishing us to succeed in our defence, have, with the word "Marat," sought to stifle the energy of the patriots. Your committee thought also to excite the zeal of the administrators to coöperate for the common defence. When arms were wanting efforts were made, by letter and instruction, to create or perfect establishments for the manufacture of new and the repair of old guns; to equip fowling-pieces with bayonets, and to use superfluous bells for the casting of field-pieces. They superintended the manufacture of gunpowder and the casting of bullets, and urged on all to second in every way the representatives of the people in clothing and equipping the armies, in surveying the defences of the seaports, forts, and coasts, and to prepare, as far as possible, for the formation of corps of cavalry, by the employment of the horses used in carriages and for pleasure.

BARÈRE

BERTRAND BARÈRE, OF BARÈRE DE VIEUZAC, French lawyer, demagogue, and revolutionist, was born at Tarbes, France, Sept. 10, 1755, and died there Jan. 13, 1841. He received an excellent education at Paris and at the age of twenty was a judge in the sénéchaussée of Tarbes, but resigned that office on account of his reluctance to condemn convicted criminals. He practiced at the Toulouse bar, where he acquired a more than local reputation for eloquence, and in 1789 was elected for Bigorre to the States-General. In that body he was the popular speaker of the Centre, as the majority was called. After the dissolution of the States-General he became a member of the National Convention, in which he voted for the death of the king (Louis XVI). He was an opportunist in his political philosophy, and when he perceived that the throne was tottering was among the earliest to clamor for a republic. He at first imbibed Girondist views, but after becoming (in April, 1793) one of the Committee of Public Safety, whose proceedings he reported, he espoused the cause of the Jacobins in their contest with the Girondins. A man of great natural refinement and elegance, he was styled "the Anacreon of the Guillotine," because, says Lamartine, "he scattered in his reports soft images, blended with sinister decrees like flowers upon blood." Barère always had a suspicion of Robespierre, and was averse to his extreme measures, though he had himself proposed that "terror should be the order of the day," and after the overturn of the 9th Thermidor, 1794, he sided with the foes of that leader. He was subsequently imprisoned on the island of Oléron, but was amnestied on the setting up of the consulate of Napoleon. He supported the Bourbons after Napoleon's exile to Elba, but being implicated in the proceedings of the Hundred Days in 1815, was in the following year exiled as a regicide. Barère resided at Brussels until 1830, when the revolution of July permitted his return to France, and his remaining years were spent at Tarbes, a pension having been granted to him by King Louis Philippe. The character of Barère has been the theme of much difference of opinion, and while in some quarters he has been unsparingly denounced, he has found apologists in others. His writings include a "Life of Cleopatra," "Theory of the Constitution of Great Britain," and "Memoirs of Barère" (1843). See also the sketch of him in Macaulay's "Essays."

THE NECESSITY FOR TEACHING THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

JANUARY 27, 1794

CITIZENS,—The tyrants in coalition have said: "Ignorance was always our most powerful auxiliary; let us maintain ignorance, it makes fanatics, it multiplies counter-revolutionists. Let us make the French retrograde toward barbarism; let us make use of uneducated peo-

(453)