



MEMOIRS

LUCIEN BONAPARTE

PRINCE OF CANINO.

E14432

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, UNDER  
THE IMMEDIATE SUPERINTENDENCE OF  
THE AUTHOR.

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# MEMOIRS, &c.

## CHAPTER I.

### CORSICA.

“There is still in Europe a country capable of legislation : it is the island of Corsica. The valour and the constancy with which this brave people have been able to recover and defend their liberty well deserve that some wise man should teach them to preserve it. I have a presentiment that one day this little island will astonish all Europe.”—J. J. ROUSSEAU, *Social Contract*, chap. x.

Bonaparte family—The French fleet in the Bay of Ajaccio—Popular society of the Admiral’s vessel—Marseilloise petitioners—Departure of the agents of the *ancien régime*—Return of Paoli—His reception at Ajaccio—His dispositions towards England and France—His residence at Rostino—His prodigious memory—Our separation—My departure for the Continent—Dangers and flight.

WHEN the <sup>1789</sup>revolution opened in 1789, the grand era of political reform, I had entered my fifteenth year. After having been alternately for some time at the College of Autun, and at the military school of Brienne, lastly at the seminary of Aix in Provence, I returned to Corsica. My mother, a widow in the prime of her life, devoted herself

to the care of her numerous family. Joseph, the eldest of her children, was twenty-two years of age, and seconded her attentions to us with ardour, and with paternal affection. Napoléon, two years younger than Joseph, was just returned from France with our sister, Marianne-Eliza, from the Ecole Royale of St. Cyr. Louis, Jerome, Pauline, and Caroline, were all children. A brother of my father, the Archdiacre Lucien, was become the chief of our family, and though gouty and bedridden for some time past, he watched over our interests without ceasing. If Providence had struck us with a cruel blow in depriving us so early of our father, it compensated for that loss, as far as possible, in leaving us yet for some time that excellent uncle, and in endowing the best of mothers with that spirit of constancy and strength of soul, of which the future that opened before us furnished the opportunity of giving abundant proofs in a course of wonderful prosperity, as well as in that long exile which still holds us beneath its inexorable influence, and to whose termination she had not the consolation of looking forward in her hour. A brother, worthy of our mother,

Fesch, (1) completed our family.

Although holding one of the first ranks in the island in every respect, our fortune was not very brilliant. Several voyages of my father to France, where he was deputy of the noblesse to

Louis XVI., and the expenses of our education, superior to his means, notwithstanding the benefits he derived from government, had much impoverished our fortune.

The education of my two elder brothers upon the Continent, mine, and the deputations of our father to Paris, had rendered us entirely French. Corsica had been declared, since the 30th of November 1789, an integral part of the monarchy; and that declaration, which had satisfied the wishes of the islanders, had completely effaced from their minds the bitter remembrance of the conquest. The philosophical ideas and revolutionary agitations which prevailed upon the Continent, fermented also in our heads; and no one hailed with more ardour than we did, the dawn of 1789. Joseph entered into the administration of the departments—Napoléon prepared by serious studies to march with giant steps in his career of prodigies—and the third brother, a mere boy, ran to throw himself into the popular societies with the lively enthusiasm

I think it right to suppress all details that are foreign to public affairs: of what avail would they be? Amidst the numerous recollections of my early years, I notice only those which appear to me to be useful.



It was, I believe, in 1792 that a numerous fleet, commanded by the brave Admiral Truguet, sailed from Toulon, laden with troops directed against Sardinia. This fleet came to an anchorage in our beautiful bay. As soon as it became known, the whole population of Ajaccio scattered themselves on the sea-shore. The sails dotted the horizon, and shone in the splendours of a cloudless sky. I set out immediately, and collected some members of the club, who, in the absence of my two seniors, were delighted to follow me. I placed myself at their head, exclaiming, "*Behold our brothers!* Behold the tri-color flag!" We ran like madmen the length of the shore, as if we could the sooner join the fleet by removing ourselves from the port. The music, the flags, the discharges of musketry in token of joy, formed part. Whilst we ran until out of breath, the vessels, driven by a favourable wind, entered the bay. We perceived too late that they had outstripped us, and we hastened to return back: through too great eagerness, we were the last who arrived before fleet; but at the name of the popular society, then a new and magic power, all ranks opened before us; and, followed by a deputation, of which they proclaimed me the chief, I repaired on board the admiral's vessel.

The troops were composed of young Marseilloise, still ill disciplined and bringing into the ser-

vice the agitation of the clubs ; these young men had communicated to the ships' crews a taste for political discussions. On board each vessel they had established a popular society ; so that notwithstanding their courage, these troops tried the patience of the admiral tolerably well, and their insubordination caused the failure of the expedition to Sardinia. We were hardly announced before the popular society of the admiral's vessel assembled in a public sitting in the great hall of the council. I made a discourse. The president gave us the fraternal embrace, and invited us to the honours of the sitting. The president was a clerk for the distribution of the rations : he harangued us for more than half-an-hour, in such a strain that we could hardly retain our gravity. I remember that he commenced with a voice, by turns gruff and shrill, with the gesticulations of a demoniac : " The farther I go, the more I see that patriotism gains everywhere—the farther I go, the more I see that the brave *sans culottes* are irresistible—the farther I go, the more I see, &c. &c." He continued thus to repeat his *the farther I go the more I see*, at least twenty times, to the great admiration of his comrades and of the sailors. As to us, he completely called to mind the comedy of *Les Plaideurs*. " When I see the sun and when I see the moon." The officers of the ships, who assisted at our reception, had the merit, like us, of being silent. We announced

in our turn for the next day a public sitting, in order to fraternize with the club of the vessel. We departed in the midst of patriotic acclamations. This solemnity did not edify our islanders; accustomed to leave public speaking to our chiefs, and to those who distinguished themselves by their talent, we noticed the silence of the officers, and the confusion of this crowd, and we asked among ourselves whether all the popular societies on the continent were thus composed. We prepared, without delay, the next day to show our superiority, and certainly it would not have been difficult to have attained this end, had not the Marseilloise, before our sitting, been desirous to show us that their actions carried them even farther than their eloquence.

I was occupied at my desk in preparing the speech I was going in a few hours to deliver, when I heard a tumult still afar off: soon it became more distinct. The noise of the shutting of doors by turns was drowned with the accustomed cry of our commotions, "Serra, serra!" "Shut, shut." The tocsin sounded to arms. A number of friends ran to the house, as I came out of it. We marched towards the great square, from whence the noise came. The streets were filled with armed men. Near the gate of the city a woman with her hair dishevelled, cried  
*"The Jacobins are assassinating my husband."*  
 She was a Corsican, married to a French-

man, who, formerly having held a part in the administration, was known for his aristocratical opinions. He was unfortunately on the pier, when the Marseilloise disembarked; he was pointed out as an aristocrat, and immediately the cry, "*Les aristocrates à la lanterne!*" resounded amongst the multitude of the disembarked. But this cry, to which the Marseilloise were accustomed, intoxicated with the demagogical fanaticism, far from finding an echo amongst the good inhabitants of Ajaccio, excited their horror and their indignation. They armed themselves in a body to defend the victim.

When I arrived in the square it was filled with the entire population, determined not to permit our walls to be dishonored with so cowardly an outrage. The officers of the squadron recalled all the Marseilloise. Seconded by our efforts, they succeeded in hurrying them away, and consigning them to their vessels; they appeared no more on shore, and certainly we had lost all desire to fraternise with them. The fleet set sail a few days afterwards.

This attempt at political assassination made a deep impression upon my countrymen. In our popular society we had often denounced the proposals of the agents of the ancient government; they regretted no doubt their lost places—their yoke had oppressed us—they were looked upon with an evil eye; and their long habit of comm

had not taught them to be prudent ; but it had never entered the head of any inhabitant that a man might be killed without any motive of personal vengeance, and only because he had been powerful, or that he thought differently from us ! In order to terminate at once the embarrassment which these men of the continent gave us, who had so oppressed us, and who knew not how to be silent, we resolved to send them away from the island. A vessel was prepared, and they were embarked together. “ You were not born amongst us,” we said to them, “ and although become Frenchmen, we cannot see fellow citizens in the agents of the tyranny which has so long borne us down. We have saved the life of one of your number ; we have spared you from every violence ; but your presence and your evil proposals trouble us ; we desire no more of them. *Go home, and leave us tranquil.*”

The sentiment was unanimous. The men of the ancient *régime* departed ; we were not long without regretting their departure. We learnt too soon, that on their arrival on the continent, they had been all immolated by those of their compatriots, who judged and executed in the street, by the aid of the revolutionary lanterns ! Certainly, none of them were guilty, and had it not been for the attempt of the troops of the fleet, these unfortunate men (to the number, I believe, of eight or ten,) might have ended their  
in peace amongst us.

The deplorable catastrophe of these men, the violence of the revolutionary acts and writings of the continent, the attacks every day more bold against religion, changed, during the year 1792, public opinion in Corsica.

Our ancient chief, the famous Pascal Paoli, was returned; he had only passed through Paris, and although they paid him every mark of respect that was due to so great a man, he judged with severity the chiefs who then directed the revolution. Louis XVI. had inspired him with a profound interest. Paoli foresaw the future: he arrived in Corsica, weary and discontented. Every political phasis increased his discontent. It was at that moment that his arrival at Ajaccio was announced to us. We had for a long time offered up prayers for his return. The enthusiasm which his name alone inspired, gave him a superior moral force over the government. He was the friend, the father, the idol of the towns and hamlets. As soon, therefore, as his arrival was promised at Ajaccio, all business ceased—nothing was thought of but his reception. The authorities, the garrison, the popular society, thought only of Paoli; their impatience to see him increased every hour.

My age gave me access only to the popular society. I thought night and day of nothing but the discourse that I should pronounce before the hero. But being rather diffident, as a young

man, of my phrases, I had recourse to our library, : after having rummaged over all the books without ceremony, I appropriated several passages that pleased me ; and it was, above all, Bodin and Needham that I secretly put under contribution. I made choice of those civilians the least known, that I might deck myself with some of the spoils without fear of detection. I was desirous also to treat of some patriotic subject on the history of Corsica, with a view of leading to applications favourable to our illustrious auditor. I did not need upon this occasion to have recourse to foreign aid : I chose for my subject the death of the curate of Guagno, who, surrounded in the hollow of a ravine by the Genoese troops, from whom he could not escape, but upon condition of taking the oath of obedience to the tyrants of his country, preferred to die of hunger. Above twenty years afterwards, I celebrated that sublime death in one of the cantos of my poem of the “ Cirnéide,” under the name of Mosol. No ancient republic offers in its history a more heroic martyrdom than that of the curate of Guagno. It exalted my imagination ; I composed my speech with a palpitating heart, and, I believe, it possessed sufficient merit to make me regret its loss.

Thus prepared, I ran with a crowd of my countrymen to meet Paoli. He had already received my two elder brothers as the sons of

a man who was dear to him, who had possessed his entire confidence, and who had served with him in the war of independence; he welcomed me as such: his caresses intoxicated me; and I counted the moments that delayed our sitting. It opened at length; Paoli was seated in front of the tribune in an arm-chair, ornamented with laurels and crowns of oak. I conquered my momentary agitation, and poured forth my fragments of Needham and Bodin with confidence and warmth. I remember only that they dwelt chiefly upon the preference that the people should give to a republican government. Well chosen for the chief of our ancient republic, and adroitly joined together, those fragments of two grave civilians might well cause wonder and astonishment in the mouth of an orator of seventeen; their effect, therefore, surpassed my hopes. Paoli, in embracing me, called me his little Tacitus. The members of our club who took their part in my triumph, announced then that I had got another harangue ready upon the subject of the death of the curate of Guagno, and Paoli promised us a second audience.

This time my success was without alloy. Our hero was affected with the cries of hatred against the Genoese which sprang forth from my subject, and resounded in my passionate recital. The hatred of the Genoese, that patriotic passion of his whole life, moved every fibre of his soul;



and when, in my peroration, the martyred curate pronounced with an expiring and prophetic voice the name of Paoli, the avenger of liberty, the tears were seen to flow down the cheeks of the venerable father of his country. I enjoyed with delight those tears. Paoli declared that he would take me with him, and that I should never leave him. Heroic old man ! how happy was I to follow thee to the simple residence of Rostino ! how little did I then think that my stay with thee would have been of so short a duration, and that the political tempest was soon to separate us for ever !

The village of Rostino is situated on the mountains, and composed only of cottages and some small houses. Paoli inhabited a convent, where he lived with a noble simplicity. He had every day at his frugal but well-served table several guests. Every day a numerous crowd of mountaineers waited for the moment of his going out to see and speak to him : they surrounded him with filial respect. He spoke to all like a good father ; but what at first surprised me extremely, was his recollecting and calling by their names the chiefs of families whom he had not seen for above a quarter of a century. Those names, that remembrance, produced upon our islanders a magical effect. The fine head of the noble old man, ornamented with his long white hair, his majestic figure, his mild but penetrating

look, his clear and sonorous voice, all contributed to throw an inexpressible charm upon what he said. To imagine a patriarch legislator in the midst of his numerous race, I do not think that either painting or poetry could borrow more noble features than those which I contemplated for several months at Rostino.

Notwithstanding my enthusiasm, upon reflecting one day on the prodigious memory of Paoli, I began to question myself how it was possible. That same scene, repeated several times at each walk, and almost in the same terms, ended by inspiring me with doubts. I was as much as I could be at the side of my hero. I began by observing all the preparations for these daily walks ; a monk went always to the cabinet of Paoli before he walked out : I slyly followed him, and I beheld him for several successive days descend into the middle of the crowd, and talk with the chiefs of those who were waiting for an audience. . . . I was upon the track for making discovery : it appeared evident to me that the precursor monk supplied, by his confidential reports, the memory of the patron. I must own that discovery displeased me : although I observed how greatly that paternal friend rendered so many good old men happy, the shadow of a deception offended my young imagination, and cooled a little my enthusiasm. I had been less

scrupulous as to my speech. . . . We are always more indulgent towards ourselves.

But the friendship which he evinced towards me appeared to increase every day; and the little cloud which had arisen over our walks, was shortly dissipated. Paoli loved to talk to me of England—of the true liberty which reigned in that happy country—of the good sense of its inhabitants—of the admirable equilibrium of its political powers. “England,” said he, “is not a monarchy: it is a wise and powerful republic: happy would it be for France if she would take England for her model.” All those conversations astonished me, they were beyond my comprehension: my wise interlocutor did me more honour than I deserved: his lessons appeared strange to me, and soon they ceased to please me: I observed, under the *Anglo-mania*, which I understood but very vaguely at that time, a little antipathy towards France; it wounded me deeply. Paoli perceived it, and he adjusted his lessons to what he called my college prejudices. He made the same attempt with my two elder brothers, that he had made to win me; but with more circumspection, as he was very anxious to gain us entirely; he had frequent conferences with Joseph and *Napoleon*, but he soon saw the inutility of his efforts. Notwithstanding the horror with which the revo-

lutionary excesses inspired us, we felt assured that they would be calmed, and that the benefits of the revolution would survive its atrocities: we were Frenchmen, and we had faith in the future. Besides which, our island had maintained itself pure from the dreadful excesses which had sullied so many communes of the continent.

We approached, however, the year of 1793! The sentiments of Paoli against France manifested themselves more openly every day. Every day he became more discontented with us, and less certain of persuading us to join him in the defection which he meditated. The catastrophe of the 21st of January gave the perishing blow to his hatred. He shook with rage—he could no longer contain himself. “Behold,” said he, “your French wallowing in innocent blood! Behold them! Well, will you still dare to defend them? I can no longer bear it. The sons of Charles can never be capable of abandoning me. But the brothers must decide: they must choose between France and me. But there is no longer any France. The monsters have destroyed all that merited to live. . . . They have murdered their king, the best of men. . . . *A saint. . . . A saint. . . . A saint!* . . . (He repeated with increasing ardour at every word.) Corsica will have no more to do with them, neither will I. Let them keep for themselves their

blood-stained liberty : it was not made for my brave mountaineers : it were better to return to the Genoese. I expect you, brothers—and woe to him who shall pronounce in favour of that horde of brigands ! I will not own one of them ; no, not one ; not even the sons of Charles !”

I still behold the ardent old man : his countenance sparkled, his anger appeared to enlarge him. His error was deplorable, since he saw in our immortal revolution only the crimes of the Reign of Terror. It was in vain that we told him that the execrable regicide of Charles the First had not prevented the establishment of English liberty after a time. He would not hear us. But the motive which misled him was as pure as his soul. He was wrong in despairing of the fortune of France—of seeing the salvation of his country only in the union with England, which he esteemed above all other nations. He deceived himself with regard to the future : but he never ceased, notwithstanding his error, to be worthy of himself. Those who have explained his conduct as arising from motives of vulgar ambition, did not know him. Peace, honour, and glory to his ashes ! They are worthy of the pantheon of a great and free nation. . . They are worthy to repose beneath the roof of Westminster Abbey.

The ancient chief of our country, the friend of our father, the man whom we admired and loved most, was on one side ; France was on the other. We separated from Paoli. I quitted Rostino, and I returned to Ajaccio, to keep our friends in their duties. Joseph ceased to have any influence in the departmental administration. Napoléon rejoined the representatives of the people at Bastia. The opinion of Paoli influenced the whole island. On the 26th of April 1793, Corsica renounced France. They formed a parliament, or extraordinary assembly of the deputies of all the communes. Paoli was nominated generalissimo and supreme chief. The recall of the emigrants, the re-integration of the clergy, and the proscription of the French emissaries and their partizans, were decreed. The tricolored flag was abolished everywhere, except at Ajaccio, which we succeeded in keeping within bounds. Perceiving that the storm was about to burst over us, the popular Society decided upon sending a deputation to the popular Society at Marseilles, and to that of the Jacobins at Paris, to solicit their prompt aid : I was named chief of the deputation, and we departed a few hours afterwards : we well knew him who had raised the standard of war ; and were aware that we had not a moment to lose.

Scarcely, indeed, had we departed, when the spirit of insurrection broke out, and knew no longer any limits. “*Vive Paoli! Long live Paoli! Let Paoli govern us! We will have only what he ordains! Death to his enemies!*” Such were the clamours of the immense majority. The horn of the islanders resounded in every valley, and its menacing voice carried defiance even to the ramparts of Ajaccio. My mother had at that time with her only her two youngest sons, three daughters, and her brother, the Cardinal Fesch. But it was not the first time that she had performed the part of both father and mother to her family, and she again displayed that firm and courageous spirit which had distinguished her in her early years, during the wars of independence. She provided for all like an expert chieftain; she dispatched numerous messages to Joseph and Napoléon, both by sea and land, and gave notice that they would soon arrive in the port, with the representatives of the people, and succeeded in neutralising the partizans of Paoli in the town.

But this great chief had not forgotten the art of making the most of time. To regain us or to stop us, he determined to have the most precious hostages; and while waiting for the

French fleet, my mother was upon the point of falling into the hands of irritated enemies.

Awakened suddenly in the middle of the night, she beheld her chamber filled with armed mountaineers . . . . She at first imagined that she was surprised by her enemies; but by the light of a torch of fir, which fell upon the countenance of the chief, she felt re-assured: it was Costa of Bastelica, the most devoted of our partizans. "Quick, make haste, Signora Letizia; Paoli's men are close upon you; you have not a moment to lose; but here I am with all my men. We will save you, or perish with you!"

Bastelica is one of the most populous villages in Corsica, situated at the foot of Monte d'Oro, in the middle of a forest of chesnuts, the growth of centuries: it contains inhabitants renowned for their courage and audacity, and for unbounded fidelity in their affections. One of these intrepid hunters, while traversing the chain of mountains which separates the island into two parts, had encountered a numerous troop descending towards Ajaccio. He learnt that this troop were to be introduced during the night into the town by the party of Paoli, and to carry off our family prisoners to Mostino. He had even heard it affirmed that they were to take all the children of Charles alive



or dead. To return like an arrow to his village, and inform the chief of our partizans, to arm all who had a gun or a poniard, and to traverse with hasty strides the forest of Bastelica, was but the affair of a moment. After a forced march of several hours, our brave friends entered the town during the night, about three hundred in number, having only preceded our enemies by a few miles.

My mother and her children arose in haste, having only time to take their clothes with them, and, placed in the centre of the column, they left the town in silence, the inhabitants being still plunged in sleep. They entered into the deepest recesses of the mountain, and, at break of day, they halted in a forest, from whence they could discover a part of the shore. Several times the fugitives heard from their encampment the troops of the enemy traverse the neighbouring valleys; but Providence deigned to spare them from an encounter that must have been fatal. On the same day the flames, arising in thick columns from the middle of the town, attracted the eyes of our friends. "*It is your house that is burning,*" said one of them to my mother. "*Ah! never mind,*" she replied, "*we will build it up again much better: Vive la France!*" After two nights of a march, skilfully directed, they at

length perceived the sails of the French vessels. My mother took leave of her brave defenders, and rejoined her eldest sons on board the frigate of the representatives of the people. The rage of our enemies was thus reduced to expend itself upon the stones of our house.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE REIGN OF TERROR.

“ Beneath the despotism of one only or of several, we risk becoming the victims. Beneath democratic despotism, besides the same danger multiplied a hundredfold, we run another still more horrible . . . . . that of becoming executioners !”

Popular Society of Marseilles—The Cannebière—Arrival of my family—Saint Maximin—The dictatorship of a little town—The suspected—The carts with the victims—Robespierre and his brother—It is not yet time.

I HAD departed with the deputation from Ajaccio ; and a favourable wind wafted us to France in twenty-four hours. I had left it about four years, without having finished my studies at the seminary at Aix ; and I was about to re-appear in it, charged with a political mission. My vanity was exalted to so high a pitch, that I fancied myself a personage of sufficient import-

ance to attract the notice of the crowd which covered the port of Marseilles, where we landed in the evening. We scarcely allowed ourselves a moment of repose, so great was our anxiety to arrive at the popular Society. In a vast saloon, which admitted very little light, were seated the members of the society, all of them with red caps upon their heads. The galleries were filled with noisy women. As soon as the president had announced that a deputation of patriots from Corsica were the bearers of important news, a hearing was allowed us, and I was called to the tribune before I had thought of what I had to say. I began by declaring that the nation was betrayed in Corsica, and that we were come to invoke the aid of our brothers. As I was ignorant at that moment of the flight of our family, I did not then feel any personal hatred against Paoli: I wished to keep fair with him; but the acclamations from the galleries augmented in proportion to the violence of my words, and, for the first time, I experienced how much the passions of those who listen have power over those who speak. Carried away by the cries and applauses from the galleries, I soon began to talk in a manner calculated to increase their excitement. It was not only a speedy succour that I de-

manded, but I painted Paoli as having abused the national confidence, and as having only returned into his island that he might deliver it up to the English. They, above all, were not spared in my figures of rhetoric. It was the chord most likely to touch the feelings of my auditors, and I made it my favourite theme. I was overpowered with caresses and compliments; they would not let me quit the tribune; and I chattered away for about two hours at random. Motion upon motion succeeded one after the other. An order for printing my speech, a message to the administrators of the department to send troops to the aid of Ajaccio, a deputation of three members to accompany us to the Jacobins of Paris, to denounce the treason of Paoli, and to demand vengeance;—all these measures were adopted with rejoicing and unanimity. My colleagues not having funds sufficient for the journey to Paris, I determined upon accompanying the deputies of Marseilles alone, and we left the assembly together at midnight.

Solitude and repose having calmed my mind, the image of that Paoli, who for so long a time had been the object of my worship, began to trouble my inmost soul, in a manner that very much resembled remorse. I called to mind our conversations at Mostino; I had been uttering

without premeditation sentiments in direct opposition to those which for several months I had heard proceed from lips which I revered. Furious cries against Paoli had replied to my impassioned eloquence. They had associated with me, to accompany me to Paris, a set of men, whose repulsive aspect, savage language, and the *ton* of the *Halles* in their manners, had disagreeably surprised me. After an agitated sleep, I awoke discontented and undecided. The Marseillaise deputies came to fetch me to breakfast with them at the café: I followed them. They conducted me to the *Cannebière*, the principal street of Marseilles. I admired that long place, surrounded with superb edifices. An immense crowd of men, women, and children, were walking, and pushing against each other to get on. I inquired of one of the *Brothers* and *Friends*,\* if it was a day of festival. "O no," he replied with great tranquillity, "it is only about twenty aristocrats, who are giving us a little trouble: don't you see them?" I looked in the direction to which he pointed, . . . . and I beheld the guillotine, red with blood, at work! . . . . There were some of the richest merchants whom they had for above a quarter of an hour

\* Name which the Jacobins gave themselves.—*Note of the translator.*

been murdering! and that crowd, whom their bounty had so often fed, were then walking in the street of the Cannebière, to enjoy the spectacle! and the shops were full of customers as usual, and the cafés were open! . . . and the cakes and gingerbread were circulating around us as upon the day of a fair!!! Never shall I forget the first time I walked in the streets of Marseilles.

I left the coffee-house, upon I know not what pretext, as soon as possible, and I declared the next day that I would not go to Paris; that the deputies of the Marseillaise club did not want me to accompany them to fulfil their mission, and that I should await the promised succours to return to Corsica with my companions.

A few days afterwards my fugitive family arrived in the port of Marseilles, deprived of every resource, but full of courage and in good health. Joseph, Napoléon, and myself, struggled against our ill fortune. Napoléon, an officer of artillery, devoted the chief part of his salary towards the support of his family. Joseph was appointed commissary of war, and I was placed in the administration of the military subsistences. Under the title of refugee patriots, we obtained rations of bread; and these moderate succours sufficed to maintain us, aided, above all, by the good management and economy

of our excellent mother. The recital of the dangers that she had run, the burning of our property, and the order to seize us, dead or alive, that had been given by Paoli, would soon have vanquished all further scruples on my part; and I should have gone to Paris very willingly, if the Marseillaise deputation had not already set out. At the same time my employment required my presence at St. Maximin, a small town, a few leagues distant from Marseilles; and I went there to succeed the keeper of the military stores, who was promoted to the rank of inspector.

The republic had been but a few months in existence; and its arms, victorious over foreigners, plunged deeper every day into its own vitals. Already the populace were become too much accustomed to the scaffold. "*Woe to those who stop!*" said the savage Collet d'Herbois. The orators of the Gironde, grown wise too late, and desirous of enjoying their victory, had wished to stop, when the 31st of May arrived to overthrow them. The departments that had embraced their defence had laid down their arms. Danton and Robespierre had pushed the republic beyond all limits. To mark with one word that melancholy epoch, the title of *Moderate* was a sentence of death. The constitution,



purely democratic, of 1793, was little worthy of its author, the philosopher Condorcet : although accepted by the primary assemblies, it was about to be suspended as impracticable ; and the dictatorship of the convention was sustained by the *levée en masse*, by the laws against the suspected, by the forced loan, and the maximum ; but above all by the irresistible valour of our armies, who had thrown down all obstacles before them. The convention marched victorious up to its knees in blood. . . Lyons and La Vendée alone dared to resist that terrible dictation ; every commune in France, from the largest to the smallest, had a club and revolutionary committee, which absorbed all the power, when the commissaries of the convention were absent. Such was the crisis which agitated all the fibres of society, when I found myself launched, at eighteen years of age, in the middle of Provence, separated from my family, far from all my beloved countrymen, alone, a stranger without acquaintance, in a town divided into parties furiously exasperated against each other.

I arrived at St. Maximin about the end of August in that year, at the moment when the revolutionary army of General Casteen came to Marseilles, to repress the spirit of rebellion

excited by the example of Lyons, which obstinately resisted the forces of the convention. Some days after, Toulon surrendered to the combined fleets of England and Spain, meaning to submit to the Bourbons, whose rule it was certainly very pardonable to prefer to the Reign of Terror ; but the hatred of treason, and the horror of a foreign yoke, raised to the highest pitch the universal indignation of the people. As for myself, I beheld, in the invaders of Toulon, those same English whom Paoli had called, after having separated our island from France, and for whom we had been driven from our home. The tribune of St. Maximin soon, therefore, resounded with the speeches of the young Corsican refugee ; and the popular favour carried me rapidly from the arm-chair of the society to the presidency of the revolutionary committee. In a few days I had acquired a little dictatorship ; and although this success was quite unlooked for, I was not the less proud at having obtained it.

To strengthen my influence, I passed all my evenings at the patriotic club ; where the whole town came to hear me. The few persons who were well educated were shut up as suspected : it was not, then, very surprising that I should have the advantage over all my rivals of the

tribune. There was, therefore, no applause but for me. The women, rich and poor, came regularly to the sittings, bringing with them their work ; for all worked that they might not be accused of aristocracy, and joined in chorus with the men in applauding me, and in singing the patriotic hymns.

So great and easy a success might have turned my head, if I had been ill inclined or weak ; for what might I not have done, or have suffered to have been done ? Who would have thought, in that little demagogical Babylon, of daring to repress a hair-brained youth, whose inflammatory speeches in the evening at the club, and whose signature in the day at the committee, could have thrown terror and death into the bosom of a thousand families ! A convent was filled with the suspected. It depended upon us to make the arbitrary choice, in these asylums of innocence, to expedite them to Orange ! . . and the revolutionary tribunal of Orange was the worthy tribunal of aid of Fongnier Jinville. . . Poor France !

How many times I have thanked Providence for not having abandoned me to the intoxication of so extraordinary a position, so dangerous at my age, and for having surrounded me with plain and simple persons, ready to assist me in \*

the good intentions with which I had inspired them, as they would have been equally ready to have aided me had I been inclined to have committed excesses. For in those moments of democratical despotism, (the worst of all despotisms,) the power of an orator, as long as he commands popular favour, is stronger than public conscience. I have often looked back upon myself: I have felt that my good sentiments were powerfully seconded by favourable circumstances. I was a refugee patriot, and a martyr to the revolutionary cause. These titles placed me beyond the reach of being suspected of aristocracy and of moderation. I could, to a certain point, brave the most prevailing prejudices, and follow the right road. But if, like many others, instead of these fortunate antecedent circumstances, I had been placed between my personal security and my conscience;—if the terrible, the inexorable, (*en avant, en avant,*) *forward, forward,* of the menacing democracy had resounded without ceasing behind me;—if, like so many others, I had been reduced to the infernal alternative of *kill or die*;—can I be quite certain of what might have befallen me? I flatter myself that I should have remained faithful to the good side, and that my moral courage would not have deserted me. Yet how many Frenchmen,

who were as good, or perhaps better than I was—have they not slipped upon the edge of the precipice? How many of those unfortunate beings, born of parents equally virtuous as my own, and gifted, like me, with a good education,—have fallen! . . . Yes, it is by far the worst of all social states, where an honest man is exposed to become criminal,—where the fate of every one is at the mercy of all,—where we are never certain of what we may say, what we may do, or what will become of us 'on the morrow. Young men!—read the history of 1793; not in the pleadings of those rhetoricians who call themselves historians, but in the pages of the inexorable *Moniteur*;—read with patience, and you, like your fathers, will hold the government of the multitude in detestation. Beneath the despotism of one alone, or of several, we risk becoming the victims;—beneath the democratic despotism, besides the same danger multiplied a hundred-fold, we run another still more horrible—*that of becoming executioners!*

If we seek justly to appreciate that great tempest of 1793, two sentiments will simultaneously arise from its serious examination:—indulgence and pity for the individuals who were influenced by being so cruelly circumstanced; but also hatred, strong, durable, and profound, to the government of the multitude.

But we will return to St. Maximin. About twenty, at least, of the inhabitants were confined as suspected persons. I found them commodiously lodged, and tolerably well treated. My revolutionary committee was composed of artisans and workpeople, and an ancient monk, the only one of them who could write, and who before my arrival was at their head. I was fortunate enough to inspire this ex-monk with a species of enthusiasm for me: he had nothing particularly amiable in his character, but he was not mischievous. He followed me everywhere, resigning the pre-eminence with all his heart, and was as useful to me as he could have been prejudicial. I placed him, therefore, in my administration, and gained him entirely. The situation of the suspected was ameliorated; and some of them were let out to act in patriotic pieces in a private theatre; and, above all, the committee came to the resolution not to send any of them to the butchery of Orange. One lady, very amiable and well-born, was more compromised than any of the others: she was the sister of the author of the "Travels of Antenor." I had a great deal of trouble in persuading her to perform in republican pieces; but I would not give up so good an actress, and I almost forced her to take the

part of Junie, with us, in the Brutus of Voltaire. This little act of dictatorship, however, was the means of giving liberty to our victim. We thus passed, the least terribly that we could, that most dreadful year : we were null in acts, but, in requital, we were not sparing of words and addresses to the Jacobins of Paris. As it was the fashion to take antique names, our ex-monk took, I believe, the name of Epaminondas, and I that of Brutus. All the other members of the committee followed our example ; and in our sittings we could have made a vocabulary of Greek and Roman names. They have, in a pamphlet, attributed to Napoléon this borrowed name of Brutus ; but it belonged only to me. Napoléon thought to elevate his own name above all those of ancient history ; and if he had been desirous of figuring in such masquerades, I do not think he would have chosen the name of Brutus.

The good inhabitants of St. Maximin let me do as I pleased ; they were as well satisfied with our theatrical representations, as with the declamations from the tribune. The women were delighted that there had never been a single victim in our little town, and that we performed comedies ; I believe, indeed, that at that period there were very few communes of which they could say so much good.

But a storm from the higher regions was about to burst over our heads. Barras and Fréron were at Marseilles !

Some months which had elapsed after my arrival at St. Maximin had been filled with the successes and crimes of the Jacobins. In September, Lyons had fallen ; Collot d'Herbois and Fouché de Nantes had *courageously* destroyed with grape-shot the vanquished population, and pulled down with French hands the finest edifices of the second town of France, which, forty years afterwards, was doomed to be again delivered up to the horrors of civil war. The army of General Carteau, with whom was Napoléon, was besieging Toulon. The proscriptions of the suspected, organized more widely by the law of Merlin de Douai, extended over three hundred thousand citizens, and consigned them without mercy to the dictatorship of each of the communes.

In October, Marie Antoinette was dragged to the scaffold in a tumbril, with her hands tied, in the midst of six hundred thousand Parisians, stupified and trembling before a handful of brigands.

In November, the assassins deified themselves with their mock worship of reason ; for that reason, which they endeavoured to substitute for



the gospel, was but the idol bathed with human blood, which presided over their frantic orgies. The heads of the Girondins, of Bailli and Lavoisier, those worthy interpreters of true reason, were the first sacrifices of the new worship, Powerful members of the convention traversed the departments to prevent the rage of the populace from cooling. Barras and Fréron were at Marseilles!

Our little commune vainly hoped to escape from their lynx eyes. Some miserable denunciator had informed them that St. Maximin had not furnished the smallest repast for the guillotine, and that in the house of our suspected, open to the families of the prisoners, they were sufficiently calm to make a practice of amusing themselves with the charms of music. They immediately took the resolution of destroying such a *scandal*, and two *familiars of the representative inquisition* were charged to put us in the right road.

I was walking one day with the ex-monk, Epaminondas, when an old woman, whose son was among the suspected, ran towards us. "In the name of heaven," she cried, "citizen president, come and defend us! They are carrying off our children to Orange." "To Orange!" I exclaimed;—"and without an order from the

committee! Let the tocsin be instantly sounded." We returned to the town as fast as possible; and we encountered on our road numerous persons dispersed in the fields in search of me. The whole town was in an uproar; I renewed the order to sound the tocsin, which was instantly obeyed. I then convoked the popular society and the committee upon the place which was close to the house where the prisoners were confined, and I ran thither, accompanied by about a hundred persons. The prison was surrounded by an amazed crowd, who prevented us from seeing the door of entrance. They made way for us. Five or six carts were already there, filled with a part of our prisoners, chained together. A man, girt with a tricolored scarf and a hat and feathers, presided over the ceremony, surrounded by some gendarmes, and, accompanied by a secretary, heplumed like himself, was writing in his portfolio the names of the victims. The chief of the band was one of the familiars of Barras. I sprang before him. "In the name of the law," I cried, "retire from hence! The revolutionary committee have not ordered any delivery of the prisoners. The popular society is about to assemble; come there, and present your authority; and in the meantime let the suspected be replaced

whence they were taken. Gendarmes, release the suspected." The familiar, surprised at my audacity, attempted at first to frighten me with the names of those who sent him : he called me a ci-devant and a moderate, and endeavoured to continue his work. The gendarmes, who had already in the same way cleared out several prisons, acknowledged only the mission of their chief ; and the names of club and committee, so powerful to kill and destroy, were too feeble to save. Fortunately, the tocsin had raised all the population. The relatives of the victims had regained courage at my words : several were armed. I profited by my advantages, and ordered the crowds to release the captives, and the delegates to follow me to the committee. In a few moments the suspected were in their chambers, and the doors of the house, well closed, were guarded by a numerous troop, who acknowledged only my orders. Thirty victims were thus saved, and, thank God, I cared but little for the danger to which I had exposed myself with all my heart.

The delegate of the representatives of the people was but a miscreant, who, I afterwards heard, had been one of the servants of Barras. He sought after these missions to provide for the guillotine ; but he was not in order with his papers, and, fortunately for us, he was fright-

ened. In the presence of the united committee I demanded his papers : he stammered and hesitated. Whether he had not got them, or whether he was afraid of compromising his master, whom we had in our turn menaced to denounce at Paris, he became pacified by degrees, and told us that he had been deceived. He said that he only acted from motives of pure patriotism, and according to the orders of the members of the convention ; that he had not got his papers about him, but that he depended upon us, and had nothing further to say, since the revolutionary committee was presided over by a Corsican patriot, and the popular society had all agreed not to expedite any of the suspected to Orange. We received all his compliments, without confiding too much in them, when suddenly he decided upon going away : he would not even do us the honour to sleep at St. Maximin ; and he disappeared with his alguazils. Among the suspected whom I had saved, were several members of the Rey family, one of the most respectable in the town ; but it will be seen hereafter the recompense I received from a young man belonging to that family ; but his conduct towards me did not prevent me from considering that day to be one of the happiest in my life.

The end of that demagogical year was marked by the taking of Toulon. It was in 1793 that the genius of Napoléon was revealed to the French nation !!! But the tempest was destined to continue a length of time before the transient meteor of the social organization could arise upon the horizon, triumphant over every storm. The first months of 1793 beheld, on the contrary, the Jacobins redouble their atrocities ; and Robespierre, the most cruel hypocrite, and greatest coward of them all, obtained an unlimited power. Some ardent imaginations have not hesitated to celebrate the praises of that man, and of his Couthon and St. Just : they have not even feared to insinuate that Robespierre was a patriotic victim, immolated by various conspirators more guilty than himself. They have mentioned that he fell, because he did not wish to proceed in the path of crime. These assertions are contradicted by facts. The revolutionary tribunal was never more active than during the last months of the power of that merciless tribune. Then were struck, with hasty blows, all those whom birth, fortune, or talents, distinguished from the crowd. In the month of April, Malesherbes, the most virtuous of men, was dragged to the scaffold at seventy-two years of age, in the same cart with his sister, his son-

in-law, his daughter, his granddaughter, and the husband of that young woman! Even the judges of Fouquier Tinville turned away their eyes at the aspect of the venerable old man. Robespierre, far from stopping, caused Lavoisier to be condemned (in May) a few days after Malesherbes; and, that he might have nothing to envy the most savage tyrants, he dared to sacrifice the honour of her sex, the angel who bore upon earth the name of Elizabeth. Robespierre was then at his apotheosis of power. Because he afterwards decimated his accomplices, and because he struck at Danton and his partizans, was he for that reason to be considered more excusable? Blood cannot wash away blood. And as for his festival of the Supreme Being,—what else was it but a contempt for the religion of all Frenchmen, and a denial of the gospel? Blood was not sufficient for the incorruptible! . . . . He desired even to thrust his sacrilegious hands into the very depths of our conscience. No, so many crimes can never be comprised in the philosophical sentiment of indulgence. We should strike them, each and every one of us, with a universal anathema, especially when those horrible names have lately resounded as a rallying signal in the ears of France and of dismayed Europe.

The brother of Robespierre, after the capture of Toulon, had been sent as commissary to the army of the Alps. Napoléon was considered as the hero of that memorable siege, and was appointed general of brigade : he was at Nice, where he commanded the artillery. His connexion with the army had brought about an intimacy with the young Robespierre, who appreciated him. It appears that the ruler of the convention had been informed of the uncommon talents of the conqueror of Toulon, and that he was desirous of replacing the commandant of Paris, Henriot, whose incapacity began to tire him. Here is a fact which I witnessed.

My family owed to the promotion of Napoléon a more prosperous situation. To be nearer to him, they had established themselves at the Château Sallé, near Antibes, a few miles distant only from the head-quarters of the general ; I had left St. Maximin to pass a few days with my family and my brother. We assembled together, and the general gave us every moment that was at his own disposal. He arrived one day more pre-occupied than usual, and, while walking between Joseph and myself, he announced to us that it depended upon himself to set out for Paris the next day, and to be in a position by which he could establish us all ad-

vantageously. . . For my part, the news enchanted me. To go to the great capital appeared to be the height of felicity, that nothing could outweigh. "They offer me," said Napoléon, "the place of Henriot. I am to give my answer this evening. Well,—what say you to it?" We hesitated a moment. "Eh? eh?" rejoined the general; "but it is worth the trouble of considering: it is not a case to be enthusiastic upon; it is not so easy to save one's head at Paris as at St. Maximin. The young Robespierre is an honest fellow; but his brother is not to be trifled with: he will be obeyed. Can I support that man? No, never. I know how useful I should be to him in replacing his simpleton of a commandant of Paris; *but it is what I will not do*. It is not yet time; there is no place honourable for me at present but the army. We must have patience: *I shall command Paris hereafter!*" Such were the words of Napoléon. He then expressed to us his indignation against the reign of terror, of which he announced the approaching downfall: he finished by repeating several times, half gloomy, half smiling, "*What should I do in that galley?*" The young Robespierre solicited him in vain. A few weeks after, the 9th Thermidor arrived, to deliver France, and justified the foresight of the general. If



Napoléon had taken the command of Henriot, on which side would have been the victory? . . . Ten days before the 9th Thermidor, the defection of Paoli had been consummated. A general parliament, under his presidency, offered to the King of England the title of King of Corsica, which was accepted ; but with which the English were not contented. Paoli soon suffered the punishment of his error. Those whom he had called, desired to reign in the island where his presence rendered every other domination than his impossible. There was, therefore, a perpetual struggle between them. What regrets must he not have suffered in his last days ! for he lived a sufficient time to behold that France, which he had abandoned, arise from the abyss into which she had fallen. He lived long enough to behold the victories and the accession to the consulate of that son of Charles, whose head he had proscribed.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE REACTION.

“ To the prison of Aix?—It is as bad as the prison of Orange.”

Saint Maximin after the 9th Thermidor—Error of Carnot—  
Saint Chamon—The Companions of Jesus—The Prison of  
Aix—The Song called *Le Réveil du Peuple*—The  
13th Vindémiaire.

THE Jacobin terrorists had so completely oppressed all ranks of society, that the reaction was certain to be violent. Every day, notwithstanding the convention and its committees, opinion advanced with rapidity towards another order of ideas. The young Robespierre had evinced much esteem towards General Bonaparte; and that was sufficient to cause him to be proscribed; arrested upon imputations the most fri-

volous and groundless. He was restored to liberty a few days after he had been definitively deposed ; and he went to Paris to solicit an employment. Barras, more powerful than ever, received him favourably enough to give him some hopes. Joseph had retired to Genoa. On my side I began to perceive the inclinations of the well-disposed around me change to coldness and disdain. The suspected, restored to their families, forgot very soon that we had prevented their being sent to the guillotine, and remembered only their detention. They filled the popular society. The favour of the multitude left us gradually, to attach itself to the counter-revolutionary party. This party, justly irritated at what it had suffered, beheld in the republic the cause of its misfortunes. It confounded the Jacobins and the moderates, the executioners and the liberators, altogether in the same anathema—for then republic and terror were one and the same thing : and how was it possible that it could be otherwise, since, after *forty years*, the opinion of the majority of the French is still subjugated by the same prejudices ! Although I was in a small town at a distance from Paris, I was well placed to judge the movements of the reaction. I saw that, far from contenting themselves with overthrowing the demagogical reign of terror, they

were about to create a new terror. I thought therefore, after the 9th Thermidor, of soliciting a change of residence in my administration ; but the solicitations of the patriots of St. Maximin detained me in the midst of them for five months longer. They redoubled in activity ; we disputed the ground with the revolutionists, and we regained sufficient influence to re-assure us.

Thus, in our little corner of the earth, we performed the parody of that which was passing at the convention, where the tail of the committee of public safety endeavoured to retain the direction of the political movement. But the parody was better than the piece, for we had never stained with blood our municipal dictatorship, while the companions of Robespierre, having shared in his crimes, found themselves, by their antecedent conduct, obliged to justify the excesses of the reign of terror. Carnot himself, the most esteemed and the most estimable of the members of the committee, had even dared to say, when he announced the triumphs of our armies, " These victories are the effects of the measures with which they reproach us as crimes. It is with these successes that we render an account of *all the blood* that we have shed."

Carnot sought thus to cover with the shield

of his high renown his too guilty colleagues ; but that which was generous as a private man, was a serious fault for a statesman. It was giving reason to the royalists, who confounded in one all the shades of republicanism. They calumniated, likewise, the French people, in supposing that the blood shed upon the scaffold had been necessary for the prodigies of our armies. Far from that, our armies performed prodigies of valour, notwithstanding the horror with which the crimes of the interior inspired them. The prompt and violent measures of the administration, the conscriptions, the forced circulation of the assignats, the forced loan, and even the maximum, had without doubt contributed to our military successes ; but never did a drop of blood, shed by our tyrants on the scaffold, have the slightest influence over our victories . . . . never ! . . . . Scientific men, employed by the committee of the public safety, contributed greatly to those victories, in creating extraordinary means, by which they obtained twelve millions of saltpetre in a few months, instead of one million, the ordinary produce. They owed to them fifty founderies of bronze and iron, instead of six, that had formerly existed ; twenty new manufactories of arms, two hundred workshops for repairing ; the telegraph,

and the balloons applied to military service. In a word, they owed to them the perfection of all the arts of war, and the simplification of the proceedings by the most profound theories . . . . But if even Bailli and Lavoisier had not fallen beneath their conventional proscriptions, would those sciences, which the republic made use of have been less useful in their results? It was, then, absurd to say that the blood that was shed had served us in our victories . . . it was certainly not the blood of the chiefs of science, nor of the old men, women, and children . . . nor that of the martyred king, of his wife, and his sister . . . nor that of the marriages in the vessels of the Loire . . . . nor of those who fell by the murderous grape-shot at Lyons and Toulon.

The false position in which Carnot found himself, made him say what he would never else have thought of saying; he shut his eyes upon what might be the result of that conduct, which, in the departments, struck us with stupor, and encouraged the fury of the enemies of the revolution. "Behold," said they, "that atrocious convention supports Barrère, Billaud, Collot, Carrière, Fouquier Tinville: those who overthrew Robespierre, are not, then, better than he was: all they wanted to do was to save themselves; we must get rid of them altogether;

we must disarm and imprison in their turn all those who served under the government of Terror." During the first months after Thermidor, the conduct of the convention did the greatest injury to the patriots of the provinces: its hesitation, its unskilful returns towards the reign of blood compromised the republic. We multiplied addresses to them for satisfying at length the universal indignation against the principal accomplices of Robespierre, the only measure to prevent the people from doing justice for themselves. After three months of errors, the convention began to open their eyes, but not time enough to be beforehand in the south with the companies of the Companions of Jesus, and of the Sun, who took, as a pretext for their organisation, the impunity of the great criminals. In November 1794, Carrièr—(a name for which there is not a sufficient epithet in human language)—Carrièr ceased to stain the soil of France. In January 1795, the cavern of the Jacobins was closed. In April, he who talked of the awaking of the lion,—he might with more truth have said, the awaking of the tiger,—and the other, who took the balance of the guillotine as the die for coining money, were, with one of the two executioners of Lyons, condemned to transportation. In May, the infernal judge was judged in his turn.

The partizans of the reign of terror, beaten on the day of the 12th Germinal, could not prevent the banishment of their chiefs ; and the convention, after those inevitable measures that it had too long retarded, could resume with less embarrassment the course of its dictatorship. The last part of the year 1795 was the most glorious for the convention. It knew how to subdue, in turn, the convulsions of terrorism, and the hardy conspiracies of the royalists. Cured of its demagogical delirium, it prepared the basis of the directional constitution, founded upon the division into two chambers of the legislative power. It owed to this newly-acquired wisdom, as much as to our armies, the reconciliation of the republic with several powers. The treaties of peace with Tuscany, La Vendée, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, succeeded each other after short intervals. But while the convention substituted a great deal of good for all the evil that it had permitted to be committed, the royalists of the south had in their turn enlisted bands of assassins. The horrible cry of *ça ira*, the *aristocrats to the lantern*, had been succeeded by a hymn, not less horrible, called *The Awakening of the People*. An improvident law had ordained the disarming of the terrorists, and, under that name, all the republicans had



been disarmed. It was no longer possible, therefore, to resist the counter-revolutionists. I hastened to quit St. Maximin, and set out as inspector in a military administration for the commune of St. Chaman, near the town of Cette, while Napoléon, rejected at Paris by the committee of war, thought of seeking for service in the east.

St. Chaman was quiet enough: as chief of the administration, I was very well received. They occupied themselves with politics, like all other places, but without exaggeration. My office occupied me only a part of the day, and I went generally to pass my afternoons with a very amiable family, the most considerable in the commune, whose name I am ashamed to have forgotten. They played, in general, at little innocent games in the garden of the house, where several of the neighbours, both old and young, were assembled. I was engaged one day in declaiming I know not what verses, to redeem a pledge, when I was informed that an officer was at the door, and desired to speak to me. I made great haste to go to him, thinking it was some officer belonging to the service, and, upon seeing the person, I was surprised, but not alarmed . . . It was the young Auguste Rey, of St. Maximin, whose parents

had been fastened with cords upon one of the carts, ready to depart for the tribunal of Orange, when I delivered them. The presence of that young man, who was scarcely sixteen years of age, was agreeable to me, and I was only astonished to see him in a brilliant uniform . . . It was the uniform adopted by the assassins of the south, too celebrated under the fantastic name of the Companions of Jesus.

“ Well, Auguste, what do you want with me ? and how are your parents ? ”

“ March, brigand, and give me your hands ! ” was his reply ; and, taking from his pocket a strong cord, he prepared to tie my hands. Resistance was useless : others of the Companions of Jesus were there. I was then strongly fastened, and conducted to my lodgings, to deliver up my papers. Auguste held the end of the cord, and menaced me with his sword, to make me go faster. All our companions of the games ran to speak in my favour, as they followed me. “ He is a Jacobin ! ” replied my grateful young man ; “ it is now our turn to be the masters. Go on,” he cried ; “ and you, citizens, be quiet, and let us alone.”

I must own that the intervention of the young ladies was little agreeable to me ; I should have preferred for them not to have seen me in

so sad a plight. They took my papers, and everything that I possessed ; and, after having handcuffed me, my guard made me go with him in a cabriolet, while his companions mounted on horseback, and we set off. “ Where are you going to take me ? Are you going to cut my throat, as a recompence for having saved your parents ? ”

“ No : you have nothing to fear upon that score. I shall take you to the prison of Aix.”

“ To the prison of Aix ! . . . . Why, it is only a few days since the prisoners were massacred. It is as bad as the prison of Orange.”

It was in vain I used all my efforts to shake the resolution of my keeper. He dragged me to the prison of Aix. These young people, who had all the appearance of having been well brought up, screeched incessantly in my ear the burthen of the song of the Awakening of the People : “ They shall not escape us.” In consigning me to the jailor, Auguste exclaimed, “ Here ! *there is another in the cage : keep good guard over him for us, against our first visit.*”

I entered into that horrible house where, notwithstanding it had been washed several times, the traces of blood were still visible of the unfortunate beings whom they had assassinated seven

or eight days before. It was again filled : the chamber which I occupied contained about a hundred prisoners.

That I may not have to speak again of that unfortunate young man, I will observe that I heard no more of him until several years after. I then heard that, after having plunged into every excess of vice, he had at length left his country, and had died miserably, far distant from his honourable family, who held his conduct in horror.

The demagogical party, driven to despair at Paris, organized a last effort more terrible than any of the preceding. The hall of the assemblies was soiled with the blood of the representative Feraud. The vilest of the populace committed every excess in the fatal days of Prairial, (the end of May 1795.) The convention was at that time truly great. The calm of Boissid'Anglas, its president, the sublime attitude of that assembly, silently seated upon their benches, distant but two steps from those who came to murder them, equalled all that history offers as the most heroic. The factions of 1793 were repulsed, after repeated attacks. The revolution of Thermidor ended in the month of Prairial. Doubtless it can only be from inadvertence that, in a history full of talent upon the revolution,

those sanguinary wretches of Prairial are repeatedly called patriots . . . . Patriots! And what, then, were Ferraud, Boissi-d'Anglas, and their colleagues? This title, thus perverted, is a stain upon that fine history. Without doubt the death of the deputy Romme and his companions, was heroic : their profound conviction, and their stoicism, may leave an incertitude upon the justice of their condemnation. For my part, I cannot persuade myself to believe them guilty. What connexion could there have been between such men and brigands? In our prison of Aix, they gave also the name of patriots to the insurgents of Prairial. The first news announced their triumph. Detained, with or without reason, as terrorists, we hoped for our delivery from the victory of the insurgents ; but the song of the Awakening of the People, which resounded with redoubled energy around us, very soon proclaimed the vanity of hopes, very excusable in our position. We had several alert murderers around us, from whom we fortunately escaped, with only their ferocious music. More fortunately still, an order from Paris, obtained by Napoléon, restored me to liberty. It is but just to declare that Barras did not evince any animosity towards those who had repulsed the mission of his terrible agents at St. Maximin :

not that he had forgotten my action ; but, from an easiness of disposition, which was his greatest merit, he loved to oblige. He contented himself with saying upon that occasion, that I had been very bold, and had a lucky escape ; and it was he who gave my brother the order for my liberty.

I had been six weeks in prison, and left there many citizens equally innocent as myself. But such is the justice of parties : they are all alike ; and we might say, as to the adulteress, “ *Let those who are without reproach, throw the first stone.*” After my deliverance, I retired to Marseilles. The predominant opinion of that great town was much changed. The defeat of the Jacobins had been celebrated with fanaticism. They railed as much against the victorious convention, as against the vanquished Jacobins. The catastrophe of Quiberon, (subject of ineffacable shame to the English government at that period, if it is true that it abandoned its victims, and for the French government, who had the atrocious courage to immolate them, with or without capitulation,)—the catastrophe of Quiberon raised the public indignation. The royalists were equally skilful in appropriating to themselves the fruits of the heroism and the errors of the con-

ventional party. The counter-revolutionary spirit was not calmed. I had no longer any employment: and I thought of retiring to the country, when fresh political struggles decided otherwise.

The victory of Prairial had completely dispelled the demagogical intoxication. The ideas of justice, of concord, of the division of power, of equilibrium, had replaced the fever of the conventional dictatorship. The enlightened patriots could make themselves heard, and the constitution of the year 1793 made us make a giant step towards the true republican ideas. Two legislative chambers, and an executive directory of five members, offered a pledge of stability. In the month of August the new constitution, enlightened by the error of the constituent assembly, ordered that two-thirds of the two new chambers should be taken into its bosom.

That law of the 13th Fructidor exasperated all those who were tired of the yoke of the convention. It cannot be denied that, to restrain to their own profit the exercise of the right of election, was making an attempt upon the sovereignty of the people. To be free from all reproach, the law should have been submitted to the same voting as the constitution. It was

what the convention did, and then its enemies had only to obtain the majority of the suffrages ; for it is the universal voting which consecrates, and which can *alone* consecrate, a new power. If they recognise the sovereignty of the people, that fundamental maxim must unavoidably be acknowledged. The royalists, although opposed to that doctrine, neglected nothing to cause the decree of Fructidor to be rejected : they succeeded at Paris ; but they failed in other places : nearly the whole of the primary assemblies accepted the constitution and the decree. The sections of Paris, misled by the royalists, dared call to arms, notwithstanding the universal vote. The convention, menaced, named Barras as chief of its defenders. Barras confided the command to General Bonaparte, who was still without employment . . . . And the 13th Vendémiaire (October 1795) could not unfortunately assure the triumph of the patriot party, but at the price of the blood of too many Frenchmen.

The constitution of the year 1793 was brought into activity, as well as the law of Fructidor. The General Bonaparte was promoted to the command of Paris. Named commissary of war, I departed for the capital to rejoin my brother. It will naturally be imagined how much I re-



flected at that moment upon what he had said to me at Antibes, scarcely two years before :  
“ *Have patience: in a little time I shall command Paris.*”

## CHAPTER IV.

THE DIRECTORY, UNTIL THE EXPEDITION TO  
EGYPT.

“ In organizing the powers, the force and the success of the constitution depends upon the equilibrium.”

RAYNAL.

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The directorial constitution compared with the constitution of 1791—Address of Raynal to the assembly—Mirabeau, Raynal, and Napoléon—Corsica re-enters the French family—Binasco and Pivia—Monsieur Thiers and Walter Scott—The inviolability of a legislative assembly—Joseph Bonaparte at Rome, and the Council of Five Hundred—Opinion of Napoléon upon the executive powers of five or of three magistrates—Expedition to Egypt—My election to the legislative body.

I ARRIVED in the great capital a few days after the opening of the legislative councils, which I entered three years after. I found my brother in high favour with the directory. It was through

his influence that I was appointed commissary of war to the army of Moreau ; which I joined, after having remained a month at Paris. During this month's stay, I beheld everything on the bright side. French society, restored to ideas of true liberty and public order, appeared to me the more admirable, when I compared them with the convulsions of jacobinism, and with the reaction of the royalism of the south, of which I had nearly become the victim. I assisted frequently at the sittings of the councils, which made me take a disgust to the functions that I had hitherto been happy to obtain. I would willingly have renounced them all not to have been distant from the public tribunes ; but I was obliged to depart for Munich, Brussels, and Holland, where I went in turn during the course of the year 1796, to execute an employment, ill or well, in which I occupied myself with less ardour than in reading the political journals and pamphlets. I became a very decided partizan of the two chambers, and the directorial government. Until that period my sentiments had not kept pace with the prevailing opinion ; but I then found it accorded with my own. Here at last, I said to myself, is a republic ! The division of power is the guarantee of our liberty. At the ~~general~~ quarters of the armies, I was very

fond of making speeches, and frequently got into quarrels with the jacobins or the royalists. Soon the glory of Napoléon, who had just terminated in a few days his first campaign of Italy, that wonderful glory covered me with its brilliancy; my chief paid me a great deal of attention, and they excused both my indolence in my administration, and my eternal discussions. I obtained the friendship of the general-in-chief, Tilly, who commanded at Brussels, and that of the excellent General Eblé, commandant of the artillery at Malines, with whom I remained above a year. The last, above all, was an honest and sincere republican, and agreed perfectly with me in my sentiments; we were strictly united in friendship. We thought the republic was established by the new constitution; the hatred with which it inspired the two extreme factions was its highest commendation.

These impressions of my youth may have left me some prejudices; I owe to them, perhaps, an erroneous opinion upon the directorial *régime*; but I still wish to think that the *régime* was not so bad, and that, if the different factions would have yielded to it, the great republic was founded upon a solid basis. As I have nothing to say of myself that merits public attention, having been, until 1798, out of all political

employment, I may be permitted to speak of my opinions. Those opinions of 1796 and 1797, have been confirmed by succeeding events ; and, notwithstanding all the ill that has been said of the directorial constitution, I think now, as I did then, that a good Frenchman, and a reasonable man, might be a sincere partizan of a republic founded upon so good a legislative basis. If, notwithstanding these bases, the constitution could not resist the internal convulsions and military reverses ; it is only to the relative weakness of an executive power, too moveable, to which it must be attributed ; and also with a small portion of good fortune in 1798, and less violence among the parties, the directorial *ré-gime* might have completed the revolution and perfected it by gradual and pacific ameliorations. This assertion will, without doubt, appear difficult to reconcile with the 18th Brumaire. Yet, notwithstanding, the 18th Brumaire, properly considered, fully confirms it. It is what I hope to develop in the course of these Memoirs.

The directorial republican constitution offered more guarantees for public order than the monarchy of 1791. Let us compare the bases of the two codes. As for the code of 1793, which separates them, it was but a senseless democracy, inapplicable to a great nation.

In 1791 the sovereign or legislative power was concentrated in a single body, which was to be entirely renewed every two years.

In 1795 the sovereign power was divided into two bodies, of which the fifth part was to be renewed every year.

Now the concentration of the sovereign power in one individual or in a body,—what is it, then, but despotism ?

The frequent and complete renewal of the individual or of the body, in which the sovereign power is deposited,—what else is it but anarchy ?

The constitution of 1791 was a confessed medley of the principles of despotism and anarchy. It only displaced despotism or legislative unity . . . It exchanged an hereditary master for a biennial master. The new master was more absolute than the old ; for there were no longer either parliament, or noblesse, or clergy, or provincial states, to oppose him. On the other side, the biennial renewal of this absolute sovereign incessantly brought the whole in question. Every two years, we might pass from a republic to a monarchy, and from a monarchy to a republic ; there only needed for this a sudden transport of enthusiasm, or a decree wrested by fear. What a state of society ! The assem-

bly, called the Constituent, had not then constituted anything. It had worthily proclaimed the principles of liberty, of civil equality, and universal toleration, noble and holy inheritance that we owe to it; but it had erred completely in the application. It was an assembly of philosophers rather than an assembly of legislators. And was it to be wondered at? How, at the first step, could it attain its end, in that arduous career, where the history of the world only signalizes five or six names for the admiration of posterity? For the task which that assembly had given itself (forgetting the limits of its mandates) was absolute: Entirely to renew a social order! . . . Solon and Lycurgus were very far from having so great a task to fulfil: and they had passed a long life in meditating upon what we were expected to perform at once. The constituent assembly had for antecedents only the theories of Rousseau, of Montesquieu, and of other great writers, the example of England, and that more recent one of America. But its work answered only those antecedents in its immortal preface, the declaration of rights, as for the book itself, its deplorable influence was and must remain in an inverse sense to the intention of its authors.

The executive power, formed by the consti-

tuent assembly, had the wisdom to retain, even after the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes, the unity of that power and its succession; but it had overturned, in its impetuous course, all the defenders of royalty. It placed then a throne without a basis and without support, before a sovereign all-powerful, and changing continually. It left to that shadow of a king neither the proposal of the laws, nor the right of dissolving them. A suspensive veto for two years served only to expose it to the vengeance of an absolute master. The constituent assembly having concentrated the supreme power in a single popular body, it had founded the democracy, and it would have been therefore more wise and less cruel, (intentions apart,) to have sent Louis XVI. out of France . . . . With the constitution of 1791, there was no longer any possibility of royalty. The president of the United States had more power than they had left to the king of the French.

And in 1795, the executive directory had more power than Louis XVI. In the first place, there was no longer only one sovereign. The legislative power, divided between the two councils, left to the Directory a relative force superior to that of the king of 1791. One of these two councils, being accessible only to men of forty



years of age, offered a still stronger guarantee of order and stability. The reading of each proposition three different times, with an interval of three days between each, prevented the council of five hundred from coming to a hasty decision without time for reflection. The two councils, therefore, being renewed by fifths every year, rendered the change almost imperceptible, and without danger. All the advantages, therefore, were on the side of the Directory.

It will be observed, without doubt, that an executive power of five chiefs did not offer to a great nation so strong a guarantee as the unity of the hereditary executive power of 1791. It is true that the Directory had neither unity, nor right of inheritance ; but its renewal was as prudently combined as that of the councils. Chosen by the council of ancients upon a tenfold list, formed by the council of five hundred, the directors were named for five years. One amongst them only went out every year. This method left to the executive power almost as much force as if it had not been temporary. And besides, is it nothing to be freed for ever from minorities, regencies, and disputes of succession ? But this order of ideas did not appertain to the epoch of the Directory. I am advancing too far upon the subject, and I hasten to retrace my steps.

The monarchy of 1791 had still against it the power of the clubs, whose existence it had consecrated at the same time that they were prohibited in the directorial charter. That single difference was decisive. The work of 1791 might have become less imperfect, if the great orator had not closed his eyes at the moment when the court had learnt to appreciate him. A sentiment common to all parties made them look upon the death of Mirabeau as a national calamity. But this powerful, intrepid, and true statesman, who did not bend before the opinion of the day when he thought it pernicious, could he, in spite of that opinion, have established two chambers? That is not probable. Besides, the death of Mirabeau, which preceded by four months the publication of the charter of 1791, left a void, which the well-disposed endeavoured in vain to fill up. A project of revisal, concerted among the friends of the constitutional monarchy, was frustrated by some unfavourable circumstances ; but if it had succeeded, that revision would have remained powerless before a single, absolute, and biennial chamber. To subdue and bring back opinions towards the system of the two chambers, against which public opinion had pronounced its anathema, required the greatest civil courage, united with a

magical influence. It was necessary to brave the name of aristocrat : and let us not fear to say it : if we go to a battle as we would go to a fête, civil courage is, in general, less common amongst us. We could sooner brave death than the hisses of an assembly, or of the multitude. We sacrifice too much to the pleasure of being applauded ; and, when we are contradicted in our opinion, instead of appreciating the courage of our opponents, we excommunicate them without toleration. Thus, twenty days after the death of Mirabeau, we beheld one of those great geniuses, the honour of the eighteenth century, the famous Abbé Raynal, treated with the most profound disdain, when he went himself to read at the bar of the assembly a prophetic address, in which were the following passages. (2.)

“ Called to regenerate France, you ought to consider what you can usefully preserve of the ancient order, and, above all, that which you cannot abandon ; France being a monarchy. . . . . Purify the principles, by seating the throne upon its true basis, the sovereignty of the nation ; fix the limits, by fixing them in the national representation, was what you had to do. And you think you have done it ! . . . But, in organizing the powers, the force and the success of the constitution depended upon the equi-

brium ; and you had to defend yourselves against the bent of prevailing ideas ; you ought to have seen that the power of kings was declining in opinion, and that the rights of the people were increasing. Thus, in weakening without measure that which tends to decay naturally,— in fortifying without proportion that which tends naturally to increase, you arrive forcibly at the sad result, *of a king without authority . . . a people without restraint.*” . . . And that illustrious old man who, upon the brink of the grave, performed so admirable an act of patriotism, was scoffed at : they were provoked at his audacity. If Jean Jaques, Voltaire, and Montesquieu, had accompanied him, they would not have met with better success . . . What would have been the science of those men compared with the science of the day ? That intolerance of opinion has too often overwhelmed in our assemblies the voice of our best citizens ; and perhaps our giant of the tribune, our Mirabeau himself, died in time for his glory !

The names of Raynal and Mirabeau bring me back to Napoléon. Napoléon, in one of those congés which he went to pass at Ajaccio, (it was, I believe, in 1790,) had composed a history of the revolutions of Corsica, of which I wrote two copies, and of which I much regret the loss.

One of those manuscripts was addressed by him to the Abbé Raynal, whom my brother had known on his passage to Marseilles. Raynal found the work so extremely remarkable, that he decided upon communicating it to Mirabeau, who, on returning the manuscript, wrote to Raynal, that this little history appeared to him to announce a genius of the first order. The reply of Raynal accorded with the opinion of the great orator, and Napoléon was enchanted. I have made a great many researches in vain to find those manuscripts: they were, perhaps, destroyed in the burning of our house by the troops of Paoli.

These literary communications had strengthened the admiration of Napoléon for these two great men of genius. The death of Mirabeau afflicted him very sensibly. The address of Raynal to the constituent assembly was not without influence upon us; and if Paoli had confined himself to the party in France favourable to the ideas of political equilibrium, we should have seconded him with all our efforts.

The course of events had decided it otherwise; and we could but felicitate ourselves. Napoléon had arrived at the theatre of that great war for which he felt himself born; and from his field of victory, it sufficed for him to

send some officers and arms to tear Corsica from the English and from Paoli, who disputed it with them. Already the young renown of Napoléon had effaced the former renown of the ancient chief. Among the officers sent into Corsica, was the brave Costa, of Bastelica, the defender of our family in the days of adversity.

I had just arrived at Genoa in time to see the departure of our islanders, and to embrace Costa, for whom I had always had from my childhood a particular friendship. Had it not been for the impatience which I felt to behold, in the midst of his triumphs, my brother, already master of Lombardy, I should have set out for Ajaccio. In the course of a few days, we learnt that the whole island had revolted, and that Paoli, in despair, had taken refuge in London, where he received, till his last hour, that respect which was his due. They even wished to perpetuate that respect by erecting to his memory a tomb in Westminster Abbey. It is also in an English tomb that Napoléon reposes!!! But what a tomb! What a vengeance! O eternal shame to free men, who become the instruments of despotic kings! I fear not, noble British nation, although amidst ye, to let this fraternal cry escape me. I have travelled in your provinces;

and in your palaces,—in your houses, and in your cottages,—I have often been affected with the sight of the image of Napoléon . . . and I have exclaimed a hundred times, on beholding it, “ Here is what attests the sentiment of reparation in a nation that knows how to appreciate a hero ! ” Those who confined, and suffered the victim to die, upon the rock of St. Helena,—did they show themselves worthy of the great people whom they governed ?

I had obtained permission to quit the north, to go to Milan, where our army had made its entry. Napoléon was no longer at Milan. The revolt of Pavia had just broken out : and it was said that the general was gone to the banks of the Adige, to chastise the guilty city. I hastened to Pavia : upon the road, my eyes were struck with the distant reflection of a vast fire . . . It was the village of Binasco, delivered up to the flames, to expiate the assassination of several of our straggling soldiers. I traversed the burning ruins. Pavia presented me in a few moments after with a spectacle even more deplorable. That great city had been delivered up to pillage in the morning : the traces of blood had not been effaced : the bodies of the peasants, who had refused to surrender, were not carried away : people were occupied by

funeral rites within the gate by which I entered. The streets and places were transformed into a perfect fair, where the conquerors were selling to hideous speculators the spoils of the vanquished ! What miseries, even in the most just of wars, in the most necessary of victories !

I could only remain with my brother half a day : he was to return in the evening, upon his favourite line of the Adige : he gave me his instructions, and I departed for Corsica. After some days of a stormy voyage, I found myself in my beloved native town, where I thought only of obtaining the suffrages of my fellow-citizens for the epoch when I should become eligible.

The last six months of that year and the following, (1796 and 1797,) were filled with the exploits of Napoléon and the army of Italy. From Montenotte to Campo Formio, it was a continuation of prodigies. “ When we consider it altogether, the imagination is struck with the multitude of the battles, the fecundity of the conceptions, and the immensity of the results. Entering into Italy with thirty and a few thousand men, Bonaparte separated, in the first place, the Piedmontese from the Austrians at Montenotte and at Miliesimo ; succeeds in destroying the first at Mondovi, then hastens after



the second, passes the Po before them at Plaisance, the Adda at Lodi, takes possession of Lombardy, stops for a moment, soon resumes his march, finds the Austrians reinforced upon the Mincio, and completes their destruction at the battle of Borghetto. There he siezed, with a *coup d'œil*, the plan of his future operations : it is upon the Adige that he must establish himself to face the Austrians. As for the princes that were in his rear, he contents himself by holding them in check, with negociations and menaces. A second army is sent against him, under Wurmser : he could only defeat it, by rapidly concentrating his own forces, and striking alternately each of those isolated masses ; as a resolute man, he sacrifices the blockade of Mantua, overwhelms Wurmser, at Lonato, at Castiglione, and drives him again into the Tyrol. Wurmser is re-inforced, as Beaulieu had also been. Bonaparte is beforehand with him in the Tyrol, re-mounts the Adige, overturns all before him at Roveredo, throws himself across the valley of the Brenta, cuts off Wurmser, who thought of cutting him off, overthrows him at Bassano, and shuts him up in Mantua. This is the second Austrian army destroyed, after having been reinforced.

“ Bonaparte, always negociating, menacing

from the banks of the Adige, awaits the third army. It is formidable : it arrives before he has received a reinforcement ; he is obliged to give way before it ; he is reduced to despair ; he is about to fall before it, when he finds, in the middle of an impracticable marsh, two dykes that opened on the flanks of the enemy—he throws himself into them with an incredible audacity. He conquers again at Arcole. But the enemy, though stopped, is not destroyed ; he returns a last time, and more powerful than the first. On one side, he descends the mountains ; on the other, he coasts along the side of the lower Adige. Bonaparte there discovers the only point where the Austrian columns, scattered over a mountainous country, might re-unite ; he springs upon the celebrated platform of Rivoli ; and from that platform falls like a thunderbolt upon the principal army of Alvinzy ; thence resuming his flight towards the lower Adige, entirely surrounds the column that had crossed it—his last operation and the finest, for here good fortune united with genius. Thus, in ten months, besides the Piedmontese army, three formidable armies, three times reinforced, had been destroyed by an army which was little more than thirty thousand men strong, at the beginning of the campaign, and had scarcely received twenty

to repair its losses. Thus, fifty-five thousand Frenchmen had beaten more than two hundred thousand Austrians; had taken above eighty thousand; slain or wounded more than twenty thousand; had engaged in twelve pitched battles, passing several rivers, braving their floods and the fire of the enemy. When war is a purely mechanical routine, consisting only in driving or killing the enemy that is before us, it is little worthy of history; but when one of those encounters presents itself,—where we behold a mass of men, actuated by one sole and vast thought, which developes itself in the midst of bursting thunder, with as much clearness as a Newton or a Descartes in the silence of the cabinet, then the spectacle is worthy of the philosopher, as well as the statesman and the soldier. It is this identification of the multitude with one single individual, which produces strength in its highest degree, and if it helps to protect and defend a noble cause, that of liberty, then the scene becomes equally moral and grand.”

I could not resist the desire I felt to transcribe this page of M. Thiers, (in his History of the Revolution,) a most admirable strain of truth and eloquence. What can be better said? I trust that the reader will pardon me this long quotation, worthy of the minister who will,

without doubt, contribute to the return of his ashes from St. Helena . . . . . Sir Walter ! Sir Walter ! this is the way to write history ! When we do not know how to free ourselves from the miserable spirit of localities and parties, we should not pretend to judge of real heroes.

The armies of the north, commanded by Hoche, Moreau, and Jourdan, rivalled in patriotism and ardour the army of Napoléon. Such great success, which guaranteed the external peace, could not remain without influence in the interior. Could they coolly suffer the fall of the republic to be prepared ? Was it for our enemies that the armies had triumphed ? It was in vain that the directory had at first repressed, with a firm hand, the Jacobin conspiracy of Babeuf and the royalist conspiracy of Brothier. The embarrassment of the finances, still over-burthened by assignats and territorial mandates of no value, incessantly presented fresh obstacles. The Jacobins did not dare to complain after our victories, and, above all, after the establishment of the republics in Italy : the national glory which, even in the inauspicious days of their blood-stained errors, never ceased to cause their ardent hearts to palpitate, had momentarily suspended their opposition. But these victories, these new republics,

only exasperated the foreign factions; which, probably profited by the embarrassment of the finances, and to so great a degree, that the Directory, although victorious externally, was upon the brink of its fall. The terrible lesson of Vindémiaire appeared to be forgotten by the royalists of Paris; and Austria, well informed of their plots, had found sufficient courage to retard the signature of the peace.

How had the royalists arrived at such a result? They had become the masters of the elections; and it was at the head of the legislative councils themselves, that they were marching to the counter-revolution. They hoped to do it legally. Pichegru, who had for a long time been a traitor to the republic, was in correspondence with the Prince de Condé and the Austrians; at the renewal of the second *Tiers* he had been named to the council of five hundred. Elevated to the presidency of that council, he was certain of the support of the majority, because the electoral body was composed (in 1795, as in 1791) of proprietors only, whose income equalled a hundred days of work. The inferior proprietors and those who had not any property, although they composed the majority of the nation, were not represented at all. Even the exercise of communal suffrage appertained

only to those who paid a contribution equal to three days' work, (in 1791,) and a contribution of some sort in 1795. The Convention had much enlarged the basis of the right of citizens, fixed by the Constituent Assembly; but that basis was not the universal suffrage in the communalty. Thus, there were still in France two distinct populations; one composed of inhabitants without any political right, subject, nevertheless, to all the duties, and the other composed of privileged citizens, having solely the right of nominating the electors. It was reserved for the constitution of Brumaire to consecrate universal suffrage, and to modify it by the triennial lists of Notables. I mean here to speak only of the republican constitution of Brumaire. . . I consider that alone in my reflections, and I set aside the *Senatus Consultes soi-disant Organic*, which succeeded it. Everything which regards the constitutive laws of the empire is foreign to my examination, because it was but a glorious dictatorship, for ever immortalized by the heroism of our armies, and by the universal concord. . . . But it was not, nor could it be, the definitive code of a free nation. I take then only, for the scope of my investigations in these Memoirs, the charters of the Constituent Assembly, of the Directory, the Consulat, and 1830.

The charter of the Directory having given us only privileged electors, the councils could only represent the proprietors who had named them. It is less surprising, then, that after that, the mass of the nation should find itself in opposition to this imperfect representation, the audacity of which increased every day. It drove the government to the last extremity. It had already taken from it, with the direction of the treasury, every pecuniary resource; and there remained only to organize the national guard of Paris, as planned by Pichegru, to assure the fall of the Directory.

Ought the armies of the republic thus to have suffered the counter-revolution to reap the fruits of a hundred victories?

We had now arrived at a political crisis, which left us only the choice between illegality and the counter-revolution. The illegality of the 18th Fructidor saved the country. Hoche had caused several bodies of troops to approach Paris. Napoléon had thought it sufficient to send Augereau with the menacing addresses of the army of Italy. The national representation was violated by a *coup d'état*; and nearly the whole of the nation applauded the proscription of two hundred of its deputies. The majority of the Directory, Hoche and Bonaparte, united to the legislative

minority, accomplished a melancholy duty, but the absolute duty of a citizen, in not respecting the inviolability of the majority of the councils, because the inviolability of a chief, or of an assembly, does not require them to betray with impunity the object of their political mandate. Instituted to maintain a republic, the councils, in seeking to destroy it, ceased to be inviolable. Insurrection, or a *coup d'état*, is a natural right in such a crisis. It is the double right of public welfare and individual defence. Pichegru, recognized as a traitor to his country, and conspiring with foreigners, had seduced or corrupted the majority of a legislative chamber: that chamber attacked the republic that it was charged to defend. And from that time the *coup d'état* and insurrection were right, just, legitimate, necessary. Sad necessity, without doubt, the most melancholy of all political necessities, but a necessity justified by right and duty. . . . It is by giving a senseless extension to the inviolability of an assembly *not constituent, but constituted*, that we can condemn the 18th Fructidor. It is approved (even in principle) when it is considered that that inviolability has for its limits the order imposed upon all legislative assemblies. Thus the nation and the army celebrated the 18th Fructidor as a day of tri-



umph. The hopes of Austria were baffled ; and the peace, which was suspended by the plots of the royalists, was signed at Campo-Formio. Unfortunately, the *coup d'état* of Fructidor was not submitted, as it ought to have been, to the vote of the nation. Still more unfortunately, the severities which recalled the days of Terror, dishonoured Fructidor, and an atrocious banishment condemned the vanquished to live and die in the deserts of Sinamari !

Napoléon, conqueror and pacificator, arrived in Paris at the end of that year. The Directory gave him, at the Luxembourg, a triumphant reception, of which all our historians have repeated the details. The public mind was so much excited that the government could not avoid feeling some inquietude and ill-concealed mistrust. What Frenchman could remain calm while reading, upon the great banner, which was presented in that solemnity to the army of Italy, that inscription without a rival in history, either ancient or modern.

“ The army of Italy has made a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners ; has taken a hundred and seventy colours, five hundred and fifty pieces of siege artillery, six hundred field-pieces, five bridge equipages, nine vessels, twelve frigates, twelve sloops, eighteen galleys. Armistices with

the kings of Sardinia, of Naples, the dukes of Parma and Modena, preliminaries of Leoben, convention of Montebello, with the republics of Genoa. Treaties of peace of Tolentino, and Campo-Formio. Liberty given to the people of Bologna, of Ferrara, of Modena, of Massa-Carrara, of Romania, of Lombardy, of Brescia, of Bergamo, of Mantua, of Cremona, of a part of the Veronese, of Chiavenna, of Bormio, and the Valtelline, to the people of Genoa, to the Imperial Fiefs, to the people of the departments of Corcyra, to the Ægæan Sea and Ithaca. Sent to Paris the chef-d'œuvres of Michael Angelo, of Guerchino, of Titian, of Paul Veronese, of Correggio; of Albano, of the Carraccis, of Raphael, of Leonardo di Vinci, &c. Triumphed in eighteen pitched battles,—Montenotte, Millesimo, Mondovi, Lodi, Borghetto, Lonato, Castiglione, Rovérédo, Bassano, St. Georges, Fontana-nova, Caldiéro, Arcole, Rivoli, La Favorite, Le Tagliamento, Tarwis, and Neumarkt. Engaged in sixty-seven battles.”

The peace of Campo-Formio had thus acknowledged in Italy the Cisalpine republic, of which the finest provinces of the Holy See formed a part. . . The republican spirit in Romania and the papal legations soon communicated itself to the rest of the Roman states. Joseph Bonaparte,

ambassador at Rome, employed his influence to maintain the public peace, and followed with address and firmness the pacific instructions of the Directory ; but nothing could stop the republicans of Rome ; and the insurrection broke out without combination or support. The insurgents, repulsed by the troops of the Holy See, and by a furious multitude, took refuge in the palace of the ambassador, where they pursued them without respect for the diplomatic jurisdiction. My brother sprang forward to endeavour to put a stop to the confusion . . . and the brave General Duphot, who was at his side, was struck with a mortal blow. The ambassador quitted Rome, and hastened to Paris : we had, at the same time, nominated him in Corsica, member of the council of five hundred. The General Berthier received orders to invade Rome, which was constituted a republic, and, like Milan, Amsterdam, and Switzerland, wished to imitate the directorial constitution. This political imitation was the natural result of events. Napoléon had been desirous of introducing some changes in the Italian constitutions : he had proposed to give more strength to the Cisalpine government, by reducing the five to three directors ; but that proposition had displeased the French government, who insisted upon the general's abandon-

ing his project of concentration. The general obeyed with regret. He had also in vain demanded that Sieyes might be sent to him, that he might aid him in his constitutional improvements. He thought that these essays of legislation, applied to the republics of Italy, might hereafter be applied to France, when experience had proved their advantages; and as soon as he could manifest his opinion without failing in his duty, he did it openly. Genoa offered him an opportunity in demanding his personal advice for her re-organization. Genoa had not been conquered like the Cisalpine. Mistress to give herself the laws that she preferred, the councils which she asked of Napoléon were a pledge of confidence, which left him entirely at liberty. Thus, without the intervention of the Directory, and notwithstanding the contrary order executed at Milan, Napoléon decided at Genoa the establishment of three magistrates instead five. There arose against him very unjust complaints. The general had given his advice, and obeyed a contrary order; the individual, consulted by a free people, might, and ought to give that counsel which appeared to him to be the best. Napoléon, after the 18th of Brumaire, in speaking to me of the three consuls, and their relative powers, recalled to his memory the laws

he had given at Genoa. "The Directory," said he, "instead of complaining of my conduct, ought to have profited by it: my opinion and my example proved my sincere desire to serve them. It was in vain that I showed them the route that they should have followed. By concentrating; they might have maintained themselves. At that period three magistrates, equal in power, were probably capable of governing well; but now, after all our reverses, that concentration is no longer sufficient: of the three consuls to be established, one alone ought to have the power, or we shall have nothing permanent."

In recalling this anecdote of Brumaire, I do not in the least mean to prejudice a question that we are to discuss hereafter. I cited it here only to show that Napoléon, before his departure, desired the consolidation of the Directory, and that it did not depend upon him that the government did not fortify itself after the example of the Italian republics.

Upon his return to Paris, Napoléon, brought into contact with the executive power of five persons, tossed amidst the factions, and swung from one side to the other, became disgusted. I never knew of the project which several writers have attributed to my brother, of entering the Directory and having a dispensation on ac-

count of age granted to him. It might have been mentioned, but he never attached any importance to it : far from wishing to become a part of the Directory, he thought it his duty to withdraw from it. The East, that country of great renowns, charmed his imagination ; he projected, obtained, and prepared the expedition to Egypt. He wished me to accompany him ; but the elections of the year 1796 approached, and I preferred being a candidate for the deputation. The expedition to Egypt sailed from Toulon.

That mysterious expedition revealed itself by the taking of Malta, while I traversed France to take my seat in the council of five hundred, to which I had been unanimously named. I was struck, during my journey, at the diversity of opinions among public men, upon the departure of Napoléon. Some, already seduced by the news from Malta, were in ecstasies at his departure, and presaged such successes, that should even efface the prodigies of Italy. Others accused the Directory of perfidy. “ The lawyers,” said they, “ wanted to get rid of a hero, who had suffered himself to be duped by them.” But the greatest number appeared to me to disapprove of the absence of the general, and of so fine an army. I strongly partook of that last opinion, which the change in our military affairs soon

rendered universal. But it was to the government, far more than to the general, that those reproaches ought to have been addressed. I will not deny that an immense ambition of glory, the most noble of all egotisms, had not greatly influenced the determination of Napoléon. A victorious career upon the traces of Alexander and Cæsar, must have inspired his soul; that brilliant personal future might even have dazzled him, and overcome the present interest of his country. . . . But he did not leave France without renowned generals; and he took with him only thirty thousand men. It would have been, on his part, too great an excess of vanity, to have supposed that his presence was indispensable for the public security. The political horizon presented at that moment but very feeble presages of a new tempest. England alone was in arms against us . . . . And Egypt was the point where England was the most vulnerable; Egypt, the advanced post of war and commerce towards India, post of watchfulness towards the Bosphorus . . . . A conqueror was very justifiable in shutting his eyes upon every other consideration to spring towards that Egypt, the possession of which, assured to France, promised the abasement, more distant but certain, of London and St. Petersburg. And what

weight should we not, in fact, place in the political balance, if Egypt could have remained ours ; if one of our old marshals was now in the place of the great viceroy ; if the valiant Clauzel, instead of triumphing over the Arabs of Atlas, were encamped with his army upon the banks of the Nile, become one of our rivers ! . . . So great a result could not have been too dearly bought by all our sacrifices, and perhaps even by the disasters of Aboukir.

But that dazzling perspective, so natural, so noble, so heroic for Napoléon, to whom repose was a burthen, completely changed its aspect when taken in a point of view with respect to the government. The duty of the Directory was to devote itself to the certain and coolly calculated present interest of the republic. It was a part of its responsibility to moderate the ardour of our heroes, and to direct, instead of following, them with the enthusiasm of the battle-field, or with the weakness of an uneasy and subdued magistracy. For the chiefs of a republic weakness or enthusiasm are equally criminal : the slumber or intoxication of a pilot places the ship equally in danger. The Directory had studied that great question under every aspect. Several of its members had at first opposed it : they had felt that after the peace of Campo-



Formio, the events at Rome and in Switzerland had offered pretexts sufficiently plausible for the ill-humour of Austria. They thought and said with reason, that the projected expedition would draw upon us a war with Turkey, and that, in giving us a new enemy, we should awaken the ancient; that it secured the English ascendancy at Constantinople. And thus, in raising these perils, it threw far distant from the land of France the first of our generals, and thirty thousand chosen men, and delivered over our marine to perilous chances. All these considerations were developed, and patriotically sustained by the Director *la Reveillère* . . . and as they did not produce any effects, the government was left without excuse. But the assertions of M. de Montgaillard, and of those who followed him, are contrary to the truth, when they attribute the project of the expedition to Egypt to the desire of removing, at any price, the victorious general. Far different is the jealousy and inquietude, which one, subordinate to them, yet so powerful, could excite, from the criminal resolution of depriving the country of thirty thousand warriors, to rid themselves of a rival. On the contrary, they only yielded to Napoléon. The fault of the government was weakness; and that fault was sufficiently weighty for the chiefs

of a republic, without attributing to them an imaginary plot. Since the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, the Directory had gained strength at the expense of that of the legislative body ; but soon that strength began to decay. The expedition to Egypt appeared to have marked the end of its bright days. Scarcely arrived in the chamber of representatives, I assisted only at the fall of the Directory. Here begins my legislative functions ; and I must pass less lightly over acts in which I concurred. I fear that my opinions, my votes, and my discourses may not always be worthy to fix the attention of my readers ; but I must give them, such as they were : I cannot pass them over in silence, since I write the memoirs of my public life.

## CHAPTER V.

THE DIRECTORY TILL THE REVOLUTION OF  
BRUMAIRE.

“What the Jacobins wish, is to govern. Frenchmen, you know how they govern!!!”

SIEYES.

The powers—The allied republics—The armies—The interior.

UPON my entry into the council, I was welcomed with a favour entirely due to the enthusiasm which they felt for Napoléon. Joseph, our eldest brother, admitted since the preceding election, possessed the esteem and friendship of his colleagues. They endeavoured to raise some doubts upon my election; but the assembly, supreme judge, without appeal, pronounced it to be valid. (3)

I passed the first months without taking a decided part in the council ; animated by a sincere republicanism, I thought to keep my individual independence amongst the different parties. Not daring to approach that formidable tribune, however much I might have desired it, I listened attentively, and I prided myself upon voting for them by turns, one after the other, with the directorials, or with the opposition, according as they appeared to me to be right. There were no longer any royalists in the chambers on the 18th Fructidor : they had been so completely overwhelmed, that during eighteen months they had not regained courage. The directorial party appeared to me at that time to be the most reasonable. Why not aid the government, at the moment above all when the nullity of the congress of Rastadt made them fear the renewal of hostilities ? The establishment of our armies, by the departure of Napoléon, was another motive for us not to weaken ourselves still more by discord. The majority of the legislators saw how much union was necessary, and, though they condemned the conduct of the executive power, they lent it their assistance. The opposition was composed of the Jacobin party and of the personal enemies of the directors. These last called themselves the only constitutionalists, with as

little reason as the Jacobins called themselves patriots. Before we enter further upon this subject, we will declare that this name of Jacobins, which was given to the most violent portion of the opposition, no longer signified, as it had done formerly, men of disorder and blood. The illustrious General Jourdan was among the number; and all idea of crime must be effaced, when we speak of the Jacobins of that epoch. They abhorred the scaffold of 1793 as much as we did. But they were always faithful to the conventional doctrines: they reproached the government for not having sufficiently profited by the victory of Fructidor; they saw no remedy for all the evils, but in the omnipotence of their party, and in the usual measures of the propagande, the conscription, forced loans, political clubs, and terror. The *soi-disant* constitutionalists found, on the contrary, the directorial system sufficient, and condemned only the directors, of whom they thought they had reason to complain, either right or wrong: a change of persons appeared to them a remedy for their present situation; and amongst them was pronounced, with regret, the name of Sieyes, whose embassy to Berlin was considered as an honourable exile. That illustrious name, as M. Thiers very justly observes, was at that time the second in the republic.

That historian is less accurate, when, in speaking of me, he says, "Lucien had ranged himself in the constitutional opposition,—not that he had any subject of personal discontent, but he imitated his brother, and assumed the part of censor of the government. It was the attitude best suited for a family desirous of forming a party of their own." That conjecture is an error. Not only I had no reason to complain of the Directory; but the connexion of my brothers with Barras, to whom I owed my deliverance from the prisons of Aix, had drawn me to the Luxembourg, where I was very well received. I had every reason to praise Barras, Rewbel, La Reveillère, Merlin, and Treilhard. I did not, therefore, seek to set myself up as censor. I did not enter into any systematic opposition. My first votes were most frequently favourable to the government; and no personal consideration influenced my conduct.

But, in a few months after my admission to the council, it was no longer possible to support the Directory. Not only fortune was adverse to it, but its inconsistency, its weakness, its incapacity, no longer admitted of excuse. The indulgence with which M. Thiers judges the directors, may be applied to their intentions, but not in any way to their conduct. After having deprived

themselves of their greatest strength, they provoked, by their mad audacity, the war which at least they ought to have retarded until our preparations were completed. They had united Geneva and Mulhausen to France. They had a second time revolutionized Holland. They troubled Switzerland, for fear, without doubt, of keeping a single ally for France. In one word, the unfortunate government appeared struck with a vertigo. To complete their imprudence, they endeavoured to disorganize the Cisalpine republic, the principal work of Napoléon in Italy. It was then only that my brother Joseph and myself declared for the opposition, being persuaded that the executive power, composed as it was at that time, left no hope to the republic.

It was in the beginning of Fructidor, three months after my entering into the legislative body, that I, for the first time, attacked the government upon the subject of the Cisalpine republic. During those first three months, I had only appeared at the tribune to combat the forced observance of the decades, (4); to disapprove of the re-enactment of the tax upon salt, (5); and to make two reports: the first relative to the pensions due to the widows and children of the defenders of the country, (6), and the second upon the dilapidations. (7). In this

last report only, can be found the tone of an opposition, which was beginning to become violent. Without stopping at these objects of little importance, it will be sufficient to insert in the notes the discourses which refer to them. But I do not think that in future I ought to content myself with so rapid an analysis as that which I have hitherto employed. It may have sufficed for that which I did not see myself; but with respect to the affairs in which I have taken a part, I shall prefer giving a monthly summary of my proceedings, to which I will add my observations. I was elected secretary of the council.



## MONTH OF FRUCTIDOR, YEAR 6.

*From the 18th of August to the 17th of September 1798.*

Complaints of Switzerland and Italy—My motion of order for the Cisalpine republic—Reflections upon that motion—A constitution, once violated, no longer exists in principle—Political oaths—False application of the word “aristocrat.”

**THE POWERS.**—The treaty of Campo-Formio had stipulated that there should not be any changes made in Italy, but with the general consent. Had we faithfully kept to that condition? . . . Since that treaty we had entered Turin, of which we occupied the fortress. The king, our ally, had retired to Sardinia; he had only the shadow of authority left to him upon the continent. Our republican principles had raised the whole of Piedmont: if we had not excited them, we had at least profited by them, without the concurrence of Austria. That power

had, therefore, just cause of complaint. At all times the invasion of a kingdom is a legitimate motive for the renewal of a war. If history is not impartial, it is no longer anything but a source of errors. We certainly were not to oppose a neighbouring people, imitating our example; but the introduction of our troops into their fortresses was committing a decided act of hostility against Austria; and it was with an ill grace that we afterwards complained of the obstacle thrown in the way of the negociations of Rastadt. Neither did the taking possession of Mulhausen and of Geneva afford any proofs in favour of our moderation. The Directory had recently united them to France! As for the Roman government, it could not justify its culpable indolence in the fanatical insurrection which cost the life of the brave General Duphot, and in which the life of the intrepid ambassador (Joseph Bonaparte) had been menaced, and his residence basely violated. We were justly entitled to signal vengeance. . . . But was there absolutely no other reparation possible than the overthrow of the temporal authority of the Pope? That temporal authority is useful, necessary, indispensable for the independent exercise of the spiritual authority of the see of Rome over all the Catholics in the universe. The immense

majority of the French people professing the Roman Catholic religion, could not fail lamenting, from the bottom of their hearts, the desolation of the Holy See : still greater reason had Austria to resent, as a catholic and neighbouring power, the new infraction of the treaty of Campo-Formio. The kingdom of Naples had never dissembled its hatred against France ; but the establishment of the Roman republic furnished it with a plausible pretext. Thus Naples and Austria were provoked by the changes that had been made in Italy.

Russia discontented, menaced ; Paul I. had taken the order of Malta under his protection ; and we did nothing to retard or ward off the attacks of this new enemy. The Directory kept the citizen Talleyrand at Paris, instead of sending him to Constantinople, according to the promise made to my brother. If the mission of that skilful diplomatist had only succeeded in retarding for some weeks the hostilities of the Porte, the result would have been important ; but directly upon the departure of the fleet, the Directory had forgotten its promise.

England was fully sensible of all the evils that the French expedition might cause. The newspapers were filled with alarming conjectures. Was it towards Egypt or towards India that our

army was directed? In all cases it menaced the British interest with the greatest dangers. About the same time fifteen hundred of our brave fellows, under General Humbert, had landed in Ireland, where the discontented population hastened to join our standard. What motives for our great enemies to redouble their efforts, and to endeavour to renew a coalition with the kings of the continent! To attack us, was to defend itself. Nothing, therefore, was neglected: every day they approached towards their object at Petersburg and Vienna.

Berlin alone still resisted. The illustrious Sièyes had accepted that embassy, where his influence fortunately balanced the solicitations of the Count de Cobentzell, and the Prince Repuin. Sièyes absented himself willingly from Paris: he had never approved of the constitution of the year 3, which appeared to him to be insufficient: his foresight had preceded, by two years, the opinion of everybody. He had refused to enter the Directory; and almost universal regrets had followed him to Berlin, the only capital in which, since his presence there, our Directory had triumphed.

Such was the state of the powers. If the strange politics of our government did nothing to quiet our enemies, it had in requital turned

with impetuosity against our own allies. A rage for directorial propagandism had taken possession of our chiefs : they wanted to reduce everything to their own resemblance ; their commissaries, their acts of authority, their ambassadors carried trouble into the neighbouring republics, which, scarcely born, were certainly not in want of those interior convulsions.

**THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.**—The nearest to us, the Helvetic republic, was so much exasperated, that her minister plenipotentiary, Zeltner, addressed to the Directory the following note,—a document remarkable for its bitter censure, very slightly covered with diplomatic compliments. That note, an act of real accusation against the French Directory, after having enumerated the injuries of Switzerland, ended thus :

“ The consequences are much to be dreaded of a conduct so revolting towards a people who never suffer themselves to be diverted by pleasures, nor intimidated by force, and who are only to be gained by kindness. It is very impolitic, instead of endeavouring to become better acquainted with the character of these people, maintaining towards them the same conduct as if they possessed the happy lightness with which the French adopt novelties, or the apathy of the Batavians, or the docile pliability of the

**Italians.** These irritable and courageous people are zealously attached to their religion, their pure democracy, and ancient morals. Whatever bears the stamp of infidelity or oppression, fills them with bitterness and indignation. When there is no longer anything to be lost, when animated by despair, they become capable of every excess, and Helvetia may become the theatre of scenes more horrible than those of La Vendée.

“ The undersigned shudders whilst holding this language ; but it is that which it is his duty to hold. Not to make known to the French Directory the whole undisguised truth would be a crime.

“ Already have the Grisons retreated from us, at the news of the deplorable state in which Switzerland finds itself. They prefer the yoke which once inspired them only with horror. The fetters of the Tyrol are forged anew. Suabia, ready to embrace a system of liberty, repels it far from her. Those who not long since had sworn to propagate, now swear to oppose it with all their strength ; and the neighbours of Helvetia reject with affright fruits which to them appear to be poisoned.

“ The real republicans of Helvetia will be the first victims of so great a disorder. The towns,

the only supporters, the only asylums, of the new order of things, will be delivered over to the fury of the country people, who accuse them of being the cause of their misfortunes, in giving the first impulse to the revolution. It is upon them that will fall the first excesses of their blind rage; all Europe resounds with these fatal prognostics.

“The English think they have escaped from the anger of the great nation, because she permits useful neighbours to destroy one another, and precious advantages to pass into the hands of her enemies; for the localities, history, everything, proves the importance of such a neighbourhood; everything excites the enemies of the French nation to attach themselves to a brave and estimable people, who now inspire, and must for ever inspire, an universal interest.

“Citizens, Directors, you who decide, with as much felicity as glory, the fate of nations, calm, while there is yet time,—calm the fermentation of the Swiss people: you have the power. The memory of the past, present sufferings, all concur to agitate them. Let, then, your wisdom obviate the extreme misfortunes which may become inevitable. Fulfil the wishes of the Helvetican people, in the name of humanity, of liberty, and equality, presented to you by their

organ, the undersigned. Thenceforth the remembrance of your bounties will constantly be as dear to them, as they will glory in forming a strict, indissoluble alliance with the first people upon the earth.

“ To that effect the minister plenipotentiary of the Helvetian republic demands :—

“ 1. That the funds of all descriptions that have been sequestrated, or that have been carried away from the Helvetian nation, shall be remitted to the new government, in order that it may be in a state to meet the expenses of the revolution ; and to organise an armed force, that will render the Helvetian republic worthy of an alliance with the French republic ; to pay for objects of pecuniary necessity which France can furnish to Switzerland, such as grain, salt, &c.

“ 2. That divers parts of Helvetia, charged with contributions, shall be exempted.

“ 3. That the artillery, the arms, the magazines, and, in general, all the effects taken from the Helvetian nation, shall be returned into the hands of the constitutional government.

“ 4. That the number of French troops in Switzerland, the cavalry above all, shall be reduced to what is absolutely necessary, and that those troops shall go away entirely as soon as possible.



“ 5. That the constitutional government of the Helvetian republic shall be favoured, by every possible means, in the exercise of her authority, and for that end it must be ordained :—

“ That the agents of the French republic in Helvetia shall come to an understanding with the Directory of that power, upon all the objects which it concerns, acting only in its name with its consent, and in observing all the respect which is due to it..

“ That the French troops, which remain in Helvetia, shall be only auxiliary troops ; that far from being any impediment in the acts of the government, they shall assist it, and lend it their support in case of necessity, every time they shall be required to do so.

“ That the advantages accorded to the canton of Berne, relative to the maintenance of the troops, shall be extended throughout Helvetia.

(Signed) “ ZELTNER.”

This bold claim of the Helvetian minister was not without some success : mutual concessions were made about the end of the month ; a treaty of alliance and a treaty of commerce were signed ; but the substantial complaints were not silenced. The French agents continued to tyrannise over and to despoil Switzerland, who on

her side supported with impatience the yoke of her pretended liberators.

Holland was not recovered from her interior revolution, that the General Daendels had effected in the preceding month of June, thanks to the aid of the French general Joubert. The Batavian Directory had been attacked and dissolved by the French influence. The directors, and a part of its deputies, had been rendered destitute. That Batavian revolution had this peculiarity, that the ambassador and the general of our troops acted in opposition to each other. Our allies were not edified by such a disunion, which might have prolonged the struggle : but the party of Daendels and Joubert having obtained the ascendancy, the ambassador, Charles Lacroix, returned to Paris, where his complaints were in vain ; they served only to lessen the consideration of the French Directory in the eyes of the opposition. Holland, after that epoch, beheld the parties more exulting than ever : some bore upon their cockades, as a rallying sign, the inscription, “ *22nd January, 1798 ;*” and others the words, “ *Disarmed of the 23rd of June.*” The disorders in Holland could not reasonably be wholly attributed to the French government, but it had contributed to them by its violence and unskilfulness ; and,

thanks to that state of discord, the Batavian republic was a greater expense than benefit to us.

Genoa had also had her directorial crisis; there, as in Holland, it was the power of France which decided the victory between the two parties; but on this occasion our minister and our general entirely agreed in opinion. The citizen Belleville sent for to his house, without further formalities, a part of the Genoese legislative body, and made them sign, in his office, the dismissal of all the Genoese representatives of the people, who from that day became the enemies of France.

The republic of the Capitol existed but in name. The entire authority was exercised by a French commission. The consuls of the Roman people had scarcely any other functions than to superintend the packing up for France the *chefs d'œuvre* of the arts and sciences, to press the payment of the enormous tribute imposed upon the patrician families, to the amount of nine or ten millions, and to repeat, with the ridiculous style of sovereignty, the French edicts, which drove from the capital of catholicism and the arts, the foreigners who had taken refuge, as in a port open to all in adversity. Rome, deprived of her pontiff, left by her foreign ad-

mirers, was, by her own consuls, aiding to despoil herself of her treasures of every sort. Was it possible that Rome could entertain any sincere wishes for France ?

The most powerful of the allied republics, the Cisalpine republic, will that at least be spared by the directorial propagande ? Will that escape our commissaries, prodigal of their despotic counsels, constitutional levellers, *popilius-professors*, who trace with the point of their sword the legislative lessons, by inclosing the people in a fatal circle ? . . . Very far from forgetting Lombardy, it was there that the wisdom of the Directors, finding all of a sudden that what they had done with Napoléon was detestable, endeavoured to defeat it. It seemed as if they felt happy in being able at last to command in that Lombardy which had remained closed against their caprices so long as the reins were held by a firm and skilful hand. They usurped the constituent power, and confided the exercise of it to their ambassador Trouvé : Trouvé went to *correct Napoléon !*

Scarcely had the diplomatic reformer given notice of his constituent mission, ere a profound agitation manifested itself. Numerous pamphlets revealed the public opinion. "It is a triumvirate," said they in those pamphlets—"a tri-

umvirate, citizen ambassador, that you are preparing for us. After having reduced the members of the Cisalpine directory to three, you will, upon the pretext of economy, suppress the half of our legislative body. Ah, let us double the expense, if it is necessary ; but let us preserve that liberty which was given to us by a hero. You want to enfeeble our legislative body, to subject it to your triumvirate ! No, never ; our constitution is our wealth : we will defend it. When we want to reform it, it will be for the Cisalpine people to do it, and not a foreign ambassador. We shall know, citizens, soldiers, legislators, and magistrates,—we shall all know how to defend our independence.”

The Milanese government, no longer able to doubt the projects of the minister Trouvé, sent directly the general Lahoz to Paris as ambassador extraordinary. That general demanded to be presented to the Directory. He wrote as follows to the minister of foreign affairs :—“ My mission is urgent ; the question is to baffle an odious conspiracy against the Cisalpine constitution, and to know the opinion of the French government upon a handful of factious men who assemble at the ambassador Trouvé’s, and who take upon themselves the right of making innovations amongst us which we do not desire.”

The general Lahoz requested the intervention of the two brothers of the founder of the Milanese republic : we undertook willingly, but in vain, to interest ourselves in his favour. We saw all the Directors : we spoke of the painful impression that a change in the Italian constitution would cause to Napoléon. One of the Directors (Barras) silenced us upon that point by replying, " As for your brother, if we had followed his advice the dispositions that we are about to take would have made a part of the first organization. Have you forgotten that the general insisted for a long time that there should be only three directors at Milan, and that he only established five in consequence of our positive orders, and much against his will ? Well ! we will return to his first advice : no one has less to complain of than he has." That recrimination was not very easy to repel, without dwelling on the fact that the present moment was unfavourable for reforms rejected by the Italians, and the inconvenience of the despotic mode employed to effect those reforms. Their value in themselves was conformable with what Napoléon had done at Genoa, and what he wanted to do at Milan. The reply of Barras was therefore conclusive with regard to Napoléon ; and only offended me still more. I replied, therefore, with warmth :

“ If you think they can overturn the Directory at Milan, why may they not overturn the Directory at Paris ?”—and after that menace I left the Luxembourg : it was the last time I saw Barras. The complaints of our allies had resounded in the councils : those of Italy, above all, had raised sympathies which menaced the Directory. Far from seeking to appease them, they endeavoured to brave them : they had refused to hear the demands of the general Lahoz : not only they would not grant him an audience, but they sent him an order to quit Paris. The general, informed that I intended occupying the council with his mission and his dismissal, suspended his departure for twenty-four hours. As soon as the sitting was over, I demanded a hearing for a motion of order, and pronounced the following discourse.

“ Representatives of the people, depositaries of the constitution of the year 3, it is to you that I address myself. Fame has proclaimed that innovations are intended in the constitution of an allied republic who rejects them in vain. From the shores of the Eridan to the banks of the Seine, the friends of liberty are in alarm. A longer silence on our part would redouble their inquietudes, and dishonour us. I am come, then, to call your attention to those innovations,

proposed by men who cannot have for that purpose either mission or legal character. I am come to point them out to you. If these are precocious truths, dangerous to publish, there are also bold truths, that we cannot permit ourselves to conceal, without forfeiting our duty as public men.

“ It is sufficient sometimes to disclose a project to disconcert its authors. This, I trust, will be the case with men who have taken upon themselves the task of reforming the laws of the Cisalpine people. Those laws are ours. The constitution of Milan is the French constitution of the year 3. . . . It is the deposit that the French people have confided to you, to the Directory, to the administrators, to the magistrates, to the army, and to the courage of every Frenchman. Here reposes our social guarantee. If we swerve from that path, I no longer behold a firm ground on which we can fix the basis of our republican institutions. I see only a land of fire and despotism, or the quicksands of civil war.

“ How rash are those, who, in their scientific pride, without paying attention to the lessons of experience, dare call making perfect the violent triumph of their system over our constitutional system! Is the moment then arrived when



France, and the republics, the offspring of her victories, must leave the tutelary asylum they had entered after so many blood-stained storms? . . . . How then! We have had scarcely time to breathe, our laws are yet in their infancy! A neighbouring state has just adopted them; and already we dream of changes for our allies, who refuse them! Treaties have been signed with the Cisalpine: they have been guaranteed by you, and you have suffered them to be violated, without blushing, before your eyes, without your concurrence! To-day an ambassador salutes the independence of a republic, and he dares to-morrow to conspire against it! . . . And French bayonets are raised to support these plots! Notwithstanding the numerous communications that have reached us, I would not give credit to projects so devoid of sense; but the cries of the Cisalpine people have been heard. The spectres of aristocracy and discord are awakened before us, and already they raise their hands, eager for vengeance, over the cradle of the Italian republics, daughters of our victories!

“ Perhaps it is only an illusion. At the same time, if the government dissipates our alarms, we shall have to congratulate ourselves upon having expressed them. If a culpable project ex-

ists, we must attack it, we must repress it with a firm hand. Let us not forget that an attempt made against the Cisalpine republic might become an essay upon ours.. But before such an attempt shall be made upon our social compact, they must resolve to pass over the bodies of more than one representative of the people. This compact does not arrogate to any authority the exclusive right of modifying it. The reform of its errors is subject to constitutional rules. The council of ancients can, at Milan as at Paris, demand a revision; but it must never be the result of foreign manœuvres.

“ A French minister resides at Milan with the executive power of that republic, which Austria has so reluctantly recognised. What right has that minister of peace to attempt reforming a power to which he is accredited? If diplomatic agents permit themselves to overturn republics, of which the treaties of peace have consecrated the independence,—if those treaties, guaranteed by the French people, and paid for by the purest of its blood, are not respected by the Directory, where then will be the limits of the directorial authority? That authority cannot become tyrannic with our allies, but in becoming despotic at home. Let, then, a thousand times resound beneath these roofs, the words of the

address that you have received :—‘ *If five or six persons are sufficient at Milan to overturn a constitution, it will only require at Paris a rather larger number of audacious innovators !*’ Let us, at the same time, see in what consist these so much vaunted innovations which it is wished to impose by force upon Italy.

“ Much is said of economy ! . . . . Without doubt a stop will be put to the course of dilapidation. The contracts will in future be made public ; a system of finance, discussed and completed by the deputies of the Cisalpine people, is about to be established. Before this system of order, the fiscal ordinances of our generals and commissaries, which are the source of so many complaints and struggles, will fail. . . . No, representatives of the people, there is no question of those sort of measures. The economies that have been contemplated are confined to the suppression of two out of the five directors, and a portion of the legislative body. . . . Certainly, to find so powerful a resource, there was no necessity to resort to the profound combinations of a commission of finances.

“ In support of that diminution of the expenses, they adjourn the legislative body for eight months in the year. They give to the executive power the initiation of the laws, and

that is what they call improvement. Citizens, it was by such improvement, that in days of yore the triumvirs arose. At home they wanted to concentrate the power. . . . And the proscribers soon divided the spoils and the blood of the Romans. . . . And the great republic, to escape from the triumvirs, was reduced to resign itself to the yoke of Cæsar. . . . History reproduces incessantly events under different forms.

“Cromwell, like the triumvirs, wanted also to concentrate, to simplify, and to perfect the parliamentary government; and as there is nothing less eccentric, more simple, and less complicated, than the absolute power of one single man, Cromwell secured the whole power to himself. But Cromwell was English; he did not impose his yoke in the name of a foreign power. Before he employed force against the Parliament, he waited patiently till that assembly had lost its popularity by its errors: he introduced his agents into it, excited them to act in direct opposition to public opinion, and reduced it to so great a degree of ignominy, than when it endeavoured to assume a parliamentary attitude the time was past. Cromwell entered the House of Commons: he commanded his soldiers to overturn this puppet of national representation. His soldiers obeyed. . . . And English liberty

expired, because its parliament knew not how to preserve public opinion ; and that one daring man knew how to appropriate to himself the forsaken inheritance. And we are silent to-day ! We permit our armies to be employed in oppressing the people that are our allies. . . . Have we, then, too many friends in Europe ?

“ But have you well reflected upon the danger of calling the arm, and the attention of the army, upon these pretended improvements imposed upon the people against their will ? Have you already forgotten that when the republic is menaced, the French army knows how to deliberate ? No, the representative system does not want defenders. If unfortunate and difficult circumstances have changed the inviolability of the system, that change was necessary for the preservation of the republic : it must not discourage us ; it proves that, to save the country, there is no sacrifice impossible for the representatives of the people, even that of their lives. It proves that, if civil war is a dreadful misfortune, the counter-revolution is the worst of all evils. Proclaim, then, that the constitution of the year 3 has never ceased to be the supreme will of the people ; that its revision cannot be obtained, at Milan as at Paris, but by constitutional means ; and that to affect even

to prepare for it, by other means, is an outrage, and that you are determined to stop, in its impure course, the torrent of innovations with which we are threatened. The Cisalpine alone can modify their constitution in their primary assemblies. No power upon earth can usurp the right of national sovereignty.

“ I demand, citizen-representatives, that a message shall be addressed to the Directory, to obtain from them, with the shortest possible delay, informations upon the reports which are spread of a movement in the Cisalpine, and of an innovation, of which the French ambassador is accused. These informations will calm our fears, or at least they will provoke an explanation that is become indispensable for our honour, our independence, and our security.”

This harangue, delivered with some degree of impetuosity, was received with excessive applause; the impression of six copies was demanded, and everything announced a success likely to have gone far in influencing the Directory. The principal orators devoted to the government, astonished at first at so unexpected an attack, recovered from their surprise, but not daring to face the discussion, they preferred letting the effects evaporate which I had produced. They resorted to adroit tactics, and

demanded the general committee, to which they had a right, when any diplomatic question was agitated. As I had not come to an understanding with any party, I was not supported with sufficient firmness, and a general committee was granted.

While they evacuated the tribunes, the ministerialists ascertained that there was no party linked, either with the Jacobins, or with the constitutionals, and they regained courage. Their disciplined phalanxes made a terrible outcry against my proposition; and I was left alone in the breach, to punish me, without doubt, for not having combined my attack with my colleagues; and, notwithstanding my resistance, I was repulsed by the order of the day. The General Lahoz, who was waiting outside the chamber of assembly, departed immediately, furious at the indifference of the council to the complaints of the Cisalpine government.

May I now be permitted to judge myself, my discourse, and my conduct? The confession of a public man of past times, may sometimes serve for us to understand better the public men of the present day.

The constitution of the year 3! Did I idolize it to such a point that I looked upon it as our palladium? No, certainly not. After

the conventional tempests, in which, like many others, I had placed great faith : I liked all in that charter which appeared to offer a guarantee against the return of the Reign of Terror. I compared it then with advantage to the charter of 1791 ; but experience had cooled my ardour. When I arrived at the legislative body, I soon thought like the rest of the members of the council of ancients, and the half of those of five hundred : we saw that the charter had been violated in Fructidor, by the proscription of two directors and a part of the legislative body. It had also been violated in Floréal, by decimating the national representation. We cannot conceal that a charter violated is a charter destroyed. We felt that the state of affairs, produced by those two violations, was but a lawless act, because it had never been rendered legitimate by the voting of the people. That voting not having taken place, either after Fructidor, or after Floréal, there no longer existed any legal form. We therefore no longer understood by the constitution, anything but the principles of the sovereignty of the people, of its representation, divided into two chambers of a collective and representative government. We were sincere in those principles, but we had no longer any faith in the remainder, because we no longer



believe in that which has ceased to exist. A defeated organization will not revive. The principle alone, the soul, can survive the collective or individual body, when struck by dissolution. If that dissolution happens from consumption or by violence, the principle will reanimate another body more or less resembling the body that is no more, but it cannot give life to that which has become the prey of time, to that greedy, inflexible, insatiable power, that never lets go its hold of that which it has seized.

Experience had confirmed the foresight of Sièyes, who, in the year 3, had given a proof of his conviction in refusing to enter the Directory. After our reverses, the parties no longer mutually imposed upon one another in speaking of the constitution of the year 3. The Jacobins understood by that, the republic and an executive power, subject to the omnipotence of a national assembly, alone capable, in their opinion, of impeding the counter-revolution. The constitutionalists, on the contrary, preserved their political faith in the principles of a division into two chambers, and a government strong and free within its legal limits. Again, these two principles, to which the word constitution of the year 3 was reduced, did not shine in our eyes

with a pure and clear light. For my part, the division into two chambers appeared to me then, as it does now, our ark of salvation. But do those chambers effectively represent the sovereign? With the electoral cens,\* and the eligible cens, does there exist only one species of men in France? Was there a sincere representation, when the greatest part of the French people had not even the right of voting in their communes? It was natural, then, to desire a more perfect representation. As for the executive power, provided it was elective and temporary, I was not particularly desirous for the number of five directors. The preference which Napoléon had given at Genoa to three magistrates instead of five, combated in my mind against the old idea of the triumvirs. My opinion in that respect, therefore, floated undecided.

In that situation of mind, why was I so much disgusted with the innovations which the French government imposed? The division into two chambers was preserved. The Directory remained elective and temporary. They adopted the number of three, which the founder of Cisal-

\* The word here used expresses the tax paid to give the right of election, or the right of being elected: a larger sum qualifying for the one, and a lesser sum for the former.

pine had at first repulsed. There was nothing in that to create alarm either for Milan or for Paris. What sentiment, then, prompted me to enter into the most implacable opposition? My vanity had been flattered by the mission of General Lahoz to me, in the name of the Cisalpine people. My vanity had been wounded at the little value the Directors had set upon my intervention. This sentiment of self-love, doubly excited in a contrary direction, had more influence over my conduct than if I had acted from conviction.

THE POLITICAL OATH! . . . . . In urging the council of five hundred to renew the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the year 3, was I sincere? Most undoubtedly. But that constitution consisted at that time only of two chambers, and in an elective Directory. I combated the reduction of the Directors, *because the government supported it*. The spirit of opposition alone decided my incertitude. In proposing the oath, I raised a barrier against the government. This oath expressed only the determination to combat the reduction of five to three; and it was a serious fault on my part applying that formula to defeat an object that was unworthy of it. It was profaning that which was sacred. All the parties, every individual in France, committed, and still commit, the same fault; but it should

be imputed only to the legislature : for the oath should only be applied to the principle, and not to a form, any more than to a man. And, as regards political conscience, there are but two principles — the divine right, (which, in its last analysis, is, perhaps, reduced to theocracy,) and the popular right, which depends upon the suffrages of men. These two principles, which are divided in the world, are alone worthy of an oath ; and it is to one or the other of these three principles that all political oaths do, and must, in reality, have reference. It is absurd, in fact, to invoke heaven to maintain a form of administration of government ; for a principle admits of a thousand forms. It is absurd to make oath to a man, for that man, however absolute he may be, (president, consul, king, or emperor,) commands under certain conditions, the violation of which justly causes his downfall. When a government fails in the performance of its own obligations, the governed no longer owe it any duty. The oath of fidelity made to a man is then only nonsense, since the oath to the charter might exact the violation of the oath to the prince. There is, then, a manifest contradiction between the oath to the social compact, and the oath to the magistrate, that your first oath might force you to abjure. The moral inviolability of a magistrate can never be absolute, which his-

tory has proved ; and he cannot alter the evidence of the real contradiction between the two oaths, except in the question of the Arragonese oath : “ *If not, no.* ”—It is not more reasonable to swear fidelity to an assembly, which is only a collective magistrate. That assembly, if it was even invested with the constituent power, has for its limits the mandate of its constituents. Thus the oath which was nominally taken to that assembly, was only taken, in effect, to the elective principle, and to the sovereignty of the people.

It is quite natural that forms should change : they depend upon a thousand circumstances. Principles alone should remain unalterable ; and they alone merit the oath of fidelity. The powers which the sovereign can change, have only the right of a promise of obedience, which ceases to exist as soon as the magisterial power is revoked. Thus, the only persons who have forfeited their political faith, are those who have changed their principles. It is the faithful, brought up in the adoration of kings, almost as much as in the fear of God, and who from fickleness, from discontent, or from ambition, pass over to the popular camp ; or popular men, who pass over from the camp to the divine right. I do not mean to say that one may not change a principle with good faith ; but, to be free from reproach, they should

consent to make a solemn abjuration, the same as when they change a religion. I only mean, that, notwithstanding the thousand oaths that have been taken to so many different charters within these fifty years, we must infinitely reduce the number of the guilty: the past generation was as good as the present. The fault of this sacrilegious play with oaths, does not belong to individuals, but to the legislative nonsense of lavishing oaths on forms of government, instead of restricting them to two principles. That error is not yet destroyed: and as long as it exists, there will be nearly as many nominal perjuries as there are public men who survive several social organizations. Let us hope that a good law may put an end to this scandal!

I return to the subject of the oath which I urged against the innovations of the Cisalpine. It was only justifiable under the consideration of the violation of the sovereignty of the Italian people. Beyond that, as the orators of the Directory observed, the diplomatic question was alone to be considered; and even in admitting that, the intervention of the French government was violent. The question should have been argued privately and in a secret committee. The noise made upon the subject only increased the evil, by encouraging the party, unfortunately

too numerous, that had arisen in Italy against our ambassador. In fact, although the Directory were in the wrong to have chosen so ill-judged a moment for their innovations, I was yet more in error with my violent accusation ; and the council acted wisely in passing to the order of the day.

*The spectres of discord and aristocracy* figured in my discourse. In speaking of discord, I expressed a very clear idea ; and unfortunately I spoke only a melancholy truth. But what did I then mean by aristocracy ? It was not the aristocracy of the peerage ; for the Directory did not think of again raising at Milan that privileged caste. The question was only a reduction amongst the functionaries. It was to that reduction, then, that I gave the terrible epithet of an aristocratical measure. The measure was, notwithstanding, ill chosen : it tended only to strengthen the cradle of the Italian republic, and not to deliver it up into the hands of the enemies of the aristocracy. My figure of rhetoric was then but an imaginary spectre : notwithstanding, it had more effect than solid reasoning. Strange power of certain words in revolutions ! Magic power, sometimes beneficial, too often fatal ! No word had a greater influence amongst us than that of aristocrat. The anathe-

ma against aristocracy, born in 1789, has not yet grown old in 1836! It is always the same word; but to what different ideas, and often the most opposite, has it not been applied! . . . . In 1789, it indicated the defenders of the abuses of the ancient *régime*, the blind partizans of the reunion of all the powers in one single hand. And since that, they have transferred it in turn to the wisest defenders of the liberty of the new *régime*, and to the enlightened partizans of the division and equilibrium of powers. The ministers of Louis XVI, Necker, Malesherbes, Roland; Bailly, Lafayette, the Feuillants, the Girondins, the Moderates,—in one word, all those who were overthrown, received in turn that cruel epithet, the preface to the scaffold. We had passed those deplorable crises; but the word, though it had ceased to be mortal, had not ceased to be equally odious. It would have been very unwise not to let fly that arrow at one's adversaries. I did like the rest: all who were meant to be held up to public hatred were branded with that appellation. We bore some resemblance to the good people of lower Brittany, who were so much occupied with the idea of the Gabelle, that they beheld it everywhere, even in the clock which Madame de Sevigné received from Paris! We must, however, (except we prefer an absolute to



a modified monarchy,) end by reconciling ourselves with the Gabelle!

3. THE ARMIES.—Our armies were not contented with the improvidence of the government. They wanted Generals like Brune, Macdonald, Championnet, and Joubert, to repair the faults of the ministers. They would have accomplished it, if they had arrogated to themselves, as Napoléon had always done, the supreme direction of the military administration. They attempted it; and Championnet caused even some civil commissaries to be arrested that opposed him. But that which had succeeded with Napoléon, did not succeed with others: they were obliged to yield to the agents of the ministers. They sent them from Paris even the orders for the placing of their divisions. They were obliged to divide, when they wished to concentrate them. The ministry, equally imperious and incapable as the Aulic council of Vienna, knew not how to do right, and prevented the chiefs of the army from doing what they ought to have done. It was thus that they prepared for a new campaign!

In the meantime, fifteen hundred Frenchmen, conducted by General Humbert, had landed in Ireland. England, in alarm, dispatched twenty thousand men against that hand-

ful of brave soldiers. The disaffected Irish joined our standard very slowly. The news of the descent upon Ireland was hailed by all the parties with enthusiasm.

This triumph, which was destined to be short, was completed at the end of the month by the official announcement of the landing of Napoléon in Egypt. The taking of Alexandria had raised the public confidence, and the council declared that the army of Egypt had merited the praises of the country. The glory of Napoléon reflected sufficiently upon his brothers, to make me easily forget my legislative defeat of the Cisalpine. That glory was like the shield of the mighty Ajax, beneath whose shelter the archers had rallied. . . . That shield high as a tower !

4. THE INTERIOR.—The innovations of the Cisalpine had very much increased the agitation in the minds of the legislative body. I ranged myself, after that discussion, in the constitutional opposition, which had for its object a personal attack against the Directors, at the same time that it defended the institution. We did not refuse our concurrence in the measures that were indispensable for the public service ; but the most bitter censures paid the price of what we granted. We con-

sented to the famous law of the conscription, of which the conqueror of Fleurus was the revivor ; a holy law, when confined to a defensive war ; its limits are the frontiers of the state ; but a law to be dreaded when applied to a war of offence, because, by increasing indefinitely the number of the respective armies, it might have brought us to a state little better than that of barbarians. In these difficult circumstances, everything that the Directory demanded was granted them by the opposition, except the tax upon salt, which was rejected, notwithstanding the importunities of the reporters of the commission of finances. I took an active part in this rejection. A tax which affects those who possess nothing, has ever appeared odious to me, and contrary to the ends of all good governments. Let us re-establish, as far as we can, an equilibrium in the difference of fortunes ; diminish, as far we can, the distance between the rich and poor. It was in vain to enlarge on all the fine doctrines of the superiority of indirect taxation. Those taxes reaching him, who, having nothing, owes nothing to the state, are unjust ; and, when they touch objects which are of primary necessity, such as salt, they are infamous. We admired the economical dissertations, but we rejected the tax upon salt.

A law, which is under discussion, even at this time, —the law upon the periodical press,—traced a more decided line of demarcation between the parties: Berlier was the reporter. I made a part of the commission with our president, Daunou, Cabanis, the friend of Mirabeau, Genissieux, and Andrieux. After the 18th Fructidor, a law had placed the newspapers, for one year, under the inspection of the police. The end of it was almost arrived. We proposed a penal law founded upon the judgment by the jury of the public offences of the press; and, upon the promulgation of that law, the preventive action of the directorial police was to cease: till then all the members of the commission were agreed; but ought there to have been a fixed period assigned for the promulgation of our law? The majority of the commission, formed by Daunou, Berlier, Genissieux, and myself, decided for the affirmative. We were impatient to deprive the police of its dictatorship: we inserted in the article 2, that the dictatorship would cease at the end of three months, a time fixed in which the council engaged to terminate the penal law. The discussion was strong: our colleagues, Cabanis and Andrieux, declared they had not voted article 2, and demanded the suppression.

The directorials wanted to postpone for one year the dictatorship of the police : they caused our article to be rejected, and triumphed again over the opposition. But our penal law assigned to the jury the judgment of all the public offences of the periodical press ! . . . . . Thirty-eight years have passed since that sitting. . . . . What progress have we made in the constitutional guarantces ? Has France marched forward since that time ?

## MONTH OF VINDEMAIRE, YEAR 7.

*From the 22nd of September to the 22nd of October 1798.*

Dangers of systematical opposition—*Manet altâ mente re-*  
!

1. THE POWERS.—The end of the year 6 of the republic had been marked by a most inauspicious event. The vague report which was spread of the disaster of our fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, was unfortunately confirmed in the first days of the year 7. I beg leave to observe that I do not class the events precisely to their date, but according as the news arrived to us in the capital. Nelson, received in triumph in the Bay of Naples, hastened the manifestation of the hostile sentiments of that court. Whilst the British hero arrived from the coasts of Syria, the General Mack, too soon celebrated by fame, hastened from the banks of

the Danube, to take the command of the Neapolitan army, increased beyond all proportions by precipitate measures. The future exploits of Mack appeared to be indubitable at that court, misled by a hatred, that could not be considered without motive, except in forgetting the scaffold of Marie-Antoinette ! . . . . Nothing was talked of but Mack upon the southern frontiers of the Roman states.

Austria, and the empire, retarded for a length of time the negotiations of Rastadt, and were far less seriously occupied with protocols than with armaments. Our plenipotentiaries had to combat a powerful adversary, the Comte de Metternich.

Paul executed his menaces : with one hand he drove his fleet into the Bosphorus, struck with amazement at the aspect of the vessels of the Czar and the Sultan sailing together. With the other hand he precipitated fifty thousand men, children of his melancholy deserts, into the fertile countries of Europe. That horde, commanded by the terrible Suwarrow, had already traversed the Plains of Lithuania, and touched the gates of Cracow.

The Porte, abandoned by our government to the English diplomacy, saw only in our expedition the invasion of its provinces : she signed

a triple alliance with London and Petersburg. It cannot be denied that the expedition to Egypt was the cause of that triple alliance, and that it was in favour, also, of the Russian influence at Constantinople—a result that sways, even now, the European politics—a result more prejudicial, more fatal, than the triumphs of Suwarrow, equally owing to the absence of the generals and soldiers of our great fleet.

England, reassured upon Ireland, contemplated a second coalition against France.

The Piedmontese, tired of our pretended alliance, armed ten thousand men, whom they promised as auxiliaries, but whose dispositions, like those of the population, announced the most bitter enemies. Our provident and skilful general, Mesnard, had a great deal of trouble to prevent a popular insurrection against our garrison at Turin; and some solitary murders had stained the streets of that capital.

At length the republic of the United States retired from us also, to approach the nearer to our enemies. By dint of unskilfulness and obstinacy, the agents of the Directory had forced our natural allies to forget the memories of Louis XVI and Lafayette. Washington had personally approved of the alliance with England, in accepting the command of the armies of the Union.



2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS. — The French innovations were finished in Lombardy, without their being able to repress the discontent that each town, and each village, of that republic, expressed in the most vehement yet useless addresses. Violence answered their complaints. The General Lahoz was deprived of his place for having dared to fulfil the mission of his government. The disaffection of the people facilitated the success of the old and faithful portions of the *statu quo ante bellum*.

The parody that they were playing at Rome had arrived at its last scene. The military commanders gave, and took away, at their pleasure, the consular toga from men so unknown, that they could not even become illustrious in mounting the capitol!

Holland, recovered from her last shock, began to assume a calmer attitude: seconded by our troops, she repulsed the attack of the English upon Flushing.

Switzerland still resisted our intervention, and appeared more and more irritated against the state of guardianship forced upon them: These people, old republicans, found no compensation possible for independence; and diplomatic sophisms had little influence upon their good sense; all the negotiations therefore

were useless. They flew to arms, and there was no alternative except to change our politics, or to shed the blood of our allies: the Directory did not hesitate in their choice: nothing is more flexible than weakness, when it thinks itself sustained by victorious bayonets. All reconciliation was neglected; our brave soldiers were sent, by a senseless and cruel order, against a part of the good and simple Helvetians: seas of republican blood were shed on both sides, as if we had any to spare when upon the eve of combating against kings. The district of Stanz became celebrated by a victory that was a fratricide.

3. THE ARMIES.—The descent of General Humbert in Ireland was to have been seconded by an expedition that sailed from Brest. Our Aulic council had disposed the affairs in *so wise* a manner, that the fifteen hundred Frenchmen who had first landed in Ireland were not supported; and when the army of Cornwallis had surrounded the valiant avant-garde, which was reduced to capitulate, the auxiliary squadron left Brest. The Irishman, Napper Tandy, endeavoured, in vain, to make good his landing: the arms which he brought with him for ten thousand men arrived too late. For several days past Humbert had been a prisoner. The insurgents, of Ireland pursued without ceasing, were

beaten : the hope of that succour vanished like a dream.

Our armies of Italy and the North, reinforced by the first levy of the conscription, awaited with impatience the signal for new combats : accustomed to conquer, they thought themselves invincible ! Napoléon continued his triumphs : we received dispatches from Grand Cairo. The taking of the capital, its administrative organisation, skilful and rapid, several victories, among which shone that of the Pyramids, the beginning of the works of the institute in Egypt, all contributed to distract our attention from the results of the loss of our fleet, and the triple alliance, mistress of the Mediterranean.

4. THE INTERIOR.—The legislative body, excited by the danger which approached, appeared at first unanimous to second the government with all its power. They granted it some financial resources. They decreed a levy of two hundred thousand conscripts, first tribute of the grand law. The announcement of a crisis is always favourable in numerous assemblies, when the minds of people are exalted. The renewal of the bureau had brought General Jourdan into the presidency ; the majority of the secretaries also belonged to the Jacobin opposition. That opposition, after having accorded all the means

of defence, returned to its natural malevolence, impatient of the slowness of the measures, and eager for new ones. Briot, one of the most eloquent orators, proposed the formation of a committee of seven members, charged to meditate the measures that might be proposed to the legislative body, on the day when the Directory announced the rupture of the negotiations of peace. That commission recalled too sensibly the former committees of the Convention not to alarm us. It would, in fact, have displaced the centre of action, and annihilated the executive power. The orator had not even disguised his aim, for his harangue breathed only the most immoderate praises of the Convention. We united with the directorials, and an almost general disapprobation repulsed the commission of seven. Another orator was not more fortunate in proposing the emission of six hundred millions of national bank-notes : they were afraid of that which resembled assignats, as they were of that which resembled the committees of powerful and terrible memory. We avoided everything likely to alarm the Directory and peaceful men. The exaggerated party were at that time in minority : they announced to us, in a few days, that the most estimable man of the party, the conqueror of Fleurus, accepted the command

of an army; in fact, he wrote to the council to take leave: this worthy citizen possessed the esteem of all his colleagues. I took upon myself to become the organ of the universal opinion; (8;) and they took six copies of my discourse and the letter of the general. This departure weakened the Jacobin opposition. The parties of the council were nearly of an equal balance: they desired, but were fearful of taking bold measures; they desired, but were afraid of giving too much strength to the government, and the republic gained nothing with all our hesitations.

The directorials hoped to profit from these hesitations: they endeavoured to return to the tax upon salt; and they demanded, also, that those employed for the (*octroi*) city toll, should be chosen by the government. The commission of the finances protested that the tax upon salt, upon which the produce, if certain, would exceed thirty millions, was necessary: the duty was reduced to the half. It observed also, with reason, that under the present circumstances, it was wiser to leave to the executive power the choice of above a thousand persons employed in Paris alone.

These importunities could not persuade the two oppositions who, united upon the two ques-

tions, caused both of them to be rejected. They were not sparing in reproaches to the commission of finances, for having dared to renew, in the tax upon salt, a proposition that had already been rejected, and to have presented it before the delay exacted by the law. They refused to the government the right of nomination to the employments of the (*octroi*) city tolls, which they had established, and they preferred to confide the choice to the departmental administration. I spoke and voted for that last measure, which was not very reasonable, in the position of affairs: the individual administrations of the capital had too often taken advantage of their influence. But the mania of tormenting the government overbalanced the wise counsels of our adversaries.

The mania of daily opposition to a government, in the administrative measures that it claims for the public service, has often proved fatal: it appears a noble proof of independence; but it is, perhaps, too often, though we do not own it to ourselves, only a spirit of egotism in a body or an individual. Ancient history has not transmitted to us an example of these struggles, these daily broils, between the supreme authorities of the state. To embarrass government at every step, is a sort of patriotism too much

improved in our times. The obstacles raised against the administration, (above all in grave cases,) are far more prejudicial to the governed, than to those who govern. They weaken those whom they ought to strengthen ; it is like distracting the attention of a pilot while he is passing amidst the rocks and quicksands. The vessel which he guides carries us with it as well as him. If he is skilful, let him alone, and aid him in his manœuvres, instead of thwarting him. But if he is unskilful, it is likely to cause us to be shipwrecked ! . . . Well then, even in that case, we must aid him, till the precise moment that our safety requires another guide ; and then it will not suffice to make puerile attacks : the question is not gymnastic, nor of self-love, but it is one of life and death. The more the blow is prompt and decisive, the more the safety of all is assured. The crisis is the more salutary when it is rapid. The political body is like the human body,—a happy crisis or a revolution may save it. But years of slow agony, or egotistical opposition, systematical and tormenting, weaken and consume it. The crisis is sometimes the only means of salvation ; and if obliged to resort to it, the greatest danger consists in retarding it. If the political chief is constantly struck with repeated

blows—if even the attacks are not very serious, they enervate and stupify him, and may in the end so derange his organization, that the vital strength of the heart may suffer from it.

The directorial epoch of which I here retrace the remembrance, and the epoch of 1830, offer two striking examples of the different social maladies. The Directory, exposed to incessant attacks, resisted as well as it could ; but it was weakened and languishing, it vegetated more than it governed ; and the republic, fallen into a state of marasmus, was on the point of expiring beneath the Tartar pikes of Suwarrow. In 1830, on the contrary, by a vigorous and rapid movement, they changed the chief who had broken the fundamental compact of his authority, and who, to the eve of that change, they had not refused all support and power. They changed ; and that crisis, if it had received the sanction of universal voting, would be the most irreproachable crisis of the revolution. Our long opposition of 1798, was, I believe, fatal to France, by weakening the chiefs in the moment of danger. We ought to have aided them, or to have changed them sooner. The opposition of 1830 was wiser than we were. It left to the government the means of strength and defence to the last hour ; but the resolution to overturn it,



(if it persisted in error,) augmented silently in every heart ; the crisis once desired by the majority, the famous ordinances were only the occasion, well chosen, and quickly taken advantage of. Let us be better advised than to endeavour to weaken the government at an unseasonable time—let us aid it as long as we keep it ; that it may be strong, not for itself, but that its weakness may not touch the heart of the state. If it becomes guilty of an outrage against the sovereign, of which it is only the first magistrate, let opinion, inevitable and supreme strength of civilised societies, arise and increase, calm and terrible, in the bottom of all hearts, until the day marked by Providence, when, become general and therefore irresistible, it shall reveal itself suddenly in one of those bursts of thunder which clear the horizon. While we await that day, “ *Manet altá mente repostum.*”

But opinion is often a long time before it becomes general. Without doubt, it is very fortunate for human society ; for if the opinion of an entire people was as easy to be formed as that of an individual, we should have revolutions every week. If what every faction, every writer, calls intrepidly public opinion, were actually such, we should have a thousand public opinions for one. When the true public opinion is formed,

nobody can be deceived : it has no occasion for commentaries ; it shines like the sun. We must await it, for it is the sovereign—it is the only master upon earth to whom our political symbol has engaged us ; to act against this supreme master, is a crime ; to take its name in vain is a sacrilege. Have we acted with the conviction that we have followed its intentions although not yet expressed ? Then our absolute duty, from which the success cannot enfranchise us, is to submit our actions to the universal vote, the only sincere expression of universal opinion. As long as that opinion does not agree with yours, resign yourselves ; whether you are going on before or backward, to the right or to the left. If you are not with it, cease to take its name, and conclude with sincerity, that it is not you, but the government, which still represents the supreme opinion of the only master to whom you pay homage.

Happy is the government that reposes upon so solid a basis ! it need no longer fear the factions of any sort or colour. That situation—is it that of *the government of our country* ?

## MONTH OF BRUMAIRE, YEAR 7.

*From the 22nd of October, to the 22nd of November, 1798.*

Barbarous law against the transported of Fructidor, and the eloquent words of the orator Rouchon—Endeavours of the Jacobin party against the priests—Troubles in several departments—Incertitude of the legislative body.

1. THE POWERS.—The situation of the Powers, with regard to us, presented no change in the month of Brumaire, except the entry of the Austrians in the country of the Grisons. The imperial minister had offered several times the intervention of his master to protect the government of Coire against the party who desired the reunion of the league of the Grisons with the Helvetic confederation. This party announced that the French troops were marching towards Rhétie. Austria thought the time opportune to awaken: this time she was beforehand with

us. Our president thought of retiring to Zürich. The French column, which occupied Shaffhausen, prepared to march towards the Grison leagues, where they expected to have a serious conflict, when a courier from Paris carried an order not to consider the invasion of Coire by the Austrians as a hostile measure. The Directory feigned to be contented with the assurance which terminated the declaration of the Austrian general. "The General Commander notifies that the entry of the imperial and royal troops is amicable, pacific, and protective : he protests that it has no other object than to protect with perfect accord, and after their own wishes, the actual government legally established." The exalted part of the councils disapproved of the moderation of the Directory. We were spoiled by two years of victories ; and we found it very bad for our enemies to do once, that which we did every day. It was, however, perfectly evident that the change in the attitude of Austria announced the resolution to provoke the renewal of hostilities—The Russian army was in the heart of Germany.

The insurgents of Ireland, far from being discouraged, regained new strength. Several of our vessels departed, without connexion, from Brest and Rochefort ; and by showing themselves upon

the coast, sustained them with the hope of a better-regulated disembarkment. But the coasts, covered everywhere with English troops, were inaccessible. Superior fleets surrounded our vessels, and the La Roche, battered with the cannon of five of the enemy's vessels, surrendered only after prodigies of valour and intrepidity. The insurgents had no resource left but to intrench themselves in their retreats. There was but one cry in Paris upon the cause of these disasters : no one was ignorant that the retard of funds had prevented the squadron of Bompard from setting sail at the same time as that of Savary, and landing in that part of Ireland which the English had not yet had time to put in a state of defence. If the funds had been expedited a few days sooner, it would have rendered the affairs of Ireland very problematic. The success of England may be attributed to the slowness and improvidence of the Directory, as much as to the rapidity of the General Cornwallis.

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.—Amongst the Allied Republics, the Cisalpine alone occupied us seriously. The General Brune, who had taken the command of our army, disapproved of the innovations and the choice of the ambassador Trouvé : to appease the discontent, he deter-

mined upon changing everything, without the concurrence of the new ambassador, Fouché de Nantes. They wrote to us from Milan,—“We no longer know who we are, where we are going, or who to confide in: all is again overturned in our republic. This morning the gates of Milan were shut; and we learnt that a part of our representatives had given in their dismission, demanded by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy; and that they were replaced by those who, not being willing to acknowledge the constitution of Trouvé, had been put aside. Three of our Directors are equally forced to turn out: confirmed only a few weeks since by the French Directory, they were far from expecting this disgrace. They do not know to whom they are to attribute this sudden revolution, so contrary to the last events. This mobility has thrown us into the greatest incertitude: it is well calculated to favour the plots of Austria. They must end by consulting the Cisalpine people, if they wish to satisfy reasonable people.” We were as much astonished at Paris as they were at Milan. I had already announced that I should demand a secret committee to call upon the Directory, when we were informed that the changes of Brune were disapproved of, and that, to put an end to all these divisions, they were

going to consult the Cisalpine people upon the new constitution that had been given by the ambassador Trouvé. That measure, by which they ought to have begun, caused all complaints to cease. Those whom Brune had deprived of their employments, were restored to them. The municipal assemblies united, accepted, in a very great majority, the new charter, and then all pretexts for discontent were at an end. It is because the people are sovereign, that they can choose the worst party, and that no one has the right to impose the best when they are contented with that which they consider good, nor the good when they prefer the worst. That voting of the Cisalpine caused me to regret my opposition to the directorial innovations.

3. THE ARMIES.—The General Jourdan had quitted us for the army. Championet and Macdonald commanded in the southern part of Italy. Joubert was sent to Milan to replace Bonne; and he was named general of our army in Holland. He whom Napoléon had named the child of victory, Massena, went to Switzerland to await the Russians. Preparations in all the lines of operations took place on both sides.

4. THE INTERIOR.—I do not speak so

of the Council of Ancients, as of the Council of Five Hundred ; because, as I was a member of the last, I know better what passed. The sentiment which predominated amongst the Ancients, was that of the insufficiency of the constitution of the year 3. Sièyes had signalled its deficiency of equilibrium between the powers as the indubitable cause of new troubles. The 18th Fructidor had confirmed his foresight, and to which his refusal to enter the Directory had given a greater influence. They regretted not having paid greater attention to his counsels. They complained of his absence ; they felt equally grieved that in a short time they should be forced into new combinations, and that no person was more capable than Sièyes to direct them. A serious inquietude touching the future destiny of the republic troubled the Council of the Ancients. That inquietude became more obvious, according as the agitation increased in the minds of the young. They followed, however, our impulse, all the time fearing the revolutionary exaltation towards which we were driven by the new war, which there was no longer any hope of averting. That exaltation manifested itself in a manner not very honourable upon the subject of the transported in Fructidor. The greatest part of these victims died



in the deserts of Sinamari : four or five only had escaped from the dreadful agony of so atrocious an exile, by flying to Surinam, where the Dutch received them : and from thence they took refuge in London. Pichegru was among the number, whose treason had been undeniably proved by the papers which Moreau himself had seized, and delivered up to the Directory ; but among the fugitives was also the director Barthélemi, who the first had signed treaties of peace in the name of the republic ; Barthélemi, whose integrity, moderation, and pacific glory, merited from his former colleagues respect and clemency. Another of the proscribed, whose noble and simple character honoured the Council of Ancients, Barbé Marbois, had refused to escape, that he might not compromise the fortune of his family. The escape of some of the transported irritated the Directory, and they brought upon the carpet a new project of law, that had been presented after the 18th Fructidor, and which they had abandoned. They came to propose to us, to *assimilate with the émigrés the transported, who had concealed themselves to avoid transportation, or who had escaped from the place of their transportation, unless within the space of two months they presented themselves to the French authorities, to*

*learn the place of their future transportation.* And the penalty of the emigrants was death! I abstained from voting, although the whole of the opposition united with the Directory. This law, worthy of 1793, passed almost unanimously in the Council of Five Hundred, and in a great majority of the Ancients! In that last council several noble voices were raised in favour of justice and humanity. Amongst us, one single orator, the intrepid Rouchon, dared speak for the proscribed: he braved the cries and the outrages, and sustained alone, against all, during several weeks, a combat, the whole glory of which was for the vanquished. In expiation of the silent neutrality I had kept in that circumstance, and with which I afterwards reproached myself, I will cite some of the eloquent words of the orator Rouchon.

“Representatives of the people,—A month after the 18th Fructidor, that is to say, at an epoch near to that day, the project of law that is now proposed was rejected as useless and unjust, as contrary to the constitution, as revolutionary! . . . and a year afterwards, it is re-produced at the discussion! This project contains the constraint; the confiscation, the permanence of the penalty; . . . and, with regard to those persons whom you recall, they have never been judged. It is

as unjust as it is without example, to ordain a man to return to present himself for execution. I know that the grand signor sends the cord to the pacha with whom he is discontented, to the vizier who displeases him ; but I have never heard that he commands his victims to come themselves and take the fatal cord. A *coup d'état* should not drag after it but a momentary penalty : never should a perpetual punishment result from it. Do you remember what Condorcet had put in the constitution ? *A penalty pronounced as a measure of public welfare, shall never extend beyond six months.* No tyrant, not even Nero, ever thought of punishing a man because he did not come to demand his own execution. And your reporter, in proposing such a code, against our former colleagues, pronounces, at every phrase, the words of justice, of humanity, of clemency ! . . I must



emigration. At length the opposition, that is to say, the constitutional and Jacobin, voted for some days with the most devoted partisans of the Directory. The Jacobins endeavoured, even at the end of the month, to profit by the occasion. Briot proposed, in the name of the commission, to assimilate the emigrants with the priests condemned to transportation, who concealed themselves, or who entered France. They commanded them to present themselves directly to submit to the penalty. . . . It was the continuation of the new law against those who were vanquished in Fructidor. Briot gave these reasons for the proposition of death: "Do you doubt," said he, "of the coalition of the refractory priests with the royalists, and the emigrants? Cast your eyes upon the united departments at this moment torn and bleeding: do they not cry out to you, that it is the priests who have kindled the fire of rebellion, and who want to call the English? Do you not hear the tocsin resound in the country? Its mournful sound announces that the blood of Frenchmen flows, shed by the hands of Frenchmen. The defenders of the country are murdered; and the unfortunate cultivators fall beneath their blows; while the cowardly author of these troubles, with hands uplifted to heaven, prays that blood

may still flow, provided that he may be preserved for new crimes.”

Briot, an ardent mind, and incorruptible patriot, forgot that the persecuted priest, pursued even to the depths of his conscience, was not the author, but the victim of our troubles ; he did not perceive that, in rendering the persecution more cruel, they augmented those troubles which they desired to appease. His proposition was adjourned ; but they ordered his discourse to be printed.

Thus, upon the eve of a new coalition, our march became yet more uncertain. In Vendémiaire we refused to the government the nomination of some insignificant employments—in Brumaire we abandoned to them, without remorse, the fate of the transported ! We went alternately from an outrageous defiance to an unlimited confidence. Public opinion, tossed from side to side, retired from us. The faults altogether of the administrative measures, the false direction and the irresolution of the legislative measures, carried, step by step, the directorial republic on to a state of incurable languor. Scarcely arrived at her 4th year, she had already the first features of decrepitude.

## MONTH OF FRIMAIRE AND NIVOSE, YEAR 7.

*From the 22nd of November 1798 to 21st of January 1799.*

Two Russian fleets in the Mediterranean—Censorship of the newspapers prorogued.

1. THE POWERS.—The diplomatic influence of Sièyes maintained still the court of Prussia in neutrality. The other great powers of the continent had finished their preparations; but had not yet declared themselves; but they gave the signal to Naples and Turin. The king of Naples, encouraged by the number of soldiers that he enrolled, and by the renown of General Mack, dared commence hostilities. *He summoned all the French to quit the Roman states, republicanized and usurped, since the peace of Campo-Formio, and never acknowledged by his Sicilian majesty, nor by his august ally, the emperor and*

*king.* The innovations made at Milan by our ambassadors were represented, in several writings of the civilians of Naples, as violating the state of peace. Upon the French replying in the negative, the Roman states were invaded by all the Neapolitan bands. Championnet instantly evacuated Rome, where he left a strong garrison at the Castle of St. Angelo. He retired into the Appenines to concentrate the forces that he had at his disposal. He let Mack engage himself heedlessly, beat separately his numerous columns, and drove the aggressing monarch to the limits of his kingdom, that he was not long destined to keep. At the same moment that the great army of Mack retired in disorder, a Neapolitan division, imported by an English fleet, landed at Leghorn; and the grand duke of Tuscany protested diplomatically or sincerely against it. As for the king of Sardinia, he had not commenced hostilities; but the Austrians, masters of the Grison Leagues, were spread to the limits even of Piedmont, whose evil dispositions began to show themselves openly by the frequent murders of our insulated soldiers. Our safety in the south of Italy exacted that we should secure the Alps; and the Directory proposed to us in the same message to declare war against the kings



of Naples and Sardinia, whom they equally accused of having broken the peace. The double declaration united all the votes: we were all of us tired with so long an uncertainty. We were not long in felicitating ourselves upon our success, on learning that the two dethroned kings had taken refuge in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The Russian vessels preceded the hostilities of Suwarow. A fleet of that nation united with the English, blockaded the coast of Holland, while another united with the Turks, attacked the Venetian Isles that had become French. Cerigo and Zante were taken: Corfu repulsed all the efforts of the Turkish-Russian fleet. The great statesman, who then presided over the destinies of England, while he allied his flag with that of Russia, must have meditated more than once upon the simultaneous and double apparition of two Moscovite fleets in the seas of Holland and Greece. Pitt could not, without doubt, observe that phenomenon without anxiety for the future. . . . What would he say? what would he do? . . . . if he could see the British influence annulled at Constantinople, and the Czar dominating over the Bosphorus, and excluding the British vessels from the Black Sea? . . . .

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.—The state of the war had suspended all exercise of national authority in the Italian republics: our generals commanded exclusively at Genoa and Milan, and in the Roman states. The existence of these republics were again brought in question.

Switzerland, endowed with a more ancient strength, and an independence which she had known how to defend till that epoch, kept herself in the position in which our last treaty of alliance had placed her, as regarded us: she armed eighteen thousand men, which were to join our troops.

Holland had new dissensions to combat: Brabançon auxiliaries, united with Dutch officers who emigrated, entered the Batavian territory. The anarchical party, who had sent for them, had framed a plot to overturn the government: the chiefs were arrested. It was to the French Directory that the Batavian Directory owed the discovery of this conspiracy. The Anglo-Russian fleet, which cruised along the coast, was probably not a stranger to these movements.

3. THE ARMIES.—The army of Championet, returned in triumph to Rome, and left it immediately to take possession of the kingdom

of Naples. It was but a military march. From the deck of his vessel, the fugitive monarch could see our colours peacefully received in his beautiful capital. Leghorn, scarcely invaded by his troops, was evacuated immediately in haste. The army of Joubert took possession of all Piedmont without obstacle. They organized a provisionary government at Turin; and after the departure of the king of Sardinia, the Piedmontese troops entered into the service of France.

The army of Massena was posted upon Mont St. Gothard and St. Bernard; and its communications with the army of Turin were assured.

The news from Egypt was always favourable. We heard of the revolt at Cairo that was so quickly appeased, and the successive defeats of the Mamelukes, and the preparations of Napoléon for the invasion of Syria.

4. THE INTERIOR.—We were alarmed with regard to the ancient Vendée. The Directory was called upon to know what extraordinary measures would be required in those departments. They replied that the existing laws were sufficient. This confidence re-assured the councils.

Belgium gave more uneasiness at that time

to the Directory than La Vendée. Two serious battles had taken place in the environs of Antwerp, and Enghien, in which several hundreds of rebels and soldiers had fallen. Some few days after, Louvain beheld a more serious combat; Brussels was put in a state of siege; and calm was not established without shedding a great deal of French blood. Many persons in the legislative body thought that these deplorable struggles could only be attributed to the persecution exercised against the priests. Others, on the contrary, pretended that the persecution was not sufficiently rigorous; and the proposition of Briot against the transported priests was submitted to discussion. Violence sought to drag weakness after it; but the discussion was not more decisive than it had been in the preceding month, and a new adjournment, without any fixed term, was pronounced.

Briot was not discouraged: he had several times attacked the elections of the judges chosen by the people in the years 4 and 5. He recommenced his attack. Our tribunals, according to him, were composed of royalists. The revision of all the judiciary choices appeared to him to be urgent. The sitting was stormy; and some few votes only decided that they should not attempt to touch the independence of justice.

I voted against Briot, but I continued to keep silence. I felt that we ought to support the government, which was menaced in the interior and the exterior ; and, on the other side, I felt a repugnance while granting an extraordinary power to persons who served so ill those powers which they had already received. Several of my colleagues, uncertain, as well as myself, how to act, showed themselves more rarely at the tribune. We waited impatiently the epoch that was fixed for the replacing one of the five Directors, whom chance obliged each year to quit the Directory. We proposed naming Sièyes, and we trusted that he would give to the executive power more wisdom and stability.

Our political conscience was put to the test, in the capital question of the liberty of the press, which they discussed about the end of the month several times. They wanted to put to the order of the day, the penal law proposed by the commission, of which I formed a part, with a view of destroying the dictatorship of the police upon the newspapers. I had taken an active part in this project of law : but how refuse the evidence ? how repulse the demands of the directorials ? Could the royalist and jacobin journals re-commence their diatribes against the government, in the midst of the war and the

insurrections in Belgium? For my part, I thought it right to yield, and I voted for the adjournment of our project of the penal law. The ancient republics, in the time of great danger, did not content themselves with partial measures of dictatorship: they resigned themselves to the dictatorship of one single man: *Caveant consules ne respublica detrimentum capiat*. We abandoned to the government till the end of the year the censorship of the journals.

## MONTH OF PLUVIOSE.

*From the 21st of January to the 20th of February 1799.*

The union of Ireland considered with regard to the English constitution—My speech against the tax upon salt—That tax rejected a third time, after a sharp discussion.

1. THE POWERS. — In the United States of America, the prevailing opinion was always unfavourable to France: the congress approved of the military preparations of the president Adams, and he recommended their continuation. The measures of the Directory did not merit such repulse. We all thought in the legislative body, that the susceptibility and the pride of the United States were excessive. Might we not at this moment address the same complaint to our friends of the new world? But the most essential point was then, as it is now, to avoid the snare, which was nearly bringing about the

scandal of discord between two great nations, that ought to be inseparable.

The progress of the conferences of Rastadt were in an inverse sense to the preparatives for the war. Austria, to prolong her stratagems, sent two ambassadors to Paris : these new negotiators did not blush to complain of the events at Naples. . . . It was carrying diplomatic courage very far. Austria forgot that not only the king of Naples had been the aggressor, but that it was an Austrian general who had struck the first blows. There was, however, no illusion : the negotiations for peace no longer deceived anybody ; but nobody would have dared to suspect the outrage which in a few days struck our negotiators.

One of the greatest measures of Pitt occupied England and Ireland : the project of the union of the two kingdoms was before the Parliaments of London and Dublin. This project, rejected at Dublin, raised such serious discontent against its partisans, that their safety was constantly menaced. They feared at one time a general revolt ; and to appease people's minds, they spread the report that the project was adjourned for a year. That report was soon contradicted by the discussions of the British Parliament, where the illustrious Sheridan



displayed the highest eloquence. Several times he combated the powerful minister, who replied to his eloquence by a reason of state, calm and profound. "What will become of Ireland?" cried Sheridan; "she will no longer be a country." "Ireland," replied Pitt, "will become the country of England: she will make one common country with us and Scotland: she will partake of all the good that we enjoy." No orator was more beloved among us than Sheridan: the admiration of France was divided between him and Fox. No man was more detested than the son of Chatham, to whom all our evils, whatever they might be, were attributed. The project, therefore, of an union was considered at Paris as a sacrilegious enterprise, against which they had not sufficient anathemas. Carried away by that egotism from which no one is exempted, we condemned in our enemy what we admired in the Convention, the reunion of all the provinces under one law. We, who had pursued the *federalism* even to the scaffold, and whose political symbol was *the republic, one and indivisible*,—we would no longer see patriotism among our neighbours but in their divisions, nor good sense but in federalism: all our sympathies were for the adversaries of the union. Without doubt, we should not be sincere if we did not

appreciate in a different manner, at this moment, our opinions of that epoch : without doubt, in shaking off the prejudices and hatreds of that period, it must be owned that all the objections which they heaped together against the great measure signified very little. But is there not another manner of considering the question? If the union offered, with regard to the present, only an aspect of concord and strength, did it leave no inquietude for the future? And the great statesman, who did not foresee that future, is he without blame? It is under this point of view that the union of England with Ireland has not been sufficiently considered; and I beg my readers to permit me to pause for a moment.

A conquered province is governed by the conquering power according to particular laws; or else she is united to that power of which she becomes a part. As long as she is treated as a conquered country, it is quite natural that her provincial interests should be sacrificed to the interests of the conquerors: "*Væ victis!*" Policy is then satisfied, if they do not abuse their victory sufficiently to rekindle the war, and if they know how to employ a mixture of force and moderation in the legislative measures, with which the vanquished have nothing to do but to obey. The conquerors are magna-

nimous if they leave to the conquered country some of its vague national forms, to which the vanity of the feeble is too happy to cling exclusively. Such was the state of Ireland before the Union. An active inspection, a salutary mistrust, were the inevitable consequences of that state of affairs. The oppression of six millions of Irish Catholics, forced to pay the tithes of a Protestant worship, was not devoid of a certain relative justness : it was a tribute to the religion of the conquerors. The religious subjection of the greatest number towards the church of the dominant minority was the consequence of the political subjection. One of these forces supported the other : one was, perhaps, necessary to the other ; and if it was necessary, the political necessity absolved it. The Irish had not only been conquered, but despoiled : their lands had been distributed among the Protestants. The priests had been deprived of the tithes, as the proprietors had been of their lands. A conquest, driven to such terrible extremities, could not fail to leave the most bitter remembrances behind it. The terrible abuse of a victory could not quickly be forgotten. The oppressor, not having the right, must naturally have no other support left but the sword : in maintaining beneath his yoke those whom he had stripped in

transmitting to the ministers of the victorious church the tithes of the conquered land, the law was not inconsistent ; it was the logic of the strongest. But the conquered and despoiled population evinced its discontent by alarming struggles, of which foreign enemies endeavoured to profit : and the conquering power, for its own security for the future, will treat as brothers those whom it has hitherto oppressed ! It is resolved to enfranchise and incorporate them, that they may have no longer to combat them. . . . Nothing could be better, if they did not fail in their aim, *if they do all, absolutely all that they ought to do*, to assure the affection of their new brothers : if they will sell the confiscated land, and the tithes of that land, to those whom they belong ; or at least, (as Mr. Grey said in the sitting of the House of Commons of the 14th of February,) let the union of sentiments, of interests, of hearts, take place between the two countries, and let them not confine themselves to the union of two legislative chambers. But if the moral reconciliation cannot take place, *from whatever side this impossibility may arise*, the end has failed ; the incorporation of the conquered province, instead of becoming a salutary measure of public welfare, may then become fatal, by introducing into the state a

foreign influence; by opening, as it may be called, the entrails of the political body to a hostile element. The Irish influence in the British Parliament was not foreseen, or not appreciated as it ought to have been. That is proved by the protestation of the Lords Holland, Thanet, and King, (in the sitting of the House of Lords of the 18th of April,) and by the speech of Mr. Fox at the Whig Club of the 9th of May. The protestation of the Lords rested chiefly upon the violation of the Irish independence, upon the insufficiency of the measures taken to calm the troubles, *and upon the enormous increase of influence for the Crown* that must result from the Union! The speech of Mr. Fox condemned, with justice, the violent and arbitrary means employed in Ireland to oblige them to vote for the ministerial measures; but in declaring against the project, neither the protestation nor the discourse foresaw, that the result would be *very different from giving an increase to the royal influence*. In the mean time, by not affranchising six millions of Catholics from the Protestant tithes, and by not satisfying otherwise the Catholic clergy, could they reasonably expect to satisfy Ireland? I do not say that it was possible to restore the lands and the tithes to the ancient proprietors; but time has more force than

justice ; and since a reason of state, *good or bad*, prevented them from completely repairing all their past faults, why not continue to subdue, as they had done, the country which they would not satisfy ? Why, above all, admit a deputation of that discontented country to partake of the supreme power of the British nation ? The great majority of the Irish remaining disaffected to the English aristocracy, in whom they beheld only their despoilers, the representatives of those people must either be unfaithful to the religious and political sentiments of their constituents, or enemies of the English constitution, and, above all, of that class which enjoyed their spoils. The concourse of these representatives in the British Parliament, with the oblivion of all the injustice, confiscations, and intolerance of the conquest, with the reconciliation of minds in Ireland, would have been a measure of high wisdom ; but if they had not yet forgotten those injuries, if the moral reconciliation had not taken place, they *should have waited* ; for it would have been a hundred times better for England to have left the Irish Parliament in its island, than to have exposed itself to behold the day arrive when the legislative balance in London should incline at the will of the representatives of Dublin. In fact, do they seek to learn, from

the past, from whence is the source of the consumption which mines the old aristocratic, electoral, and monarchical constitution of England? An observer would soon be convinced that the evil remounts in part to the legislative, and not real, union of Ireland; the most illustrious and wisest defender, therefore, of that unrivalled social equilibrium, would be the first and real author of weakening it. So true it is, that all human conceptions are but the effect of hazard,—and so difficult is the task of expiating the destruction of an entire nation, decimated, despoiled, and pursued even to the sanctuary of her conscience! . . . . Let the proud conqueror of Warsaw look at Ireland. . . . The religious persecutions, the confiscations, the affronts, and the scaffold, produce, soon or late, an empoisoned fruit. After so many years, England bears in her own bosom the wound which she gave to Ireland: to cure that wound, the wisdom of the thoughtful is obscured, it strikes at the wrong end of its calculations: those who have the same interests divide. . . . . When Heaven chastises, of what avail is the most skilful policy?

I am aware that it may appear very bold in a foreigner when he dares to condemn one of the greatest operations of Pitt; and I hasten to observe that it is as difficult to foresee the future,

as it is easy to reason upon the past and the present, of which the whole offers, under the same *coup-d'œil*, the cause and the effect. The future results of a political organisation depend upon so many circumstances, that the most profound statesman should, above all, recommend his works to Fortune, or to that unknown god of the ancients that was probably the Future. Did Pitt, when he called a hundred of the sons of Erin to Westminster, absolutely neglect to calculate the moral strength of action that would influence the representatives, upon the continuation of the state of disaffection of so numerous a population?—or was it his intention to put an end to that state of disaffection, by reconciling with the Catholic clergy?—or did he, in his calculation as a legislator, place so high a value upon the good sense of old constitutional England, (Whig or Tory,) that he considered the Irish influence but as a fraction that might be neglected? . . . . For the honour of humanity, for the interest of those people that are now become the ally of France—for those people, where reigns for all, true and equal liberty, may policy, justice, and tolerance, produce such a redressing and conservative result, that the great measure of the Union may become the brightest title of glory to the son of Chatham!



2. **THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.**—The allied Republics struggled against the administrative commissaries of the Directory, and the agents of the military administration, who disputed their resources. They seconded powerfully the efforts of our warriors. A new republic arose upon the ruins of the Neapolitan throne: it took the name of Parthenopian. As for Piedmont, the provisional government, instead of declaring its nominal independence, demanded, of its own accord, to be united with France. They proclaimed everywhere that the demand had been secretly ordered by our generals; but that order was not necessary. Why should not a little neighbouring people have desired to be incorporated with the great republic? Our decrees of union were not incomplete like those of Ireland. They despoiled no one, and they rendered the people equal in every respect with those of Paris. It was by such a decree that Corsica had passed from the state of a conquered island to that of a French department; and the sincerity of that incorporation effaced all bitter recollections of the conquest. Turin desired, with perfect confidence, an union which unfortunately destroyed all hope of Italian independence; for what is Italy without the Alps?

3. **THE ARMIES.**—A very unfortunate choice

had signalized this month as the first of our reverses. The minister of war, Scherer, was named general-in-chief of the army of Italy. During his ministry, Scherer had repressed with firmness the abuses of the administration of our armies : the military had an antipathy against him. The Directory, seduced by his fame, had the folly to prefer him to Moreau, whom they had not pardoned for having waited for the arrest of Pichegru before he denounced his correspondence with foreigners : Scherer, notwithstanding his age, departed for Milan.

4. THE INTERIOR.—The troubles of Belgium having been severely repressed, allowed us to declare that Brussels was no longer in a state of siege. On the 21st of January, we again gave the world the sad spectacle of a great civilised nation celebrating the regicide by an impious festival. The preceding year, Napoléon had taken advantage of the pretext of his not being in service to keep out of the way of that anniversary : they could not persuade him to appear except confounded amidst the other members of the Institute. That year, several members of the two councils did not appear at those funeral assemblies ; the brothers of Napoléon were not seen among them.

They informed us, a few days before or after,

that they had celebrated, at the Tower of London, a festival equally moral: we were told, that upon the report that Napoléon had been assassinated, the canons of the Tower had proclaimed the *hideous* approbation of the English minister: we would not believe it.

The most brilliant discussion of the legislative body took place upon the tax on salt—a tax that had been several times rejected, and that the Directory thought proper to propose again, as the only means of filling up the deficiency of the last year. In the two councils, a great part of the sittings were sacrificed to that question. I went no more to the Directory; but I was invited with much earnestness to go there. I had contributed to cause the refusal of the tax; and I was known to be a decided adversary to taxes upon objects of the first necessity: they endeavoured to obtain my consent or my neutrality. I should have yielded if I had been convinced of the deficit, or of the impossibility of supplying it by any other means; but I declared my determination to combat the plan without mercy: I was provoked at the stubbornness of the authors of the project; and I inscribed myself among the opposing orators; and whether it was with our colleagues of the Five Hundred, or with our friends in the Council

of Ancients, I neglected nothing to render useless all the efforts of the government. They accused me of violence, and that imputation was just; but my violence belonged to a profound conviction that I still completely feel. I could never understand how they could possibly attempt to tax those objects that are indispensable for the subsistence of the poor; and in the midst of the lights of our economists, my mind has always remained a rebel to the science of indirect taxes upon things of the first necessity. Nothing appears to me to invalidate the evidence of what Rousseau observes, in a letter to d'Alembert:—"The taxes upon corn, upon salt, beneath an appearance of justice, contain the most crying injustice, as he who has little pays a great deal, and he who has a great deal pays but little." I pronounced the following discourse at the sitting of the 13th Pluviose.

"Representatives of the People,

"We are discussing the means to complete the six hundred millions of revenue necessary for the expenses of the year 7; each of us in that important discussion seeks the truth, with sincerity, and free from all personal consideration.

"To complete that deficiency they announce to us projects of economy and amelioration, and

propose to us, for the fourth time, a tax upon salt. Discussing, for the first time, a question upon the finances, my inexperience ought to intimidate me ; but there are principles engraven upon the heart, which it suffices to follow not to be misguided. The observations which I am about to submit to you are drawn from the source of those principles, that all the doctrines, nor all the committees, cannot destroy.

“ I have inquired, in the first place, what was in fact, the deficit of the last year. I then examined the means which are offered you to supply it ; and I have read attentively, and compared with your political system, all that has been discussed and printed for several months past upon the utility of taxing objects of the first necessity.

“ Notwithstanding the readiness with which I undertook that examination, the sum of the deficiency appears to me to be very uncertain ; and the principles adopted by the commission of finances appear to me to be contrary to the spirit of the constitution, illegal, and against the rights of the poorer classes, little favourable to the public treasure of the present year, and advantageous only to speculators.

“ What is the amount of the deficiency ?— several contradictory opinions have been pre-

sented. Tired of that contradiction, you have endeavoured to make your three commissions of direct and indirect taxes, as well as those of the finances, unite in one alone, to make you a report. In the sitting of the 24th Vindémiaire, our colleague Destrem, in the name of the three commissions, formally declared, that in presenting to the treasure the re-entry of the fifty-five millions, you would complete the receipts, *and would assure you the payment of all the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the year 7.* To effect that re-entry, the reporter proposes to you the tax upon the gates, windows, and chimneys, and also upon the horses, carriages, and servants : this your three commissions have valued altogether at forty-five millions ! There remained then only ten millions ; while awaiting at least that sum from the rectification of the customs, and the duty upon the fabrication of paper. Thus, we have all thought to arrive at the end of our painful career. I have placed before you the proper terms of your three commissions.

“ For some time past, there have been published upon the indirect taxes very strange ideas for a popular government : the doctrine has been professed that these taxes could not be more conveniently placed than upon the commodities

that were necessary for the universal consumption. On the other hand, the project of taxing the enjoyments of idleness and affluence, has been repulsed as Vandal and revolutionary! Is it not calling for a tax on bread, and proclaiming the inviolability of luxury? These ideas could not have been hazarded without some circumspection under any monarchy in the time even of their greatest corruption; and have been propagated beneath a republican government, the natural promoter of all opinions favourable to the welfare of the greatest number!

“ ‘The tax which we propose to you,’ continued the reporter of your commissions, ‘*has not, like the tax upon salt, the fault of being impolitic, iniquitous, and without profit*; it will not strike the indigent, like the rich; it will not recall a thousand bitter remembrances to a thousand presentiments that are not all without reason; it will not make the fortune of a few greedy speculators, who often convert into gold the tears of the indigent; it will not occasion either revolt or inquisition, or new establishments of a ruinous exchequer, and of an aristocracy of the Bureau, which appears to menace the whole republic!!!’

“ You hear, representatives of the people!

Your commission of the finances, and those of the direct and indirect contributions, in proposing to you, on the 24th of Vindémiaire, a tax to fill up the deficit, announce to you that this *tax has not, like that upon the salt, the fault of being impolitic, inquisitorial, and without profit.* And the 26th Nivose, those same commissions, notwithstanding the tax upon the windows, that we have adopted, brings the deficit to the same sum as before that tax ; and you propose, to fill it, the same tax which they condemned ! . . . . I pause here. There are some connexions which need only to be indicated.

“ The 26th of Nivose, you heard the report of the citizen Malés, who announced to you again the deficiency of fifty millions ! Since, upon the 24th of Vindémiaire, it was only fifty-five millions, when even the tax upon the windows should be reckoned at sixteen millions ; it follows then, at the most moderate account, that the deficiency is not so great as the reporter tells us. To justify his assertion, he informs us that several of the taxes that were decreed did not render the sum at which the ministers themselves had valued them. I cannot suppose that the deputies of the people, in fact of tax, diminish the valuation of the agents of the executive power.



“ We have also examined if the demand of six hundred millions was not exaggerated? By several reports, have we not been convinced that the accounts of ministers required some reductions? However, if, notwithstanding that condition, we had yielded the entire sum, why diminish each day the supposed produce of the taxes decreed, and contradict, by vague assertions, those solemn and public valuations? I place before you upon this subject, a passage of the report of the citizen Destrem, in the name of the same commission, of which the citizen Malés is to-day the organ.

“ ‘ As it is essential to fix the council upon the question of the expenses for the year 7, and consequently upon the necessity of establishing a sum of taxes, of which the receipt will cover the expenses, and that it is useful, I may even say necessary, that the French people know that if we carry the receipts to a very high sum, it is because the expenses they must cover are just and indispensable; it is then a duty of your commissions to say to that tribune, that in completing, by fifty-five millions of new taxes, the six hundred millions decreed for the ordinary service of the year 7, you assure that service, even if some of the indirect taxes do not render the entire sum at which the produce is valued, whether it

is in the description joined to the message to the Directory, of the first of Messidor, or whether it is in the report of our colleague Villers, of the 22nd of last Thermidor.'

“ After that positive declaration of your commissions, after the comparison of the two reports made in Vindémiaire and Nivose, it appears to me to be very uncertain whether the actual deficit be fifty millions.

“ Let us now examine the means offered by the citizen Malés. He announces to us, that to equalise the receipts to the expenses, your commissions know only three means :

“ 1st. Reduction of the expenses by economies and reforms in all the offices that will admit of it.

“ 2nd. Augmentation in the collecting of the duties already established.

“ 3rd. Creation of one, or several branches of revenue.

“ He has presented you successively a sketch of the reforms and the ameliorations, and I think it useless to follow him in all his calculations : it is sufficient to recall to you what he says in page 16.

“ ‘ I have shown that we might hope to cover the half of the deficit by economy and meliorations in the collecting of duties already esta-

blished ; and I have added that it was indispensable to seek the surplus in the establishment of some new branches of the revenue.’

“ Thus, representatives of the people, your commissions assure you that the economies and the ameliorations will produce you a sum of twenty-five millions. I believe that these reforms will go much further. It is sufficient to cast the eye upon the state of the expenses of the war and the marine ; we have made funds for the armies of the land and sea far above the effective number of men. By calculating that overplus, we find that the economies must exceed twenty-five millions ; and perhaps a new tax will not be necessary. If there remained, however, a little deficiency, I should vote for supplying it by a tax upon certain objects of luxury. But as long as that deficiency shall not be demonstrated to me more clearly, I will not consent to fresh taxes : I cannot see how a vague and contradictory word is sufficient for the decree of twenty millions of taxes.

“ Why has not the commission made haste to offer us the detailed account of the reforms to effectuate, and the ameliorations to be obtained, instead of confining itself to letting us have but a glimpse of that inviting perspective ? Why did it previously propose the tax upon salt ? Is

it because you have already rejected it several times, that this tax obtains the priority? And if it is true that a legislator must tremble in proposing a new tax, if he rejoices at the idea of a useful reform, why, since they talk to us about salt, have they not employed the time in fixing, in a precise manner, the state of those economies that they have only announced to us?

“ It is again the reporter who furnishes us with the answer to that question, in expressing, in page 16, in terms which I have read several times, always with increased surprise, and which I beg the chamber to weigh well with reflection.

“ ‘ Your commissions,’ said the reporter, ‘ have regarded the establishment of a new branch of revenue, (that is to say, the tax upon salt,) as so extremely necessary, that they have charged me to declare, that without *that tax*, you have not to hope for either,—economy or amelioration, or for the return of any credit!!!’

“ And what connexion, may I ask our colleague, what connexion does there exist between the tax upon salt and the ameliorations and reforms that are to be effected in the other parts of the service? How then? That tax, acknowledged by those same commissioners, the

24th of Vindémiaire, as *impolitic, inquisitorial, and unprofitable*, becomes all at once so necessary; that we are solemnly informed, that if we again refuse them, we must renounce the twenty-five millions of economies and reforms, that they thus make depend entirely upon an odious tax, discredited yesterday at this tribune; but without which there is no safety for the people at *this moment?*

“ So manifest a contradiction, so strange a connexion between the ameliorations so long retarded, and a tax which they never cease to re-produce, proves to every honest man that the exaggerated calculations of the reporter, and the fearful images which he has described to us, have no other end than to wrest from us the tax upon salt. What confidence can all that phantasmagoria inspire in us?

“ As for myself, I declare, that it is demonstrated to me clearly, that the deficit cannot arrive at fifty millions; and that the reforms will, in a great measure, cover it. I think it reasonable, just, and politic, to know precisely the amount of those reforms before we accord another tax; and then, if there still remains some millions to be found, we will discuss the choice of a new tax: the nation then, instead of seeing in us only the distributors of its revenues, will see

also the economists ; then there will no longer remain any suspicions with those who think that all the reforms pompously announced are only a deceitful illusion offered at a distance to mislead us.

“ It is now the time to explain more in detail the doctrine which has been propagated for some months past with so much profusion ; a doctrine that I have already remarked as too favourable to luxury, and tending, as a last consequence, to tax the bread that the great majority of the French people procure with the sweat of their brow. This doctrine, which it is endeavoured by all means to introduce amongst us, is the true cause of the obstinacy which is evinced against the tax upon salt. That tax will produce scarcely anything this present year ; but our law would be the prelude to the admission of the financial system of England, which monarchical governments charged with an immense debt may covet, but which republican legislators must repulse. They want to arrive at drawing from what they call the multitude, enormous sums, which render, without doubt, generally speaking, the tax upon the necessaries of life, of the first necessity. But because that doctrine remained for a time without reply, do they believe that it cannot be attacked ?

Is it sufficient that a tax will produce a great deal, that it should be adopted? Do they think to dazzle us by a pompous comparison of the state of England with ours? The financial prosperity of England!!! Where, then, do they see it with so much certainty? . . . . Have they thoroughly calculated the extent of her debt and the influence of the taxes upon the population? Have they examined if it is not upon that basis that reposes the omnipotence of a minister king? Have they forgotten that Fox and Sheridan are reduced to appear no longer in the British senate, or that it is in vain they cause their immortal voices to be heard? No, no, representatives of the people, let us not quit the rigid principles of popular wisdom for the financial system of our enemies. Where the legislators have the imprudence to open the veins of the state, exhaustion, a mortal exhaustion, is inevitable. In talking to us of the prosperity of England, have they made all these reflections? As for the public credit, does it not repose in safety under a good administration? under reforms that have been accomplished, and not promised only? Would they make us believe, also, that the public credit depends upon the tax on salt? Yes, without doubt, it is what the citizens Malés and Jacqueminot want to

make us believe. I will reply to them by a single observation, which will destroy all their reasonings. We have made funds for *six hundred thousand men, and eighty ships-of-war*. Our army and our marine remain under that number. . . . There cannot, then, exist *at this moment* a deficiency so pressing to force the contractors to double the price of their bargain. We are assured, however, that the distrust of those contractors really exists. . . . Well, if that is really the case, we must attribute it to other causes. . . . It is the enormous sacrifices that are exacted by the subaltern agents, which cause the dearness of the markets. It is there, and not in the doctrine of Smith, that you should seek the source of the discredit and the distrust; and if the Directory knows how to punish those who abuse its confidence, the dearness of the prices will cease, and the effects will disappear with the cause.

“ To justify the taxes upon the objects of the first necessity, they talk of the superiority, and the facility of their collection. So be it. But all that is useful is not always conformable to our duties. We will not renounce this sacred principle, *that in a free country they may tax property, but not the person*. To conquer our repugnance, they endeavour to show us that by the



augmentation relative to the price of days of the workmen, it is always in the definitive; it is the rich who acquit the tax. Strange reasoning! If the price of the days of the workmen increases, their number will diminish; and work and money being synonymous for the poor, he would lose on one side, what he would gain by the increase of salary; if it were real, would it be always in proportion with the increase of the price of provisions, and would it exactly indemnify every evening him who, every evening, finds beneath his thatch a family who look up to him for bread? To understand the theory, of which they appear to be so proud, every workman ought to put the same price upon his work; but for that, ought not all the workmen to have the same number of mouths to feed? The single man, then, having fewer necessities than the father of a family, will he not sell his work dearer? As he is generally younger and stronger, the single man would be preferred; and the father of a family would be but too happy to imitate, for the price of the day's work, him who is more vigorous, and who has fewer wants. . . . If he found work at the same price as the single man, his work would be insufficient to satisfy his family with that commodity which you had taxed without remorse.

Is every workman, also, certain of finding work every day? And if he cannot find any, or if he is ill, what becomes of your proportions between the price of provisions and the price of his day's work? You may find that chimerical proportion in Smith's book,—for what may not be found in books?—but you will not find it upon the pallet of the poor man dying with hunger! The unfortunate, the women, the old men who can no longer work, the small pensioners, the parents of warriors, where will they find a compensation for the dearness with which your law would strike their bread or their salt? . . . .

Representatives of the people! those classes that are poor and respectable should draw our attention, more than those classes who know only luxury, and know not what it is to want. No; while the brothers and the sons of the citizens shed their blood in the service of the republic, you will not permit that such a system of taxes should render the existence of their families more difficult, already sufficiently painful. Do not forget that the welfare of the people depends upon the lowness of the price of provisions necessary for their existence. This every-day comfort, which consoles and sustains the poor, alone can soften the bitterness of that inequality of fortune inherent in our

poor nature. If by our laws we diminish and destroy *the only wealth of the greatest number*, we betray our first duty.

“ I trust you will not approve such impious doctrine. With our eyes turned towards our constituents, let us not be carried away, by weakness, to the evil that we have already refused so many times. No : notwithstanding the wonderful art of opposing to your good intentions address and obstinacy ; notwithstanding the attacks that are renewed without ceasing, *we will not tax the provisions that are of the first necessity*. I can vouch for your paternal solicitude, and all those generous sentiments which animate you ; the monopolisers will be baffled a fourth time, and they will learn that in a republic, they are sometimes deceived in prophesying the acts of the legislative body.

“ I suppose that the defenders of the project of the commission have employed every possible reasoning to cause it to be adopted ; but I never could have supposed that they could have seen in this tax the true popularity. . . . Party spirit, the desire of domineering without any obstacle, might change enough in some heads the natural signification of words ; so that fidelity to the principles of a mandate is called anarchy, and even silence accused of conspiracy.

But do they hope to make the nation partakers of the same delirium, who listens and judges as a sovereign the words and acts of its deputies. Do they hope to persuade it that it is for the love of the people, that they have employed, for so long a time, in favour of the tax upon salt, the placards, the libels, and the injuries with which the ministerial journals are filled, and which all the other instruments of the press copy with a servility that is but little honourable to them? Will the people believe that their welfare will be increased at the same time as the fortune of the monopolisers? It would be in vain to reckon upon so much good-nature.

“ The true popularity of a legislator, is that which he obtains in watching and in defending the interests of the public with as much zeal as if it was his own personal interest. Now, let me ask, who is he, who, after having approved, with his eyes shut, the accounts of his house, would continue without ceasing to grant fresh funds before he had assured himself that those which he had already given were expended? Such senseless conduct is exactly what they propose to us; and the defenders of the tax upon salt have in vain endeavoured to weaken the contradiction of their principles with the repub-

lican principles which direct us ; they cannot efface from their project the seal of national reprobation.

“ I leave out the details of the project. For myself, I will only consider the principle under which that tax reposes. It is from hatred to this principle that your conviction has been already expressed by a reiterated refusal : the conviction of the legislator does not change in a few days, without finding himself justly exposed to decline in public opinion.

“ I shall conclude by only recalling to you, as several orators have done who have preceded me, that this tax would be of use alone during this present year to those who have stored their warehouses with salt, which your three decisions against the tax could not prevent. The law upon the salt in the warehouses will open a new source for the dilapidation of a thousand agents. It will produce but a feeble increase to the treasury, even from the declaration of your own commissioners. The people support all the weight ; the speculators alone will receive the benefit ; and the next day they would come again to ask you, with the same calculations and the same reasonings, a new indirect contribution, which would probably enrich again fresh speculators, equally as provident as those of to-

day. . . . Thus the tax upon tobacco, valued at ten millions in the project, is reduced to four millions after the law. . . . Thus we no longer hear valued at sixteen millions the tax upon the gates and windows. . . . At the aspect of such reductions, might we not compare our budget of the year 7 to the infernal Cask of the Danaïdes? . . . And certainly we would not wish to be condemned to fill it without ceasing with the tears of those who have confided to us their defence.

“ I resume : and I demand the order of the day upon the tax on salt, and that it be declared as a principle, that there shall not be any tax laid upon the commodities of the first necessity.

“ I demand, also, that previous to any proposition for a new tax, the commissions, united, present us a precise report upon the economies, the reforms, and the meliorations in the collections already established. After this report, we shall know if there exists a deficit ; and in that case, as it is our duty to surround the Directory with all her constitutional strength, I demand that your commissioners present directly the projects of the taxes, provided they do not weigh upon the commodities of the first necessity.

“ I insist, above all, that the principle be put to the vote.”

This discourse excited much agitation in the council. The public galleries applauded, notwithstanding the rules, and were called to order. They ordered the discourse to be printed. The reporter Malés felt very acutely so direct an attack. "I will undertake beforehand," he cried, "the engagement to pulverise—to prove that Lucien Bonaparte, against his intentions, without doubt, has committed capital errors. I demand for the discussion to continue."

The discussion was adjourned to the next day. We did not doubt the result. The directorials, exasperated, were disconcerted; the opposition, from that day, took a character of violence that it had not before.

The next day, the deputy Creuzé Latouche, in a very eloquent discourse, defended the tax, and the commissions of the finances. He raised the hopes of the partisans of the tax: as he talked of my pretended errors in calculation, I had printed the same day, in the *Moniteur*, the following note.

"The citizen Creuzé Latouche has affirmed, in his discourse of the 14th, that I had committed an error in calculation: I think it right to deny that assertion, as it is absolutely false.

"I said that the deficit did not appear to me

to be fifty millions, because, upon the 24th of Vindémiaire, the citizen Destrem, in the name of the commission, having brought the deficit to fifty-five millions, and the tax upon the windows being valued at sixteen millions by the citizen Malés himself, it evidently results that the deficit cannot be fifty-five, but less by sixteen,—that is to say, thirty-nine millions; except the commissioner formally disavows his report of the 24th Vindémiaire; a disavowal which, not having been made, cannot serve to form the opinions of the representatives of the people.

“ This, then, is what I said, and from whence I conclude that the deficit is not so great as the reporter told us; but neither he, nor any other person, has replied to the inquiry.

“ I never pretended that the taxes proposed by the citizen Destrem would have supplied the deficit; because I know very well that some have been rejected and the others reduced. I have, then, only calculated the tax of the citizen Destrem for sixteen millions: I have heard that that sum was to diminish so much of the deficit, and not that it was to supply it. The opposition of the citizen Creuzé Latouche is then gratuitous, and the error is, in consequence, upon his side, as he has taken wrongly my opinion upon the actual deficit !”



This note remained without an answer : it was impossible to refute it.

But the Directory thought itself sufficiently strong not to draw back. The last victories in Piedmont and Naples had increased their audacity : they addressed to us, during the sitting, a message, where they rendered us responsible for our delay in completing the receipts ; that document finished thus : “ The government absolves itself, in the eyes of the republic, from all responsibility for the disastrous consequences that an interruption of the most sacred and urgent circumstances will cause.”

This message, of which the reading followed the discourse of Creuzé Latouche, irritated us, as it was evidently made to force us to their will. It was not, however, without effect upon impartial and undecided minds. The partisans of the government endeavoured to profit by that circumstance to close the discussion. Girod Pouzol, who was much esteemed in the council, insisted upon their voting instantly : “ It is precisely,” said he, “ because they heard yesterday a very luminous and eloquent opinion against the project ; and to-day, for the project, an opinion equally eloquent and luminous, that I demand the close of the discussion. I do not

believe there is anything new to be heard upon that subject.”

I was, for my part, disposed to put it to the vote. Not having, as yet, experience in the assemblies, I did not imagine that the art of profiting of an incident often decides the victory. One of my colleagues, better informed than I was, warned me, that if they voted at that moment the tax would pass. I profited by his advice, and notwithstanding the compliment that Girod Pouzol had addressed to me, I followed him to the tribune, where I combated him as follows.

“ I do not see why the discourses that have hitherto been pronounced appear sufficient, and why all the orators that are registered are not to be heard. Certainly they have not said all that might have been said, which is proved by their refusing to hear what there remains to say. Whatever arguments or imputations they may make upon the subject, whatever accusations of conspiracy they may form, and from whatever authority those perfidious suggestions may proceed, I shall remain as insensible to personalities as the marble of this tribune—I shall listen only to the voice of my conscience, and shall do only that which I think conformable to the interests of the people.

“ Who shall dare to say that there has existed here an opposition tending to deprive the government of the means which are necessary for it? Was it not with general consent that the two hundred thousand conscripts were called to arms, and that the one hundred and twenty-five millions destined for their maintenance was voted? They announce to us to-day a deficit. They demand fresh resources: ought we not to discuss the necessity, the results, the advantages, and the inconveniences? Must our determination be carried away by an incident, by an influence out of the council? We should prove, on the contrary, to our constituents, that we have decided only after having maturely weighed their interests. There is never a responsibility for the representatives of the people to discuss in liberty—I demand that the discussion may continue.”

The discussion continued. The effects of the directorial message, skilfully arranged, were neutralized in that sitting; but they had alarmed the timid. Two days were again employed to combat and defend the unfortunate tax, that the government desired to have at any price. It was in vain that they were offered several taxes equivalent, and that were easier to collect. . . . They repulsed all that were offered. After a very stormy sitting, the government gained by forty-

six voices. After the adoption of the principle that was so odious to us, we desired, at least, to diminish the evil: the tax was fixed at a half-penny in the pound. I desired that it should not be increased; and although discouraged, I again spoke upon the reduction of the first article, and proposed the following amendment.

“I propose to declare, that the tax of a half-penny per pound upon salt can never be increased. The majority pronounced yesterday, it does not follow that we should again renew the combat, but it is necessary to shut the mouths of the malevolent, and not to leave them the pretext of accusing your intentions. I do not see why you repulse my amendment. Will they, in opposition to this, pretend, that as the legislative body votes every year the contributions, what I propose is useless and unconstitutional? But the project of law says, lower down, that the right cannot be confirmed! . . . . If you thus anticipate the decision of your successors, you might as well decree that the tax should not be augmented. In making this proposition, I consider myself the organ of several of our colleagues, whose opinions were quite contrary to the tax, and who have finished by consenting only in consequence of the lowness of the price of the tax. This declaration, which I beg of you

not to refuse to make, will have the good effect of tranquillising the contributaries : it will impose silence upon the malevolent, who are ever ready to seize an occasion to do mischief, to poison our intentions, and to throw a discredit upon our decrees. They will not fail to say, that you are contented to-day with a halfpenny, but that to-morrow you will exact two, or three, &c. I insist upon the declaration which I propose as an amendment to your first article.”

My proposition was repulsed ; the majority would not embellish their victory by moderation. Sad victory, which served only to make enemies for the Directory, for the Council of Ancients rejected the tax after a debate that was equally as sharp and as prolonged as ours, in which Cornet, Lemercier, and Baudin, decided the votes in our favour. The project of law was sent back to us. The Directory resigned itself by force ; and our commissions of the finances occupied themselves with new endeavours necessary to make up the deficit.

I have, perhaps, detained my readers too long upon this question ; but it appears to me that it is not without interest at the moment in which I write. Many of the departments of France complain at this very time of the tax upon salt ; for that tax, so often repulsed by us under the

republic, was adopted under the imperial monarchy ; which makes no change in my conviction. It was a sad deviation from the popular spirit which animated the emperor when that tax was re-established afterwards. For these thirty years past our financial system has made no liberal progress, since the person of the man who has only his hands for his fortune, is touched by our taxes : as if that personal charge did not sufficiently oppress him, other taxes raise the price of commodities of the first necessity. These are the abuses which are really counter-revolutionary, and evidently in opposition to the principles of 1789, that the French press should combat without ceasing ; it is in succouring the most numerous classes, and not in doubtful theories, that social progress consists.

This grand struggle, sustained on each side, in the two councils, with much impetuosity, was very fatal to the Directory. It was then that the conviction was established in many people's minds, that such pilots were very likely to shipwreck us. The conduct of the Council of Ancients was highly politic. It is by sustaining the material interests of the people that a legislative assembly becomes powerful ; whether that chamber be composed of young or

old, let it be elective for life, or hereditary, there is no real strength for it but in its popularity. Woe to those who, forgetting that, repose only on the sole strength of their right, or on the sword. In a free state, a representative chamber is nothing when it has lost public opinion; and the sword will not long sustain that authority which opinion has condemned.

## MONTH OF VENTOSE, GERMINAL AND FLOREAL, YEAR 7.

*From the 20th of February to the 21st of May, 1799.*

New elections contrary to the Directory—Assassination of our plenipotentiaries at Rastadt—Sièyes named Director.

1. THE POWERS.—The spirit of peace and reconciliation in the American nation triumphed over a vanity skilfully envenomed by diplomacy. The President named three negociators; the choice of whom the Congress and the people beheld with equal satisfaction: that measure retarded the probability of a fratricide war between the two grand republics of the new and ancient world.

Russia and the Porte signed their treaty of alliance at Jassi. Our heroic expedition to Egypt, formed against the Russian and English influence, had for its first results the contrary of what it desired to obtain; the natural effect



of a vast plan, of which one of the principal parts had been neglected. The Directory was culpable in forgetting the mission of the citizen Talleyrand at Constantinople. That individual interest might have deterred a public man from a journey which might have terminated in the Seven Towers, was perfectly natural; but a government which holds the reins with so feeble a hand, is a thousand times more culpable than its agents. The Russians did not lose sight of the islands of Greece: after a resistance of several months, Corfu yielded at length to the fleets of the Czar. The gold which Pitt accorded to Austria, was about to be repaid by streams of blood on the continent. The Archduke Charles had passed the river Inn, and directed his columns towards Ulm. The General Jourdan had passed the Rhine. The Count Metternich, ambassador of Austria at Rastadt, ceased to dissemble; and satisfied with having prevented our peace with Europe, he quitted the Congress. Our army of the Danube, which was at first victorious, was surrounded by forces so much superior, that it was obliged to repass the Rhine: a long train of reverses began for us. Suwarrow, at the head of a Russian and Austrian army, invaded Italy, and passed the Adige at Eridan.

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.—Switzerland,

valiantly defended by Massena, was the only one of the allied republics that seconded us passably : she reaped the fruits of our success. The Grisons, delivered from the Austrian troops, expressed loudly their desire to be united with Helvetia ; and that union, not nominal only, was real and absolute, and consolidated by the Helvetic confederation.

Less fortunate, the Italian republics struggled at the same time against their interior troubles and the victories of Suwarrow. In the Cisalpine the enemies of the directorial innovations had powerfully favoured the success of the coalition. At Rome, the misfortunes of Pius the Sixth, torn from his throne, and dragged to Florence, to Turin, to Parma, and at last to Briançon, kindled implacable hatred. At Naples, the emissaries of Sicily, protected by the English fleets, had raised the Calabrians. Everything at once conspired against us. The Cisalpine Directory evacuated Milan with our army.

3. THE ARMIES.—Upon the renewal of hostilities, we had invaded Tuscany ; but it was not enough for our armies to have to defend themselves against enemies that were more numerous, and against the factions that divided our allies : it was necessary also, at the same time, to struggle against the agents of our own ministry.

Previous to his commanding in Italy, the minister of war, Scherer, misled by an unseasonable rigour, or carried away by the dilapidators of our finances, had let loose upon Italy, agents, commissaries, inspectors, who, desiring to appropriate all the administrative powers to themselves, thwarted the generals, and carried disorder into our military administration. Championet, fatigued with all their stratagems, and convinced that those commissaries put the army in danger, and justly irritated at seeing them, in his own command, giving orders contrary to his, caused several of the ministerial agents to be arrested. He exceeded his powers without doubt, but the safety of the army justified his conduct. Deprived of his employment, and arrested by order of the Directory, the council of war declared him innocent; and the only effect of such unseasonable severity, was the disorganisation of our army, and displeasing it, at the moment of combat. If the council of Vienna had dictated such measures, it could not have better chosen a time to afflict us. Macdonald replaced Championet. Massena took the command of all the armies of Germany. Scherer, equally as unlucky a general as he had been an unlucky minister, was replaced, too late, by Joubert and Moreau. This last, after having

retired in good order by the river of Genoa, waited for Macdonald to join him in Tuscany, and to endeavour, by that junction, to recall Fortune to our standards. The Cisalpine evacuated, the rest of Italy compromised; Germany in the hands of Austria;—such had been, in a few weeks, the combined results of the directorial inability, and misfortune, terrible ordeal of governments as well as individuals.

4. THE INTERIOR.—What an effect must a change so prompt and unexpected have produced in the interior! . . . . In the first three months the measures to complete the two hundred thousand conscripts, and to have them equipped by the municipalities, was decreed from necessity. We voted, in the month of Pluviose, for taxes, to make up the deficit, not proved, of fifty-five millions; and after these taxes were accorded, yet it was ventured to affirm to us, that the deficit was sixty-seven millions; that the last taxes, instead of making up the deficit, had increased it. We, however, resigned ourselves, and granted unanimously fresh funds: the tax upon the gates and windows was doubled; all gave way to the discussions on the finances. We desired only to have explained to us the cause of this eternal deficit; and I spoke to that effect as follows upon the sitting of the 28th of Floréal.

“ I claim also the priority for the finances ; but we must declare that there still exists a deficit, not because the legislative body has neglected to raise the receipts to the level of the expenses, but because the vices of the administration have increased the expenses beyond the receipts. If the new deficit really exists, it has no right to exist. That distinction should be loudly published. But, however, whatever may be the cause of the disorder, it must be repaired. Cast your eyes upon our threatened frontiers, upon the Cisalpine overflowed with blood ; and you will feel the necessity to make the lava vomited by the British volcano, retrograde. Union is more necessary for us than ever—men, money, and, above all, public opinion. To excite this public opinion, which can alone assure to us all the rest, let us restore liberty to the press,—not that liberty which disfigures its licence, but that which does not permit crime to envelope itself in darkness, but brands it boldly with the seal of publicity. Bitter recollections may, without doubt, bring forth imprudent reproaches ; but the wisdom and the concord of the powers will save the republic, and individual resentments will give way before the general interest. It must only be felt, that neither with us, nor with our allies, generous sentiments

must not be extinguished, nor patriotic indifference proclaimed as a supreme virtue. When we have given our armies the victorious attitude which they ought to have, then we shall know how, with a firm hand, to establish the equilibrium of the powers. In the meantime, do not fear to give new strength to the government,—fear only to retard for a moment a remedy for the ills of the state.”

All, then, was granted them, but in vain: there was no longer either intelligence or harmony amongst them. The Directory occupied itself with elections, of which the epoch was arrived in the midst of that crisis of reverses. It was also the time when they were to replace one of the Directors. People’s minds were in a state of excitement from the danger, and were inclined to violent measures. The elections appeared to be, for the greatest part, in favour of the Jacobins; and the government, seriously alarmed, was not afraid of employing every means to influence the choice of the electoral assemblies. The minister of the interior made a proclamation against the anarchists, which was violently attacked in the Council of the Ancients. On our side, the ministerial measures against the independence of the elections were not spared, and it was upon that subject that the opposition

became more violent than ever. To make up the number of votes, the electoral minorities were almost everywhere separated from the majorities ; so that, in fact, there were two assemblies instead of one : and, as it was for the chamber to pronounce on the validity of the elections, by assuring the majority of the councils, they could make the electoral minorities triumph when they chose. Such a system was, unfortunately for the Directory, its only chance of safety ; and they failed in that plan of campaign in the interior, as they had done in their plans of campaign in Germany and Italy. The two councils defended with emulation the independence of choice. I was not the last to signalize myself ; and I attacked, in the following terms, the elections of the department of the Escaut.

“ Such elections might be approved, if the college could only be reproached with a fault in the forms ; but can the illegal arrestations, the arbitrary deposings, the menaces, means of influence so truly criminal, be so called ? These are not irregularities, but outrages against the nation in the days of the exercise of her sovereignty. If they call faults in the forms, these crimes which they denounce to us, all then is but a form ; and the popular omnipotence, and the representative power, and electoral right,

are only vain illusions. I demand of the reporter of your commissions a precise explanation. Is it true that they have arrested the members of the Bureau? Is it true that they have deposed the functionaries for having refused to vote at the will of others? Is it true that they proposed to an elector so infamous a compact; either to suffer a mandate of arrest, or to vote against his conscience? If these details are true, I cannot see in the elections in question the desire of the people; I see only crimes committed to stifle the public will beneath the individual will. Is not liberty the first character of elections? Where there is no liberty, the elections cannot be valid, whatever may be the number of the majority."

Notwithstanding its efforts, the Directory heard every day the names of its adversaries come out of the electoral urn. Jourdan, whose plan of campaign had been neutralized by the contradictory orders of the minister—Augereau, who had been recompensed for the 18th Fructidor by distrust and forgetfulness—the General Lamarque, and a great number of ancient conventionals, formed a part of the third of the new legislative body. The position of the government, not to render it worse than it was, stood in need of success for the time present, and of ministerial elections for the morrow. But



fortune granted them nothing. . . . And to complete the measure, that long comedy of the congress of Rastadt, which had only served to protect the preparations of the coalition, terminated by the most horrible tragedy. . . . Our plenipotentiaries, Roberjot and Bonnier, were massacred by the Austrian hussars. Jean de Bry escaped, covered with wounds; and his letters raised the minds of the people to the highest pitch of exasperation. . . . The cry of vengeance resounded at every sitting in the councils. . . . The most speedy means appeared the best. Order was forgotten, in that revolutionary ardour which sees only the end, and springs towards it by the shortest road, even amidst precipices.

The chance fell upon the Director Rewbell, to leave the Directory. We named, at the Council of Five Hundred, ten candidates, to replace that Director. The name of Sièyes, which we had placed at the head of the list, was marked by opinion as the hope of a constitutional reform, of which we all felt the inevitable necessity. The Council of Ancients, in fact, chose Sièyes; and, at the same time, the only one of our ministers who had escaped from the cavern of Rastadt, Jean de Bry, was named president of our council. Vengeance against the Austrians!—disgust of

the directorial system!—a vague confidence in the new Director!—profound and too late regrets for the absence of Napoléon, of whom fame published constantly the new successes in Syria! . . . such were the sentiments of the nation at that period of distress.

THE MONTH OF PRAIREAL TO THE 15<sup>TH</sup> OF  
MESSIDOR, YEAR 7.

*From the 21st of May to the 4th of July 1799.*

Success of Suwarrow—Troubles in the Interior—Dismission of the Director Treilhard—Conspiracy in the councils against the Directors Merlin and Reveillère—Distinction between the liberty of the press and the independence of the newspapers—My report in the name of the Commission of Eleven—Permanence—*Coup d'état* of the 30th Prairéal compared with the 30th of July—Without popular voting there is no national legitimacy.

1. THE POWERS.—The resistance of Prussia to the suggestions of England, even after our first reverses, was attributed to the influence of Sièyes, whose acceptance was received with an almost universal satisfaction. The good which he had done when ambassador, served as a pretext for malevolence; and they repeated with perfidious insinuations, that he was in perfect un-

derstanding with the king of Berlin ; they were certain that there had been long and secret conferences between them ; that the king had accompanied him for several hours beyond the gates of Potsdam. They talked of a rich portrait, and transformed into a mark of special favour a gift which it is the custom to give to ambassadors at their departure. The enemies of the republic felt that, as the hope of a political melioration depended upon Sièyes, it was him that they must strike. The new Director, therefore, was scarcely installed, before they had succeeded in throwing a mysterious suspicion upon his intelligences with Prussia ; and it was endeavoured to interpret thus the neutrality of that power.

Spain had united her fleet with ours ; and that junction, which had given us for a moment the empire of the Mediterranean, obliged England to augment her maritime armaments.

The Russian-Turkish fleet overran the Adriatic, and menaced the port of Acmona : fortunately it had not many troops to disembark.

Suwarrow continued his triumphant march in Italy : he took the town of Milan, and a few days after, the fortress, like the town, hoisted the Muscovite flag.

Upon the Rhine, they fought before the for-

tress of Kell: the armies of the Archduke extended to our frontiers. In Switzerland, Massena himself, after five days of obstinate, bloody, and glorious battles, was obliged to abandon Zurich to the Austrians, whose eagle also dominated over the summits of Mount St. Gothard.

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS. — The directorial constitution, imposed upon Helvetia by the proselytism of form, which had been so fatal to us, had excited many resentments in several cantons, and above all, at Zurich. Massena had more than once experienced the indolence and the ill-will of that important town; and our enemies had very few antipathies to encounter upon their entry. Several other cantons, and, above all, the high valleys, declared themselves openly against us. Eight thousand insurgents combatted our columns on both sides of the Rhone. Defeated several times by the General Xaintrilles, they were not the less useful auxiliaries for the coalition.

There were no longer any republics in Italy— if we except that of Genoa, of which the retreat of our army prolonged the existence: the peasants, also, of Oneglia had risen in rebellion, and annoyed us very much by opposing the arrival of the provisions for our army. The priests were everywhere at the head of the re-

volted. The Pope, basely and uselessly dragged from one prison to another, how was it possible not to irritate the whole of the Catholic population ?

The consuls of Rome, the directors of Naples and Milan, had taken refuge in our camp, their only asylum. The Cisalpine director, Adelasio, and many others belonging to the republic, were seen to pass to the service of Austria. "*It is better,*" they observed in their proclamations, "*to obey a German archduke than a French commissary !*" In opposition to his conduct, we learnt with great satisfaction that the General Lahoz, although repulsed, deposed, and arrested by the French government, for having protested against the innovations of Trouvé, had not hesitated to arm for the common cause in the moment of danger. He defended Bologne, as long as it was possible, against superior forces. Some time afterwards, this general, overwhelmed with new persecutions, turned against us ; but at the time in question, his honourable conduct, as well as the defection of Adelasio, were equally a reproach to the policy of our Directory ; and on the successive\* bad news, we trembled to see our destinies confided to the authors of so many disasters.

3. THE ARMIES.—Macdonald, after having

left the kingdom of Naples, and traversed the Roman states, dispersing upon his road swarms of insurgents, arrived in Tuscany. That province, generally peaceful, appeared to have changed its character: Cortona and Arezzo vomited against us multitudes of armed and furious men. It was necessary to subdue them, to secure our retreat, and to take possession of both those towns by main force. In the midst of so many obstacles, Macdonald drew near to Moreau, who saw no other hope of safety against Suwarrow, except the junction of our two armies.

4. THE INTERIOR.—Sièyes was at the Luxembourg; but four of the ancient Directors were still there. . . . The opposition calling itself constitutional had gained, since our reverses, a great number of partisans. The Jacobin opposition confounded itself with us. This movement, which at first we did not perceive, became evident afterwards: the Directory had lost the majority in the two councils. The new majority beheld Sièyes as favourably as it beheld with an evil eye his four colleagues. We were desirous, however, of waiting to see the first effects of the admission of the statesman into that disgraced pentarchy. We resigned ourselves to fresh sacrifices. The land-tax contributions were augmented a tenth. The most influential deputies

drew towards a reconciliation with the government. We endeavoured to forget the past, that we might avoid a more disastrous future ; and Jacobins, constitutionals, and directorials, were for several days confounded altogether in one single body.

I only knew the orator of the *tiers état* by his renown ; and I hastened to see and hear him. I saw him continually ; and I conceived so high an esteem for him, that I hoped for the present salvation of the republic, and its legislative melioration for the future, if such a man could induce his colleagues to follow his steps.

After some interviews, I was completely devoted to him. That sentiment which I had felt at first but vaguely, became one of profound esteem. The legislative power and the executive power had been ill placed in the constitution of the year 3. There was no longer an equilibrium existing between those powers : we went from one state effort to another. Such conservative equilibrium was what we wanted to acquire, to found a durable republic, armed equally against the excesses of the government, and the representative chambers.

But the point in question was not of ameliora-



tion : the question was, how to escape from Suwarrow. Unfortunately, the ancient Directors, envious of their new colleague, instead of aiding him, took a great pleasure in thwarting him. Not only they did not profit by the new resources that were accorded to them by the councils, but they even had the audacity to reply to our indulgence, by a report from the minister of the finances, which justified the deficit, and attributed all the reverses to us, because we had not given enough. That report aroused the councils. We then formed the resolution to renew the Directory without delay. We considered that without that masterstroke of policy the republic had every thing to fear. We resolved, therefore, to begin by an individual attack, which, at the same time, should not deviate from legal order. Treilhard, one of the Directors, had been named before a year had elapsed. Since he had left the legislative body, it was agreed to make use of that pretext of form, to turn out Treilhard, and give to Sièyes a colleague who partook of his opinions. We fixed our choice upon a deputy of the Ancients, Roger Ducos ; and the attack against the government, a moment suspended, re-commenced more regularly : this time, it was combined in the two councils : it struck progressively, but with certain blows.

Rewbell, upon quitting the Directory, entered the Council of Ancients. Scherer, the ex-minister-of-war, was his relation. Rewbell had always looked up to him for support. At the sitting of the 6th of Prairial, Dubois Dubay, in a report against the dilapidators, denounced Scherer to the public vengeance: he accused the Directory of having caused the misfortunes of the state, by the most disordinate and shameful administration; he proposed to pursue the dilapidators, whether they were covered with a senatorial robe, or whether they wore the mantle of a director. Rewbell considered himself personally attacked in this indication, and he protested against it with energy. They passed to the order of the day; but the attack resounded, and was repeated, in the Council of Five Hundred. They summoned the Directory upon the accounts of Scherer, who demanded, of his own accord, to be judged, and surrendered himself prisoner. They replied, as he merited, to the report of the minister of the finance, whose duplicity was evident. They demanded the accounts of the different ministers. Briot and Garreau declared that the Directory had given funds for a representation of the Opera of Adrian, where, said they, a triumphant Cæsar was shown at the moment when the Cæsar of Germany had just conquered our armies. The last ac-

cusation, frivolous as it was, showed to what a degree opinion was irritated against the government. It was received ; and the ministers were denounced one after another. A pamphlet, full of invectives, was circulated everywhere profusely ; and, as the censorship upon the newspapers existed since the 18th Fructidor, they demanded the report of the law of censorship, and they discussed the project of the commissions of which I was a member, upon the abuse of the press. The Directors could no longer dissemble that the storm menaced them. The Luxembourg began to be deserted, except the quarter of Sièyes and that of Barras, where intrigue still retained some unquiet partisans.

The public galleries of the councils were filled with fresh spectators, who appeared to foresee an approaching tempest : they applauded, notwithstanding the rules, everything that was said against the government ; and their clamours exercised the patience of the president, and recalled the tumults of the convention.

The news which we received from the departments of the West and the South, brought every day fresh elements to the effervescence ; the reverses of our armies had encouraged unworthy Frenchmen, who did not blush to make common cause with strangers. Numerous assassinations

had taken place among the republicans, the public functionaries, and the purchasers of national domains. We addressed to the Directory a message, which resembled very strongly an accusation; in which were the following passages.

“ The security of the nation is menaced from without. Six months back we were victorious everywhere. It is not proper for the French people to keep any longer an attitude of humility before other nations. Within, public rumour informs us, there exists great fermentation. Before we proceed to take any measures, the council thinks it right, citizen Directors, to demand information from you : and we beg of you to grant it without further delay.”

The same day (17th Prairial) the council voted an address to the French people. This direct communication between the nation and its representatives, indicated sufficiently that they were diverging from the ordinary paths, and preparing opinion for the measures upon which they had already determined.

Three days afterwards, the two councils celebrated a funeral festival, in honour of our plenipotentiaries, who were cowardly assassinated at Rastadt. The Council of Five Hundred offered a touching peculiarity : Jean de Bry, the only one of the three victims who had escaped from

death, occupied the arm-chair : his discourse drew tears from every eye.

The Directory, notwithstanding its inquiries, were ignorant of the plan adopted by its adversaries : it thought it beheld its loss certain if they took from it the dictatorship of the periodical papers. They collected all that remained of the courageous to defend them upon that difficult ground. The few friends who had not abandoned them, united with them. Bailleul published a very ingenious pamphlet to weaken our accusations. At length, both sides sustained, during several sittings for and against the liberty of the press, an obstinate struggle, which began in the first days of the month, and which afterwards we saw renewed twenty times in our representative assemblies. Amongst the orators, Cruzé Latouche, for the censorship, and Chenier, against it, pronounced some eloquent harangues ; but Lecointe-Puyraveau was the most remarkable, and his words had shaken more than one opinion. Lecointe-Puyraveau had renewed the reasoning that the friend of Mirabeau, our colleague Cabanis, had already stated at our tribune. “ I make,” said he, (upon the sitting of the 9th Prairial,) “ a great difference between the liberty of the press, and the independence of the newspapers. Let us, I beg of you, perfectly comprehend this idea : it is es-

essential for the developements into which I am about to enter. Let us look behind us. We shall see the liberty of the press profaned by men who took possession of it to dishonour it by the most licentious excesses, by confounding the independence of the newspapers with the right of expressing their thoughts. Observe what has passed; and you will see that a tolerated licence has constantly been the presage of some great movement in the state. All the factions have signalized, by the audacity of the press, those excesses which they intended to commit: *often have conspirators thus announced beforehand their projects.* Under the legislature, under the convention, a man, whose name cannot be pronounced without blushing, demanded not the liberty of the press, but the independence of the newspapers, and who, in his writings, committed the most violent excesses; it was in vain that by decree he was declared insane; in vain that he appeared before the tribunal. The voice of calumny was the strongest; the firmest republicans were the victims, and the friends of Marat himself finished by dreading the shafts of his pen. I must recall to your minds what the liberty of the newspapers has done since. Re-established in its rights, it began by caressing the Convention, which had given it life, and finished

by provoking its destruction. It was that which armed the factions of Vindémiaire ; it was the most terrible arm of the re-action. It brought the horrors of the revolutionary government, and afterwards the horrors of the re-action. But so many excesses brought at last their own remedy. The 18th of Fructidor came, and shone upon France: The papers were subdued, and then the calm was established ; the passions are calmed ; we have had no more struggles, no more agitations.”

Some voices cried out, “ *No more liberty*” . . . and Lacoite-Puyraveau replied with warmth, “ Representatives, you desire liberty, but our enemies desire latitude. Have they not already announced that even this discussion will be the signal of trouble and disorder ? I may, perhaps, deceive myself, but the machinations of the journalists, who think to take you un-awares, may prove fatal, except you baffle them. When we suffer reverses—when all the public enemies dispute with us, ought we to place a powerful arm in their hands ? If you revoke the law of the 19th of Fructidor, at the same moment the forty-four trumpets of royalism, that were broken in that period, will again resound their fatal concerts ; you will have a quantity of newspapers sold to the royalists ; others to the

exaggerated party, whose hopes we do not certainly desire to excite ; strangers will have theirs, and will breathe amongst us discord, suspicion, and party spirit. You talk of dilapidators, . . . but those dilapidators have got gold : and can you doubt that with gold they will not find Journalists disposed to walk in the path they choose to trace ? A greater evil awaits us, if the independence of the newspapers is re-established. *We shall behold every erroneous opinion formed, which they will tell us is the opinion of the majority !* Thus the Jacobins, the mother societies, the adopted societies, will set themselves up as the organs of public opinion. It is not public opinion that will inform you of the independence of the newspapers . . . . you will only see traced the opinion of parties.”

Thus spoke one of the most sincere republicans. Many reasonable people thought like Lecointe and Cabanis. It was only in a time of calm, they said, that a good citizen could weaken the government ; the periodical papers ought to be considered, not as books, but like the preaching in the streets ; their dependence cannot prejudice the propagation of the true public opinion, of which the representatives of the people are the only authorised organs ; for never had any person thought of submitting to



the censorship the account exactly rendered of all the speeches pronounced at the legislative tribunes. Those speeches were not subject to the censorship; the dependence of the papers puts limits only to the political preachings of individuals *not authorised by the people*, and who might be neither citizens nor Frenchmen; for nothing could prevent a foreign minister from creating and sustaining a hundred newspapers, which might preach in every public place the overthrow of our laws, and which could not be punished until after it had done an evil which would be reproduced the next day. The tardy chastisement of the incendiary would not have prevented the fire.

All these reasons could not stop us. We replied that the newspapers did not express an erroneous public opinion, except in those melancholy times of censorship where the press repeats only, under a thousand different forms, the lesson of the minister. A liberal paper, not paid, not being able to sustain itself but by the adhesion of a great number of subscribers, represents the true opinion of a great number of citizens; and the reunion of all the collective opinions, if it is not the public opinion, it is at least that which approaches the nearest after the universal voting. As for the chastisement, after the blow,

it will not prevent the evil from having produced its effect. I replied, that the efficacy of the penalties that we proposed must assure all the world, that our project of law was almost equivalent to the censorship, and put an end to the abuses : to calm the alarm of the citizens, it was right to give them the means of expressing their thoughts : that the opinion of the national tribunes was not sufficient for a free people ; since even the conduct and the discourse of the deputies were submitted to the judgment, not only of their constituents, but to that of every Frenchman, whether they were electors or not.

These answers were not without force in theory. The previous censorship excluded all political liberty ; and when one is reduced to have recourse to that fatal weapon, one must be very near to a state of siege—an imminent peril can alone justify those two measures. But, theory apart, on which side was the plain dealing in our discussion ? . . . . Will it be thought that our repressive law, substituted for the censorship, satisfied the directorial authority ? . . . Can we suppose that the penalties proposed in our project were sufficient ? . . . . No, certainly not. We felt, on the contrary, that our law would be illusory, and that was the reason it suited us. We wished to break the executive power,

which was losing the republic ; and it was necessary for us to disarm a power which was our enemy, and that we had condemned. The passion of the moment overbalanced in our minds the reasons of our adversaries ; and the Directory was deprived, in those critical days, of the preventive inspection of the papers ! This example proves that an absolute opinion must sometimes give way in practice to a relative opinion : I say *must give way*, because I voted then as I should vote now under the same circumstances. We acted like good citizens, in destroying the government that destroyed us. But if that government had been good, our conduct would have been that of the enemies of the people. These details may, perhaps, not be useless in aiding to judge public men, in the time of a revolutionary crisis. He who has navigated in the storm, is better able to judge how to guide the vessel during the hours when life is at stake. The measures, therefore, taken in France after the affair of the horrible infernal machine, (except the attack against the jury, which nothing can excuse,)—the law which, without re-establishing the censorship, pronounced against the licence of the periodical papers great penalties of repression, appeared to me to be wise, suitable, patriotic, and completely

justified by the events. The censorship being out of the question, the penalties should be sufficiently strong not to be illusory. They would have taken, in a republic, under the same circumstances, measures at least equally as severe. The task of governments is not so easy, in these days, that they should be judged without a little indulgence, if they do not wish to overturn it.

*Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

The law of the censorship abolished, they proceeded without interruption to the discussion of the project of repression that we had presented. We desired a prompt decision : our ulterior projects were known to above a hundred members of the two councils, and might have been revealed by the slightest indiscretion ; and the Directory disposed of numerous troops. We pressed, therefore, for the voting of the new law ; but an unforeseen incident arrived to retard its adoption : Carrère, deputy of the Rhone, proposed, in the course of the debate, several measures which might have made us lose time : he demanded the formation of a republican jury of censorship, the diminution of the stamp duty upon the newspapers, the prohibition of anonymous writings, &c. Fortunately that orator, in de-

picting the indifference of public opinion, had exaggerated, even to the point of affirming, that the murders of Rastadt had excited only a very feeble indignation. I profited (upon the sitting of the 22nd of Prairial) by the discontent which that assertion had raised in the chamber, to see only that in the discourse of Carrère, and to repulse entirely all his propositions. I spoke as follows.

“ I have just heard a sentence from the last speaker, which all of us are ready to deny. It has excited in this assembly an agitation which still continues. . . . Where, then, has it been found that the assassinations at Rastadt have excited only a feeble indignation in France?—that assertion is impious—it is false!”—(*An unanimous cry of “ Yes, yes !”*)—“ What, then ! have you not heard the cries of vengeance resound again from one end of the republic to the other, and which are become the song of departure of our youthful defenders ? Do you not perceive, on every side, the striking marks of zeal that popular indignation has excited ? Recall, then, the generous accents of that immense crowd which covered the Champ de Mars, and shed tears upon the tomb of our ministers ? What sentiments did you read in their countenances ? What oaths have you

heard? France indifferent to the crime of Rastadt! Already our armies, electrified by the fatal news, have spread terror amidst the ranks of our enemies? From the bottom of the Helvetican valleys, to the summit of the Appenines, one single cry has been heard: the shades of the victims started . . . the murderers trembled . . . that terrible cry, so often repeated in this assembly, and throughout every part of the republic, must again answer for us here:—vengeance! vengeance upon the assassins!”

The whole assembly rose, repeating my last words; the galleries burst forth with reiterated acclamations; and the propositions of our colleague had not any result.

Sièyes had caused the General Joubert to be named to the command of Paris. It was necessary to act. A pamphlet had dared to aver that it was not the Russians of Suwarrow who were to be feared, but the Russians of the councils. . . We decided to attack the election of the Director Treilhard the next day, and, above all, to declare our sitting permanent.

The Directory had not yet answered the message of the 17th Prairial, when we demanded an account of our situation, interior and exterior. Poulain Grandpré, at the sitting of the 29th, proposed to send a second message more

peremptory, which should terminate by the terrible declaration, that the council would remain sitting until the answer of the government. The measure was carried by a great majority. The Council of Ancients followed our example. The Directory replied to us instantly, that it would put itself like us in permanence, and that we should receive the next day all the information that we demanded upon the state of the republic. It was accepting our challenge, but all the posts were distributed; for instead of adjourning till the next day, we continued our sitting all the night. Bergasse came to announce, at the tribune, the election of Treilhard, and he had not much trouble to convince us of the defects in the form; we were convinced beforehand. . . . Scarcely would they listen to a courageous voice in favour of Treilhard: his election was annulled after two consecutive readings. At midnight, the Council of Ancients, during the sitting, confirmed our resolution: at near four o'clock in the morning they suspended the legislative sittings till ten o'clock.

The next day, the message of the Directory upon the situation of affairs, read at the tribune of the Five Hundred, was listened to with a sullen silence, and sent to the united commissions. We proceeded to the nomination of ten

candidates, to take the place of Treilhard. From that list, the Ancients chose the citizen Gohier, ex-minister of justice, who had the advantage, by some voices, of Roger Ducos : thus was the first part of the plan, that had been agreed upon, accomplished.

The 30th of Prairial, Bertrand du Calvados pronounced against the message of the Directory a powerful philippic of logic and passionate movements.

“ What then ! the Directory thinks to justify itself in accusing the legislative body, and in offering it a generous pardon. What an excess of audacity, of perfidy, and dishonesty !—What ! when in the arsenal of Paris alone, a hundred and thirty-three thousand guns were sold at twenty sous a-piece, when they were worth at the least twenty francs ; and it is the legislative body whom they accuse for the want of arms !—What then ! The ministerial reports fixed the effective strength of our armies at four hundred and thirty-seven thousand men, when at the same time they did not amount to three hundred thousand—and they dare complain of the penury of the treasurer ! What ! because we have rejected the odious tax upon salt, and have replaced it by eighty-eight millions of new resources, they dare to reproach us with the deficit ! Was it we



who named your Rapinot, your Trouvé, your Scherer? and you talk of pardoning us, instead of imploring for yourselves the generosity and indulgence of the French people! You have not placed in judgment the authors of our reverses; and you have dragged before the tribunals the chiefs who have gained our victories! You propose to us a reunion! . . . and I propose to you to reflect if you can still preserve your functions. You have no longer our confidence; you can no longer do any good but in retiring.”

Boulay de la Meurthe, succeeding to Bertrand, fixed more firmly what they desired: he accused by name the Directors Merlin and La Réveillère; and declared that those two men must leave the Luxembourg to re-establish union in the executive power, and that they should be forced if they refused. He proposed to name a special commission of nine members charged to present the measures that circumstances might require. The General Jourdan caused two more members to be added to that extraordinary commission, which was composed of Boulay de la Meurthe, Bergoing, François de Nantes, Talot, Petiet, Joubert de Chérault, Juirot, Poullain Grandpré, Angereau, Jourdan, and myself.

We had scarcely been named, when the dismissions of the Directors Merlin and La Réveil-

lère were brought to us. The council formed immediately two *decuple* lists for the two vacant places ; and the General Moulins, and the friend of Sièyes, Roger Ducos, completed the new government. Barras, amongst the former Directors, was the only one that remained.

The government was thus renewed, the 30th of Prairial, without any violent struggle, thanks to the docility of our adversaries, who yielded to the threat of an accusation. The first Messidor I made, in the name of the commission of the eleven, the following report.

“ Representatives of the People,

“ Struck with the misfortunes of the country, you demanded of the executive Directory, in your message of the 17th Prairial, what causes had brought the interior and the exterior to the deplorable state in which we find it at this moment.

“ Upon the 24th Prairial you declared that you would remain in permanence until the arrival of the answer of the Directory ; and it was the determination of each of us to remain as long as it was necessary for the welfare of the republic. By that declaration of permanence you have called upon you the attention of every Frenchman : you have constituted yourselves

more particularly in the presence of the people.

“ For if the people never lose sight of their representatives, it is chiefly upon those decisive occasions when their affections repose upon their heads. You have all felt what duties that solemn permanence imposes on you, and you will, by fulfilling it, answer the expectations of every citizen.

“ To answer that expectation, it is requisite to know and destroy the evils which afflict the country. The executive power, in its message of the 29th, indicated the waste of the treasure, and demanded of you fresh resources of finances as the only remedy. The deficiency of funds and credit can only be imputed to the legislative body ; that artful indication has pointed you out to the nation as the authors of the public misfortunes ; it has thrown upon you the defeats of our armies and the disorders of the interior ; it has renewed the perfidious insinuations so many times directed against you during the servitude of the press.

“ Such are the painful reflections which result from the message of the 29th of Prairial. That message promises us a second more precise. Without doubt, the respective dignity and union of the first authorities, re-established by you,

must assure you a more satisfactory answer, and more sincere informations. The fatal impression of the first message may, notwithstanding, alter the truth; we must demonstrate the falsity, we owe it to France, to the armies, and to ourselves.

“The word *deficit* is a veil with which they obstinately cover the picture of all errors: it is in vain that they have endeavoured to thicken this officious veil; it has not prevented your inspection; it has not deceived your solicitude; they have in vain attempted to give a change to the national indignation.

“You have observed, representatives of the people, with what obstinacy they have insisted, even to this moment, on the deficit as the cause of all our misfortunes. We have no occasion, certainly, to reproduce here the calculations so often repeated by our commissions of finance. Those calculations have remained without an answer. What can there be in common, in fact; between this pretended deficit, demonstrated as false so many times, with the reverses brought on by the most complete inability, by the most culpable indifference? If the authors of that strange message had better consulted facts, they would, at least, in default of justifying themselves, have avoided the reproach

of dishonesty, with which every citizen has the right to accuse them. Up to this moment a deficit cannot have existed on the expenses of the war, since the open credit to the minister of war is far from being exhausted. The observations in the message are then chimerical : they will appear far more chimerical if we compare them with what follows. We can affirm, with the confidence of experience, that an army, a standing army, of four hundred thousand men, ought not to cost more than two hundred and eighty millions, comprising all materials, that is to say, seven hundred francs a year for a man. The first eight months of the year 7 ought not to consume but two-thirds of that sum, or one hundred and eighty-seven millions, by calculating the effective number of our armies at four hundred thousand men, and the individual expenses at seven hundred francs, the sum fixed by the Directory in its last demand. The minister Scherer, upon the 1st of Vindémiaire, declared the state of the army at two hundred and seventy-five thousand men ; and the Directory, after its last message, had decreed, up to the 5th of Prairial, two hundred and forty-five millions for the expenses of the war. The same result is in the statements transmitted by the minister of war to our colleague Génissieux.

“ During the first eight months of that year, the government has expended fifty-eight millions more (two hundred and forty-five instead of one hundred and eighty-seven) than was necessary for an army of four hundred thousand men! *And our army was only two hundred and seventy-five thousand!* . . . . It is not, then, the insufficiency of the funds which caused the failure of all the military operations.

“ The different reports of your commissions of the finances have already shown that the receipts ought to be nearly upon a level with the expenses. The delays in collecting cannot be attributed to the non-execution of the existing laws; and it is the Directory alone that is responsible for the non-execution of those laws. Ought the legislative body to vote another hundred millions, when the millions that were voted were not paid, in consequence of the vices of the administration? Taxes would only have increased the deficiency.

“ On the other hand, we have passed very lightly over the contributions of the conquered countries; they have scarcely figured in the statement of our resources.

“ No, representatives of the people, it is not the deficit which has caused the misfortunes of the state. It is the system that has been fol-

lowed by the executive power for this last year ; that system has been the most powerful auxiliary of the coalition : it has prepared the successes : it is to that we owe the disorganization of our armies, the pillage and overthrow of the allied republics, and the momentary weakening of the energies of the republic.

“ Our armies ! . . . surprised, but not vanquished, the destitution in which they were left could alone have induced them to retreat. Upon the eve of battle, they were deprived of all that could assure their success. They have not been recruited : their administration has been destroyed ; and the dilapidations encouraged and unpunished, they have dared to attempt even our arsenals.

“ Since the opening of the session, these abuses have attracted your attention ; but your good intentions have been paralysed. The Directory has daily abused the immense authority that the 18th of Fructidor left in its hands. . It has embraced and obstinately followed an odious system, with a view of maintaining itself out of the constitutional line, into which it would not re-enter again. It has without shame applied the name of anarchists to all the republicans. Braving all the counsels of the legislative body, it has always marched without looking behind

it. Complaisance, flattery, and intrigue, have sustained it in its march. . . . Where ought it to have terminated ?

“ After the disorganization of the armies, nothing could have been more fatal than the disorganization of the republicans. That plan, employed with *sang froid*, and despotically executed, produces discouragement. The friends of liberty, treated without discretion, looked upon with distrust, quit everywhere the reins of the administration. Revolutionary indifference is described and sought after, as the first of civic virtues ; and men who were too much gifted with that virtue, replace in all our municipalities the chosen of the people. •

“ The abasement of the legislative body itself, would have been accomplished a long time since by the official papers, if it had been as easy to pervert opinion as to abuse the laws. The usurpation of the Directory upon the independence of the popular elections, is still more culpable than the audacity of the privileged press. The right of electing is the only one which the sovereign people reserved in its days of comitia ; to depose a citizen, because he does not exercise this supreme right to the pleasure of the superior authority, is an absolute sacrilege.

“ After having abjured the yoke of a king, —



after having broken so many sceptres,—could the citizens and the warriors patiently support the domination of all the subaltern agents, who would make a sport of the civil liberty of individuals as they would with the political liberty of nations? Those petty tyrants treated our allies like their slaves. Italy, Helvetia, were become their domains. At Milan they held beds of justice. . . . Every day brought a revolution, where the rights acquired were sacrificed to the most capricious aristocracy. They changed thus into regrets and plots the affection and gratitude of the people who were enfranchised by our arms. It was known, that some of those simple men, who were our elders in liberty, desired slavery even in preference! . . . Unworthy chains have charged the hands of Championet. In short, the fruits of our victories were incessantly lost to the republic. The cries of the victims immolated by Suwarrow upon the frontiers, those of the good citizens oppressed in the interior,—must they always find us insensible? No: the misfortunes of the oppressed shall be repaired—the shades of the victims avenged.

“ A new career opens before you ; your permanence will bring a more prosperous day ; the Directory of the republic regenerates a more bril-

liant destiny ; the legislative body, in regaining the first place in the state, will second with all its power the well-directed efforts of the public administration ; an unalterable concord will assure us new triumphs. The hands of those who are accustomed to conquer, will seize the sword of command ; and the republican *faisceau* will recover the strength it ought never to have lost.

“ We are waiting for a message from which is fortunately renewed ; it will be without doubt conformable to the truth and wishes of all good citizens. Let all uneasiness cease from to-day ; let us deliver ourselves up with confidence to those great, ardent, and generous ideas, which caused our hearts to beat in the first days of the revolution. If royalism has conceived some hopes, they will be deceptive ; they will be forever lost at the aspect of our concord and energy. The changes which you have accomplished are not very striking, but they will possess their place in history, and their influence in Europe : they have not cost the shedding of blood ; they have not caused tears to flow. The change of opinion has produced them without a struggle. They will give strength to our social compact, and will find their consecration in the unanimous consent of all the friends of the republic.

Your commission advises you to wait in permanence the message of the new Directory."

That proposition was decreed, as well as the impression of the speech in twelve copies. The deputy Arena desired that it might be sent into all the departments, and to the armies; but I immediately announced to the council that my report was only a preparatory work, and that the commission of eleven occupied itself with an address to the French people, which would not be long before it would be submitted to them.

The first days of Messidor passed without the Directory sending the message that we expected. Sièyes and his two new colleagues were scarcely installed; Gohier had only been a few days. Barras in those first days let us act, and thought only of maintaining himself in place. A delay, which found its excuse under the circumstances, prolonged the permanence of the councils, and the duration of the commission of eleven. The discontented then directed all their efforts against the commission; they pretended to be uneasy at the extraordinary power which was confided to us; they compared us to the famous Committee of Public Safety. As nothing could be more false than these insinuations, François de

Nantes was charged to submit to the council several measures against the divisions of the electoral assemblies, and he announced that in the week the commission would propose a project of law and a project of address, and that it would itself demand a dissolution, and the end of the permanence. The General Jourdan made a report upon the recruiting of the armies. Filled with confidence in the wisdom of Sièyes, we were more desirous than our adversaries to see our mission terminated. The measures proposed by François de Nantes and Jourdan being threatened with an adjournment, I insisted in the following terms (sitting of the 7th of Messidor) for their prompt discussion.

“ There is not one amongst us but has known the crisis of the revolution ; and who does not know how to appreciate the value of an impulse, and judge how far it may be useful, and where it might begin to be dangerous ? The occasion of doing good, once lost, may never return : there are in the city, as in the field of battle, precious moments, which it is not easy to find again : a delay is sometimes irreparable. One single will animates at this moment all the friends of the republic : let us beware of weakening their energy by an unseasonable moderation. If you adjourn to fundamental laws ; if

you want to combine all the means of execution before you promulgate those salutary principles which we have presented, you alienate, perhaps, the public confidence, without which you can do nothing.

“ I do not accuse the intentions of any one. But what is there to fear from the adoption of the measures proposed? Will the declaration be dangerous, which informs our generals and our soldiers that you are about to enfranchise them from a tyranny even more shameful than that of the ancient *régime*?

“ Will it be dangerous to inform the republicans who are persecuted, that in future they may unite and oppose their imposing masses to the scattered bands of their assassins, of those brigands, the bleeding leprosy of the departments of the east and the south?

“ Will it be dangerous to suspend the erasing of those emigrants, who enter under false certificates, obtained and bought in those municipalities, where the spirit of the counter-revolution ferments in secret?

“ What danger do you find, after all, that it is no longer the members of the executive power, but a solemn law, which bestows armours as national recompences?

“ We have just had a proof that opinion

raises and destroys at her will all powers. Seize, then, representatives of the people, upon this all-powerful lever, and direct it towards the public good. "If the laws which we present to you are still retarded for some days, the effects of the salutary action that the state has just experienced may escape you. I demand to move the previous question upon all the reports, and the immediate discussion of the projects of the commission."

The council adopted my proposition unanimously. The projects were converted into laws. They confirmed even an article of the law of the 19th Fructidor, which gave to the executive power the right of transporting the refractory priests. . . . . To transport without judgment! . . . . . We thought we could not yet deprive the Directory of that power without compromising the public safety. I opposed this revolutionary measure extending to all the priests: it applied only to the refractory priests.

Two days afterwards, we received at length a message from the new Directory. I opposed its being communicated to us in a secret committee. The reading of it in public produced an excellent effect: it was the recapitulation of the faults of the fallen power, with-

out reserve, and the inevitable demand of men and money. (9)

Jourdan, soon after the reading of the message, proposed to put in activity all classes of conscripts, and to raise a loan of a hundred millions for the expenses of the war. (10)

Français de Nantes presented the draught of an address to the French nation. (11) It was unanimously approved. The commission of eleven was declared dissolved. During the sitting, the Council of Ancients confirmed all our resolutions: the permanence of the legislative body was terminated, and all re-entered into constitutional order.

Such was the revolution of the 30th Prairial. It had some resemblance to that of 1830. Both of them had the same result of violently changing the executive power. Both one and the other were accomplished by the legislative body. Neither one nor the other were submitted to the universal voting; they had, nevertheless, the general consent. The resignations were given by the Directors equally as freely as those of Charles X. and the Duke d'Angoulême. However, the resignation of the Directory, as well as that of the elder branch of the Bourbons, was incomplete. One of the five Directors did not renounce; and one of the

princes of the elder branch did not renounce, and could not, because he was a minor. But these resemblances are accompanied by differences far more remarkable, which we will examine hereafter by comparing the revolution of Brumaire with all those which we have had precede and succeed it during half a century.

What are we to conclude in the mean time from those resemblances that we have remarked ?

1. The 30th Prairial and the 30th of July have produced two governments, without a positive right, because they were not confirmed by the free and universal voting of the nation, of which no right whatever can entirely make up the want.

2. The Directory, elected on the 30th of Prairial, not having known how to preserve its power *de facto*, and not having the right, its fall, upon the 18th Brumaire, was legitimate, even before three millions of votes had approved of it.

3. His majesty the king of the French can and ought to terminate the revolution of July, by the free and universal vote of the nation : he can, for he reigns in peace, and with undisputed approbation ; he ought, for that popular consecration would fortify his throne. It would be as useful to his family as to France ; it would



cleanse the great nation from the affront of not having been consulted upon the change of her dynasty. For if, since 1830, and notwithstanding some excessive rigours, the present government has merited the praises of every impartial man, for having known how to preserve internal and external peace, it is not the less evident to every eye, that at this moment the French throne is yet between the *quasi* legitimacy of divine right, and the *quasi* legitimacy of the popular right. Its power has not been consecrated either by the elevation upon the shield, which was the universal suffrage of the ancient Franks; nor by the hereditary coronation, the legitimacy of past times; nor by the national vote, the legitimacy of new times.

If, immediately after the 30th of July, government shrank from universal voting, this may be explained by reasons that our contemporaries know, and which are useless to mention. But at this time, after five years of exterior peace, and material amelioration, now that factions are vanquished, or rendered powerless, what is there to fear in legitimatising? Is France descended so low that it is possible to dispense with her vote? If the new government of our fine country would at length submit itself to the

popular voting, it would confirm and strengthen itself; and all parties would then surround with conviction the elect of the people. If, on the contrary, it refuses to render homage to that sovereign whom in our age it is in vain to disown . . . . I wish to deceive myself; . . . but the abyss of a revolution is inevitably about to open before us; and the counsellors of the crown, who do not endeavour to engage it to bend before that popular sovereignty, draw upon their own heads all the responsibility of the struggles which threaten every government that is ill-seated. To persist in not consulting France, would be showing that they do not regard the 30th of July as a revolution, but as a personal catastrophe. Now the three days are really glorious, because they overturned the government of divine right to raise in its place a government of popular right; because for a charter granted by the king, they have substituted a charter proposed by the legislative chambers. The ordinances were only the occasion of that revolution of principles; and, to make it complete, it should be sanctioned by the sovereign people, whose power it acknowledged in raising the banner of 1789, and 1791, of the republic, of the consulate, and the empire.

In expressing myself thus, without any reserve, in saying all I think upon the existing constitution of my beloved country, they will, perhaps, ask me how, with that decided opinion, I insist without ceasing upon my re-entry into France? How I can demand to live under the charter which founded the throne of the king of the French? . . . . My answer will be as frank as my faith in the absolute sovereignty of the universal voting is decided and profound. I desire to re-enter France as a citizen, subject to the existing laws of my country, because those laws, such as they have been made by the legislative assemblies, although not sanctified by the popular baptism, offer, nevertheless, a social state, which, without being perfect, appears to me to be preferable to many others, and, above all, preferable to exile; because the present royal government, created and sustained by the unanimous suffrages of several legislative chambers, possesses in consequence the votes of the two hundred thousand electors, who have at this moment in France the legal privilege of political right; because this state of things, which is neither the best nor the worst, is agreeable to the French people, (as is demonstrated by the numerous adhesions, and the tacit consent of all;) it does not belong to a simple citizen

to refuse obedience to the laws which his country finds suitable. But this obedience does not carry with it the conviction, that those laws are invested with popular legitimacy;—it does not oblige one to believe that the vote of the deputies of two hundred thousand electors is equal to the vote of several millions of citizens;—it does not in the least prevent them from desiring that the universal suffrage, in which those laws are deficient, should be given to them. Let them no longer delay that national sanction. It would, on the contrary, be showing that they sincerely desire the confirmation and the amelioration of those laws of the country beneath whose ægis they desire at last to take shelter; and certainly a rational faith, ardent and exclusive, in the *popular sovereignty*, formed by the *suffrages of all*, may be expressed without temerity by him, who, excluded from the empire by that same universal suffrage, acknowledged and revered in former days that supreme power which threw him out of his family, as he acknowledges it at this moment, while he regrets that the sacred sanction is still wanting to the government of his country.

15<sup>TH</sup> MESSIDOR—1<sup>ST</sup> FRUCTIDOR, YEAR 7.

*From the 4th of July to the 18th of August 1799.*

Opposition to the new Directory — Decree of accusation of the ancient Directors rejected—My speech against the Jacobine re-action—Attacks of the Jacobine press against Sièyes and myself—Club of the Manège ; its expulsion from that place—Censorship of the newspapers suppressed—Excesses of the newspapers, pamphlets, placards, &c.—Disorders caused by the clubs—Revolutionary law of the hostages—Forced loan—Speech of Sièyes against the Jacobins—I defend the General Lefebvre—Answers to M. Thiers.

1. THE POWERS.—The Turkish-Russian fleet attacked again the port of Ancona ; but, repulsed from the shore, it continued without a rival to dominate the Adriatic.

The victories of the Austrian-Russians did not cease in Italy. Masters of Turin, they besieged the citadel : the Piedmontese artillery soldiers,

whom they had enrolled with our troops, hastened, by their insubordination, the loss of that strong place. Suwarrow had, in the meantime, advanced as far as the Trebbia : after three days of the most obstinate and bloody battles, he forced our columns to retire into Tuscany, where he was not long before he followed them. He took possession of Tuscany. Mantua itself capitulated. Our only compensation for so many reverses was the junction of the armies of Macdonald and Moreau, which, reinforced, though too slowly, by some thousands of conscripts, possessed in the Genoese states a good defensive line.

A new Russian army, in the pay of England, arrived at Prague. This increase of force might have proved fatal to us, if the first misunderstanding between Austria and Suwarrow had not broken out,—and if Massena had not opposed, to all attacks, an impregnable barrier.

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.—Our partisans diminished every day in Helvetia, encouraged by the success of the co-allies : the faction, discontented with the reforms which we had imposed, occupied itself with their revision.

The numerous friends of the House of Orange no longer dissembled their hopes. . Troubles broke out in several parts of the Batavian repub-

lic ; the government of that republic placed all its troops under the command of a French general ; and Brune united thus all the means of defence. That unity of direction was still more necessary, as the great expedition prepared upon the British coasts appeared to threaten Holland.

We had still, at Rome and Naples, some fortresses. The republicans of Naples struggled for some days ; but soon the Cardinal Ruffo, the blood-stained precursor of an irritated master, came to exercise his fury, in the beautiful Parthenope, at the head of his bands of Calabrese brigands.—Long will the memory be preserved of the revolutionary vengeance of the coast of Sicily. The king returned in triumph in the English fleet, and re-entered his capital in the midst of executions.

3. THE ARMIES.—The junction of our two armies of Italy was scarcely completed, when Joubert arrived to command them : Championnet placed himself upon the Alps at the head of a third army. Moreau returned to the accustomed theatre of his victories : Massena left him the army of the Danube, and consecrated himself entirely to the army of Helvetia. The conscripts, of whom we had decreed the raising, repaired from every part of the frontiers : we replaced

also; as rapidly as we could, the materials which the preceding administration had without shame caused to be sold at the most scandalously low prices; but that which is dissipated in a moment, cannot, unfortunately, be replaced so quickly.

The winds of Egypt, for several months past, had brought us only the sounds of victory; but, as if every thing at the same time conspired against us, the news from Egypt brought us the account of the raising of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. Never was France more in need of union and firmness, never did a new government take the reins in the midst of so many perils.

4. THE INTERIOR.—We had made the revolution of the 30th Prairial, to re-establish the union between the powers so necessary in great dangers. In rejecting three Directors before the time prescribed by the law, we hoped to gather the fruit of that new violation of constitutional order; yet scarcely, however, had some weeks elapsed, before we found ourselves in the same confusion. We had chosen two Directors, Gohier and Moulins, private men without reproach, but public men without talent, and, what was worse than all, who had no desire to second Sièyes, in whom we had placed our hopes of a better government. They partook, on the



contrary, of the exaggerated opinion. Barras thus found himself between two factions equal in number, and his adhesion decided the majority. Sièyes was obliged to ally himself with him in spite of his repugnance : he consented to name a minister of the police, one of the creatures of Barras, the famous Fouché de Nantes : fortunately that ancient conventional, who well knew the Jacobins, thought it useful to his interests at that moment to combat them : he decided Barras to unite with Sièyes and Roger Ducos ; but the majority depending upon a man like Barras, did not prevent the Directory from being equally as weak as it was before the last crisis. The friends of the fallen government drew towards Barras, who was the last wreck of it. The two oppositions, as usual, united to overturn it, and it was dissolved the day after the combat. The constitutionals rallied round Sièyes, while the Jacobins, from the danger of the state, had returned to their customary exaltation, and no longer saw the welfare of the country in the executive power so unfortunately regenerated. They saw it only in revolutionary expedients, and in the concentration of all political action in the bosom of the legislative body. They had, for two of their Directors, the minister of war, Bernadotte, and General

Marbot, commandant of Paris. If we add to those two names those of Jourdan, Augereau, and Lamarque, members of our council, the Jacobins could reckon in their ranks five of the best generals in the republic.

The combination of great military renown balanced in that party the inferiority of numbers. Sièyes felt that it was necessary to separate as much as possible this formidable combination; and it was resolved, therefore, to deprive Bernadotte, the minister of war, of his place. They began by depriving Marbot of the command of Paris, and the brave General Lefebvre, incapable of all intrigue, was his successor. The new aspect of the council was not long in manifesting itself clearly. They began by attacking the ancient Directors and the ex-minister Scherer: they demanded that they should be placed in accusation. But addresses were not wanting; they poured in from all quarters: in what age, and in what country, has the conqueror been wanting in flatterers, and the vanquished in outrages? The accusations increased in violence, one after the other. Rewbell, who for a year past had sat with the Ancients—Treillard, whom we had expelled by the chicanery of an attorney—Merlin, and La Réveillère, whose abdication had been celebrated as a meritorious sacrifice, for

which they had promised to recompense them, were all four of them equally pursued. Rewbell defended himself at the Council of Ancients with a noble firmness: this council, where the Jacobin party scarcely existed, listened to Rewbell with an encouraging calmness. But amongst us, the attacks were sharper; they waited, above all, to obtain a special commission to establish, in the council, a centre of reaction against the accused. We repulsed that attempt, and had all the denunciations sent back to the government; but it is so easy to persuade a numerous assembly to adopt measures which flatter its omnipotence, that a few days after they named a commission of five members, to whom they sent the account of the accusations.

Encouraged by this success against the fallen power, the Jacobins tried an attack against the existing power. The deputy Briot complained of the delay of the informations that were demanded of the Directory. "We expect," said he, "the lease of the salt springs of the east: it requires but a quarter-of-an-hour to send it us, and we cannot obtain it—other messages have also remained without an answer. I propose to name a commission to inquire into all the messages addressed, to no purpose, to the executive power, and those which it may be necessary still to ad-

dress to it. You will shudder at the recital of the crimes committed in Italy. You will learn that although you pay the army entirely, that in the meantime the allied republics pay the greater part of that army." All this was but too true ; but that was not a reason to establish in the bosom of the council a committee of inquiry, and to take from the Directory the functions which belong to it, to give them in charge to a committee. It was acting precisely as if we had not changed the government. Notwithstanding all, however, the commission was named. Some days after it made a report, in which it specified minutely the chief points of accusation against the ancient Directors, and proposed to discuss it in a secret committee : that discussion continued during several sittings. The second chief accusation was written down as follows :—“ For having transported to the deserts of Arabia forty thousand of the choicest men of our armies, the General Bonaparte, and with him the flower of our literati, and of our men of letters and our artists.” (12.)

The accusation fell evidently upon Barras, as well as upon his ancient colleagues, and it tended also to disorganize the regenerated Directory, of which Barras had determined the majority in favour of Sièyes. The friends of

Sièyes reunited with the partisans of the fallen government; and after three days of a secret committee, we declared that there was no ground for accusation. In deploring the errors of the Directors they gave them every credit for their good intentions, the difficulty of the circumstances, and above all, the danger of a reaction.

That victory had been sufficiently disputed to give uneasiness to Sièyes, Barras, and Roger Ducos: and they declared that these daily interpellations deprived them of the public confidence, and that they did not think it possible to govern if the majority of the Council of Five Hundred did not pronounce more in their favour: they requested personally my concurrence, and I seized the occasion of the anniversary of the 14th of July, which they celebrated by a civic fête in the bosom of each council, to declare myself more openly than I had done by my silent vote against the accusation of the Directors. After the studied speech of the president I expressed myself as follows:—

“ Representatives of the people,

“ I seize with avidity this solemn occasion, when we celebrate the taking of the Bastille, to submit to you some patriotic thoughts. The 30th Prairial you reconstituted the government

of the republic, and you promised to the French people that they should enjoy your work and behold a better future : such is the sense of all your declarations. You will, without doubt, fulfil your promises ; and to fulfil them we must follow the impulse of our consciences, and not suffer ourselves to be misled by foreign impressions. To keep our oaths, it is necessary to signalise and repulse the first attempts made out of the constitutional line we have desired to re-enter."

(*A great number of voices : Yes, yes !*)

" If there existed projects to carry us away out of the directorial system, we would repress them. The friends of royalty would also mislead us, that they might see the great republic perish in the convulsions of civil and foreign war ; but we, and the thirty millions of Frenchmen whom we represent, will not have any more convulsions, any more changes of system, and, above all, no more scaffolds. . . . We will not suffer, in short, the terrible *régime* of 93 to be substituted for the constitutional *régime*."

(*The whole of the assembly : No, no, never !*)

" The 30th Prairial you enfranchised the constitution from the chains which rendered it impotent ; but often the consequences of a political day are very different from those that have been

expected, announced, and desired. The 9th Thermidor, framed against the tyranny of Robespierre, brought with it the royalist reaction. The 18th Fructidor framed against royalism brought the 22d of Floréal . . . . Why had such a noble cause such deplorable effects?

“Why? our sad history teaches us: it is that behind those generous men, who framed the 9th Thermidor and the 18th Fructidor, there passed a crowd of party men, *courageous after the combat*, and more exalted to-day than they were yesterday pusillanimous. Those men deprived the conquerors of their popularity, precipitated themselves into every evil; flattering, without shame, the predominant opinion, they appropriated to themselves the fruits of the immortal days.

“It has often been seen that those who flatter tyrants flatter afterwards the multitude: to cause their former baseness to be forgotten, they commit a fresh baseness . . . . Representatives of the people, if your attitude had only been undecided, the movement of Prairial would have perished, perhaps, like those which preceded it. Fortunately, experience has instructed all of us. As soon as the revolutionary torrent growls in the distance, we know that we must form a dike . . . if we delay, it is too late . . . . and the torrent overturns the workmen upon the bleeding ruins of their work begun too late.

“ But let the good citizens assure themselves we will not turn aside from that constitution, our sole guarantee . . . . The directorial charter, approved by the sovereign people, shall not be placed there, in the midst of you, upon the pillar, as upon a block where they immolate the victims. (13.) No, it shall not be immolated. We will defend it against all factions. I declare it by all your oaths, and, above all, from that which springs from your hearts at this moment. The regenerated Directory is surrounded with all the strength of the law . . . . Let us not cease to surround it with all the strength of opinion ; and reunited by that sacred tie, we shall save the republic from the abyss into which it has been plunged.

“ In the first days of its administration the executive power found everything in the most complete ruin : it still works upon the wreck. Its march appears too slow in the eyes of the impatient friends of the country . . . . and I also partake of their impatience ; and I conclude that the sooner to satisfy it, we must not be divided. The more we suffer the necessity of a change in the system to be discovered, and the more we weaken the government, her march will be so much the less vigorous and less rapid.

“ Besides, do not forget, representatives of the



people, that if the equilibrium of the powers, without which there is no durable constitution, exacts that the government should not weigh upon the legislative body as before the 30th Prairial, it exacts also that the legislative body should not weigh upon the government ; without which France would only have but changed her tyrants, the effect of your good intentions would be lost, and the abasement of the Directory encourage the factions.

“ To obtain such equilibrium, therefore, we must not exact imperiously the dismissal of such or such agent because he has been accused by such or such a paper. Because the Directors will not condemn without hearing the justifications of the accused, it must not be thought that they act like their predecessors ; for they condemned at the same time the people and the individual without listening to their defence. Because we have been for a long time oppressed by the executive power, we must not in our turn become oppressors ; for the constitutional equilibrium would gain nothing by such change. If a word said at this tribunal become an order for the government and a sentence for the accused, liberty would be but a chimera, and the Directory a puppet . . . . It would, in fact, be exacting of our first magistrates to hold

their necks to the bowstring of an absolute master, according to an Asiatic custom, but very little republican.

“ “ Representatives of the people, far from embarrassing the actions of the Directory, let us invite them to display all the power which you have lately confided to them : second them without reserve. Let not the movement of Prairial, made to regenerate the executive power, be directed against the executive power regenerated. Let our attitude restore the confidence, destroy the inquietudes, and bring calm into the bosom of the friends of the republic. Let our enemies renounce the hope of seeing Frenchmen destroy each other with their own hands, and thus serve as auxiliaries to the coalition of kings. Let them hear once more, those men of blood and discord, the oath which we renew to defend the Directorial Constitution against all parties.”

The whole of the assembly rose in repeating the oath. Notwithstanding this apparent unanimity, my discourse was considered by the Jacobins as a culpable attack. The next day their paper (*Journal of Free Men*,) complained that my declaration against the re-establishment of the revolutionary system, and my discourse, had

furnished the subject of a pamphlet, entitled, *No more Terror, no more of the Régime of 1793! down with the Jacobins.* The journal, so far, spoke only the truth; but in railing against me and Sièyes, it exhausted upon us its rich vocabulary of abuse. The censorship of the journals had been taken from the government; and while they were for the law of repression, the licence of the periodical press was without limits.

This journal was the echo of the popular society which had opened the sittings of the hall of the Manège, and which had taken that name. They had profited by the movement of Prairial to open the clubs. The law forbade these unions to have presidents, to make collective addresses, and to have initiating ceremonies. But they eluded the law step by step: General Augereau was nominated president under the name of the Regulator; several deputies were named secretaries; and several others had themselves registered. With such a reinforcement, the audacity of this society increased, and Paris heard with consternation, from the new tribune, the names and the maxims of 1793. The number of auditors augmented every day, and they formed, out of doors, considerable meetings. In those groups they repeated the denunciations: pa-

triotic songs, provocations, resounded through the hall. They accused ministers, generals, deputies; and our commission of eleven had also the honour of a denunciation. They spoke vaguely of a grand plot in the city to proclaim a constitutional king, and they directed suspicion towards the Director who had resided at Berlin. They menaced the republicans with some near danger to excite them to an *émeute*. “By whom are we governed?” exclaimed an orator; “by perfidious and crafty ministers—by mean tyrants without genius. Yes, republicans, death hovers over you; and it will devour all, if your energy abates. The arms of the assassins are ready. The poniards are sharpened . . . They are about to sound your last hour. Will you perish thus pusillanimously?”—“No, no,” cried all the voices within and without: “Give us arms, *give us arms: to arms, to arms!* The republic demands our solicitude; and on the other side, the manes of the martyrs of liberty call also for vengeance! . . . O Romne! O Goujon, Soubrany, Darthé, and Babeuf! . . . You shall be avenged. Yes, you shall be avenged: but by national justice, and not by assassination.” It was impossible that such discourses should not finish by kindling the passions of the multitude. Often the guard of the council were obliged to interfere,

and to stop the disorder : blood had flowed more than once. That guard was charged only with the police of the legislative enclosure ; and the Hall of the Manège was found to be comprised within the enclosure of the Council of Ancients. That council, indignant at the turbulence of the society, resolved to take away the ~~place~~ which they had given them. Forced to quit the Manège, it endeavoured to take refuge in the convent of the ancient *oratoire* ; but the peaceful inhabitants of that part of the town repulsed neighbours so little agreeable. At length the wandering society found an asylum in the ancient hall of the Jacobins, and there it recommenced its tumultuous reunions. The new hall appeared to have augmented the audacity of the members of the society : the Ancients were most particularly the objects of their threats. They denounced by name the deputies Chasset, Baraillon and Courtois ; the animosity towards the last was beyond all bounds . . . . It was he who, on the 9th of Thermidor, had made the famous report against the tyranny of Robespierre . . . All those who regretted, at the bottom of their heart, 1793, must have had the name of Courtois in horror.

The anniversary of the immortal day of Thermidor was arrived. Courtois celebrated this

national festival by railing with vehemence against the *régime* of terror, which madmen appeared desirous to bring back again to the country. Sièyes, as president of the Directory, pronounced, at the Champ de Mars, a discourse which was worthy of his high renown. (14.) The ~~will~~ of the majority of the Directory and the Council of Ancients, was evident; but a great part of the Council of Five Hundred leaned towards the revolutionary measures. At the sittings of the anniversary of the 9th Thermidor, they were occupied amongst us with the popular societies, and they proposed a law for their organization, as if the question were to shelter them from the hatred of the government. Each sitting traced more profoundly the difference of sentiment which predominated in the two councils. The Ancients rejected in that month many of our resolutions, and they were perhaps in the wrong not to have rejected more of them.

In fact, our draught of a law for the repression of the abuses of the periodical press, rejected as being too imperfect, having been sent back to us, we replied by voting the suppression of the newspapers; and this resolution was approved by the Ancients, notwithstanding their desire to augment the authority of the Directory. Thus the newspapers of the royalists and Jacobins,

could deliver themselves up without any bridle to their passions. This compliance of the Ancients is explained by a desire of conciliation which appeared to them advantageous to the public good, and by their hopes of discussing shortly a new scheme of repression. But their good intentions did not prevent the ~~evils~~ that the licence of the press produced at this epoch. In several of the departments, at Bordeaux, at Lille, at the town of Orient, at Rouen, at Amiens, serious troubles followed the suppression of the censorship of the newspapers, and the opening of the clubs. These troubles were everywhere disadvantageous to the Jacobins: the result showed that people would not have any more of their *régime*. "We have not forgotten," said they on all sides, "their atrocious dominion. If they were the good citizens they pretend to be, would they still desire to be objects of anxiety for all the French? Do they think that they can only do good by denouncing and proscribing in a mass, and sowing everywhere suspicion and terror? People do not frighten those whom they love; but instead of re-assuring that country which they pretend to love in their hearts, they chill it with fear."

Another of our resolutions, far more fatal even than the licence of the newspapers, was equally

approved of by the Ancients. It was the law of the Hostages, worthy sister of the law of the suspected. (15.) As soon as a commune was declared in a state of trouble, the administration was authorised to choose hostages amongst the relations of the emigrants, the *çi-devant* nobles, and the relations of rebels, who made a part of the armed crowds. These hostages were to be imprisoned: those who got away, were assimilated with the emigrants. For each republican assassinated, four of the hostages were to be transported, and a sequestration put upon all they possessed. The hostages in a mass were subjected to a penalty of five thousand francs for each individual that was assassinated. In decreeing this law, the legislative body addressed a proclamation to the people. (16.) This proclamation endeavoured in vain to justify a law worthy of 93. How could the Directory and the two councils suffer themselves to be led away to commit so great a fault? The royalists had become threatening in several parts of the west and the south; public functionaries, the purchasers of national properties, had been assassinated: the alarm was spread from village to village. At Bordeaux, the streets and the public places had been covered with the proclamations of Louis XVIII. In the environs of



Toulouse, the armed bands had dared approach near the town, with the white flag displayed. At length, the daily clamours of the clubs, the violence of the public papers and the placards, had not been without influence upon the best minds. Exaggeration is like calumny ; it always leaves something.

The deputy Cornet, in explaining the motives of his vote to the Ancients, expressed his regrets, and those of many of his colleagues : —“ I have already said that this law appeared to me to be against the pacification which was proposed. I have yielded to the first sentiment that the love of my country inspired ; but when I see the members of your commission demand from you the adoption ; when our colleagues of those departments, where the application of the law would be a sad necessity, look upon it as the most efficacious means of preserving them from the terrible scourge of a civil war, which surrounds their countries, and might invade the whole of France ; then must we lament under the extremity to which they have reduced us, and, at the same time, resign ourselves ; since it is the only remedy that they think likely to assure the public welfare.” It was thus that the council was misled. They hoped to fortify the government by a revolutionary law, which

only weakened it, and deprived it of the public esteem, for the law of the hostages was only useful to the rebels, whose ranks it increased, and who took in their turn hostages amongst the republicans. In going beyond the mark, we did not obtain it, as it always happens.

A measure of the same sort as that of the hostages had been decided also in our council. The loan of a hundred millions, voted after the 30th of Prairial, had become, in the discussions preparatory to our commissions, more and more revolutionary. When we voted, nothing was wanting. It was no longer a loan, but a tax upon the rich. The tax was progressive; the ex-nobles were condemned to a triple payment. The Council of Ancients repulsed our project. We were obliged to modify it, by taking from it the most severe measures; and the Ancients, after a very animated discussion, approved our new resolution, although it was little better than the first.

They rejected afterwards our project of law against the transported priests.

The too celebrated Barrère, as well as his accomplices, Billaud - Varennes, Vadier &c., were excluded from the amnesty of the 14th Frimaire, year 5. A speech of General Lamarque had induced the Council of Five Hun-

dred to revoke the exception which struck them. The Ancients rejected our resolution. Barailon acquired a new title to the hatred of the Jacobins.

“ Was there ever,” said he at the sitting of the 6th Thermidor—“ was there ever a more horrible epoch than that where virtue and talent were a title of proscription ; where science was obliged to conceal itself, or mount the scaffold ; where the man of property was constrained to give up his place to cannibals and vampires ?

“ Bonaparte ! Would you have dared to signalize yourself beneath that dreadful *régime* ? Thou wouldst have quickly partaken of the fate of the brave Vesterman. What can be the aim of the indulgence which they demand for Barrère ? Is it that they may re-commence the work of those individuals, (I forbear to call them men,) whom they endeavour to make appear innocent ?

“ Pardon, legislators, pardon me these transports of indignation. . . . I fancied myself near to the year 8 of the republic ! But by a rapid and retrograde movement I find myself brought back to 93 . . . . for I hear the virtues of Barrère talked of.

“ Indulgence for the misguided crowd, and even for the guilty ; but not for the satellites of

that splenetic tyrant, to whom Thermidor did justice but too late, and who wanted only a little genius to enslave us. How can they dare to lament over those beings who have committed every excess, who were guilty of every crime, who exercised every tyranny, and whose hands are still reeking with innocent blood?"

Barrère beheld, then, his exile prolonged : it belonged only to a stronger and calmer power to restore, even to Barrère, the soil of the country. Against all human probabilities, Providence, in the disasters of St. Jean d'Acre, prepared for France the secession of that reparatory government. But was it not very strange that those same men, who showed themselves so rigorous towards Rewbell and La Reveillère, demanded at the same time the recall of Barrère !!!

The question of the civil oath to the national guards afforded to the Jacobins a more favourable result. This oath bore the words of hatred to royalty and *anarchy*. They proposed to suppress the last word. Anarchy, said they, is the absence of the government : it is absurd to swear hatred to that which is negative. General Jourdan, the conqueror of Fleurus, supported this suppression ; a middle party terminated the quarrel. The civil oath bore, afterwards, hatred

to royalty and all sort of tyranny. The Ancients sanctioned the change that the Jacobin party celebrated as a victory.

The real victories of that party had been the laws of the hostages and the forced loan. But they pretended, then, that those laws fortified the government; but, above all, they desired to draw the centre of action to the Council of Five Hundred; and to succeed, it was necessary to abase and weaken the Directory. It was for that purpose that the paper of the Free Men and the club of the Jacobins were constantly working in concert. Sièyes was become more than ever the object of their hatred, after he had unmasked them in the solemnities of the 10th of August. This passage in his discourse at the Champ de Mars had torn away the veil which upon the 9th Thermidor he had only lifted. (17.) “The Directory knows the aim of those men. . . . What they desire, is to intoxicate the public with mistrust, to carry discouragement into people’s minds, and to drive the French to despair; to throw all into confusion. . . . *It is, in a word, that they may govern, at any price. Frenchmen, you know how they govern!*”

Far from being discouraged, the Jacobin journal continued to express itself with so much audacity, that it appeared as if certain of an approaching

triumph. "The Directory," said they, "have raised the mask, and openly sanctioned the massacre of the republicans. The horrible discourse of its president, upon the 10th of August, is an inconceivable augmentation of the counter-revolutionary audacity, compared with its preceding discourses. The Directory dares to affirm that we have violated the constitution. . . . *It has lied* . . . it is an odious calumniator."

The violence of this newspaper was less dangerous than the manœuvres employed at the same time in all parts of the republic. In the clubs of the departments they propagated the most infamous calumnies against the three Directors who formed the majority. Commissaries sent from Paris hawked about accusatory addresses, and by their means the affiliation of many of the clubs with that of Paris was already assured. The club of Grenoble offered the scandal of a panegyric upon Robespierre, pronounced at the tribune; the re-establishment of the *régime* of 93 was highly extolled, and a new convention was demanded as the sole means of salvation. At the door even of the legislative body placards were posted up to excite agitation and insurrection. It was no longer time to hesitate. The commission of inspectors of the Council of Ancients, in rendering an account of these

placards, proposed to send them to the Directory, and to demand why they did not cause the articles of the constitution to be executed which forbade all collective acts to the societies. The Directory replied to this cry of alarm by calling upon the minister of the police; and that minister did not hesitate to accuse the excesses of the clubs, and to demand repressive measures. (18.) His report was sent back to us by the Ancients, and it excited amongst us a very violent discussion, without any result, but our adversaries succeeded in preventing the printing of the report. The Directory, however, still pursued the accomplishment of its duty. It ordered the society of the Jacobins to be closed, and informed us of this great measure by a message, the firm tone and obvious reasons of which reduced for a moment its adversaries to silence. (19.) We ordained that the law, upon the organisation and the limits of political societies, should be immediately submitted to discussion. A second message upon the troubles in the south was read in a secret committee; and we granted to the Directory for a month the right of making domiciliary visits. This extraordinary authority given to those who had just put an end to the Jacobins, appeared to indicate that the two coun-

cils felt the necessity of not weakening the government. . . . Yet notwithstanding, in the same sitting, they obtained from us a measure that was entirely contrary, the formation of a commission of seven members to present measures of public welfare. . . . The closing of the Jacobin clubs, and the troubles in the south, purposely exaggerated, operated differently upon people's minds. Tormented with inquietude, attacked by several excellent orators, and filled with a contagious conviction, like Enchassérieux, Briot, and Lamarque, we could no longer prevent the formation of that commission that we had repulsed several times, because it divided the public authority at the precise moment when it ought to have been concentrated in a single point. But such are too often the incongruities of a numerous assembly, moved by a crisis, unexpected by some, and skilfully prepared by others. In vain several deputies represented that a committee for measures of public welfare was a revolutionary authority; that we had an executive power, whom we had just invested with the right of domiciliary visits; that there were no new measures to decree, but that it was necessary to execute those that were already taken; and that in acting thus, we overturned with one hand what the other had raised. . . .



All was in vain : they replied by showing the letters which they had received from the south and the west, and by crying—“ *They murder the republicans ! . . . The white flag ! . . . The royalists lend the hand to Suwarrow !*” . . . All that we could obtain, was to repulse the permanency, which was also proposed in this stormy sitting, and to cause the commission of seven to be named, not by the president, according to custom, but by a secret scrutiny. This form of election was extremely important, because the President Quirot, who belonged to the exalted party, had probably formed a committee of persons who thought like him. The scrutiny was held during the sitting ; and I was proclaimed member of the commission of seven, as well as Chenier, Daunou, Lamarque, Enchassériaux, Berlier, and Boulay de la Meurthe : the friends of the government had thus the majority.

In the state of irritation in which the Council of Five Hundred found itself, the most insignificant circumstance appeared serious. General Lefebvre, who commanded Paris, had written to President Quirot, to announce to him that the grenadiers of the legislative body placed at his disposal, not being necessary in the quiet situation of Paris, he had sent them to their

masters. A thousand conjectures were raised upon this letter : was it not an indication of a plot ? Who had dared to place the guard of the legislative body under the orders of General Lefebvre ? They accused the general, by saying that, most probably, he had lost his senses ! They challenged the inspectors of the council : I was obliged, in that quality, to answer the challenge ; and as I felt for the commandant of Paris as much esteem as friendship, I replied as follows to what they had said against him. “ I can satisfy one of the last speakers upon the fear which he expressed with regard to the subject of the commandant of Paris. The brave Lefebvre has too wise a head to lose his senses so easily. It would be more natural to demand information from him than to injure him at the tribune. As a member of your commission of inspectors, I declare that I am completely ignorant of the point in question : it is what should be sought after with calmness, and known with certainty.”

The information that was received the next day caused all inquietude to vanish. The inspectors of the Ancients, fearing that the closing of the Jacobin club might bring about some troubles, had charged the chief of the guard of the legislative body to augment, with a hundred men, the post of service, and to come to an un-

derstanding with the commandant of Paris. But the letter of General Lefebvre, instead of being addressed to the president of the Council of Ancients, had been addressed, through an error, to our president. He had reason, however, to be alarmed, since the question was to dispose of our constitutional guard, who had no other superiors than the inspectors of the councils.

We discovered, very soon, how much they had exaggerated the troubles in the west and the south: the Chouans had been beaten in every part, and dispersed. On the other side, the threats of the society of Jacobins dissipated in smoke. The commission of seven, animated by better sentiments, sought only to second the efforts of the executive power, and to re-establish, in the interior, order, peace, and public confidence, the sole end that we had hoped to obtain in effecting the revolution of Prairial.

In the history of M. Thiers, except the exclusive application of the title of patriots to the Jacobins, (a grave error, which cannot be too much condemned,) the author traces a brilliant picture of the Directory at that period, true upon the whole, but several of the figures in the first plan resemble it very little. It is in describing that which we have not seen ourselves, that the truth of the details are difficult to lay hold

of. How did M. Thiers learn that Sièyes, infatuated with what he had seen in Prussia, tired his colleagues by repeating constantly—“*It is not thus that they do at Berlin!*” This information was furnished him, without doubt, by interested contemporaries, who were not too faithful. I saw Sièyes every day, and if he had vaunted Berlin in this stupid manner to us, we should have smiled with contempt; notwithstanding our ancient esteem for the orator of the *tiers état*, we should have said that he was in his dotage! and far from listening to him with respect, we should have quickly sought another chief. No minister was ever less infatuated with a court: surrounded with the most fatal prejudices, our ambassador had learnt how to conquer them by a simplicity worthy of the great republic. He had placed himself far above the pitiful intrigues of a court. The day upon which, by means of some little stratagems, they succeeded in making the ambassador of another power take for a moment the first place, Sièyes sat down quietly, and said only with a loud voice, “*It is of little consequence where I am: the place which is occupied by the ambassador of the French people always becomes the first.*” If they choose to find infatuation in this great citizen, let it not be, at

least, the ridiculous infatuation of being a courtier at Berlin. It is true, that Sièyes always had numerous detractors. He was not gifted with the genius of intrigue, without which we are rarely appreciated at a just value. Many of his rivals thought themselves equal to him, or at least pretended to think so: they succeeded sometimes in making others believe it, and in putting his superiority in doubt. They repeated everywhere the words of Talleyrand, the inexhaustible author of piquant sallies:—"I hear for ever talked of the *profound* head of the Director Sièyes! . . . *It is hollow*, they mean to say, without doubt." The witty author of that epigram possessed too much solid wisdom not to find very *hollow* a policy, of which the best legislation of the republic was the only principle. We all laughed at his *bon-mot*; but the heads really *hollow* were those who took a pun for a reason.

The historian Thiers was equally deceived when he inserted this pretended remark of the Director La Revéillère. "Barras is duped by Sièyes; Sièyes is duped by Barras . . . and both of them are duped by the Bonapartes." The Bonapartes! Napoléon was at that time beneath the walls of that town where his fortune failed him, (as he once laughingly said at the Tuileries.)

From his camp of St. Jean d'Acre, he dreamt of Damascus, Aleppo, Bagdad, and Constantinople . . . and thought little of duping Sièyes or Barras. As for the brothers of Napoléon, they must have been gifted with a most miraculous spirit of divination, if they could have thought, at that period, of the first of those two returns which struck Europe with amazement. Such returns are not to be counselled, are not to be prepared, are not to be plotted. The frigate of Egypt, the brig of the Elbe, the bark of Cæsar, are only to be moved by the inspired breath of genius. These events of a superior order, must not be measured by the common measure. For my part, I affirm that the return from Egypt, as well as that from Elba, surprised us as much as anybody. It is puerile to believe and insinuate that I intrigued at Paris for Napoléon to return from the plains of the east just at the moment of the catastrophe. The *Deus ex Machinâ* does no longer even for the theatre; and it should not be introduced into history; in a revolution, above all, it would be a poor machine to set to work; La Revèillère, notwithstanding his theophilanthropy, had too much good sense to believe and say such absurdities.

But let us admit, for a moment, the supposition . . . . It was not necessary, then, to endea-

vour to fortify the new Directory. It was not necessary to appeal to the most renowned political man, and the most celebrated for his legislative wisdom and for his antipathy against military supremacy. In seconding Sièyes, with all my youthful efforts, I did what was necessary to preserve the directorial government. If that administration could have been saved, it would have been by Sièyes and those who were ranged around him.—And it might have been saved! . . . Yes, if the Council of Five Hundred had possessed as much confidence as the Ancients in the wisdom of Sièyes, in the month of Thermidor, we should have recalled to life that constitution of the year 3, which, since the 18th Fructidor and the 30th Prairial, and notwithstanding two *coups d'état*, was nothing more than a corpse. And Napoléon would not have found the republic almost at its dissolution . . . Yes, another Sièyes would have been the republican legislator of his country . . . But where was his strength? . . . Where was his cunning? . . . And without cunning, without the sword, how could he govern in an age of progression and universal pretension?

## MONTH OF FRUCTIDOR, YEAR 7.

*From the 18th of August to the 22d of September 1799.*

Reactions in Italy—English Invasion of Holland—Defection of the Dutch fleet—Battle of Novi and death of Joubert—The Jacobins accuse Sièyes—Garat and Chenier defend their pamphleteers and the Journal of Free Men—Decree of accusation against both of them—My report in the name of the Commission of Seven—The two Jourdans—Several of the Journalists are arrested—Projects of charges decreed in the two parties—Jourdan proposes the permanence, and the declaration that the country is in danger—I defend it—His propositions are repulsed—The views of Sièyes for reforming the constitution were entirely republican—Concentration of the executive power—Division of the powers—Universal suffrage—Conservative Senate—Election amongst the candidates named by the people—Perfection of the ostracism of the ancient republics—The consular reform prepared without the return of Napoléon being thought of—The men of Brumaire are no more the authors of the imperial monarchy than the constitutions of 1789 are the authors of the republic of 93—But for the unexpected return of Napo-



l<sup>éon</sup> the Jacobins would probably have triumphed—Personal aristocracy—Answer to the detractors of Napol<sup>éon</sup>—The example of England proves that a monarchy, really constitutional, may be the best of republics.

1. THE POWERS.—The probability of a rupture amongst our enemies appeared to shine upon our horizon. The Russians manifested the intention of recalling the king of Sardinia to his provinces of Piedmont, and the project was repulsed by Austria, who aimed at planting its standards in the Piedmontese towns, instead of raising the colours of the House of Savoy. This cupidity had been very useful to us in the war of the first coalition ; and we hoped that it would serve us a second time.

The constancy of Prussia in her neutrality, raised, also, some clouds between that power and the coalized. The ministers of London and Petersburg left Berlin : we attached too much importance to those departures ; but it left no doubt upon the actual intentions of Prussia, whose example decided Saxony and Denmark to keep entirely out of the way of the coalition.

Our terrible enemy, Pitt, become more powerful than ever, was no longer satisfied with scattering floods of gold over the continent : he prepared, for several months, a powerful armament. Ireland, Holland, Egypt, Italy thought them-

selves menaced : the storm fell at length upon the coasts of Holland ; ten thousand English, commanded by General Abercrombie, bathed with their blood the downs of the Helder. The resistance of General Daendels was sharp, but useless. The Duke of York, followed by a second expedition, went to place himself at the head of the army ; and Brune, who commanded the French and the Batavians, surrounded the invaders with his formidable columns.

2. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.—The most cruel reaction desolated the Italian republics. Naples, above all, was by turns a prey to the ferocious brigands of Calabria, commanded by the Cardinal Ruffo, and to the scaffolds raised by order of the king. The armistice promised was not sanctioned. Nelson suffered one of his masts to become the gallows of the brave Admiral Caracciola : the fraternity of arms and glory was powerless, (for the first time,) upon the soul of a British commander and conqueror. Naples during several weeks swam with blood—and the court returned triumphant.

Switzerland was no longer but a field of battle : the Austrian, Russian, and French camps covered her narrow valleys and her high mountains ; the authorities of the country were for us or against us, according to the marches or counter-marches of the armies.

Holland, invaded by the Duke of York, appeared desirous of defending herself by sea and land ; but the proclamations of the Prince of Orange had found their way throughout the vessels. That house whose name is inseparable from the glory and the liberty of the Batavian power, was not forgotten. The sailors of the fleet refused to fight the protectors of their ancient Stadtholder : they thought, when they surrendered themselves, of passing to the flag of Orange. . . . But the point in question was twenty-five vessels of the line. . . . The British lion ought he not to adjudge himself so fine a prey! . . . The Dutch fleet ceased to exist. Aristides would, without doubt, have struck with an anathema such a victory . . . . But Themistocles would not perhaps have neglected so useful a result. The party of the Stadtholder was awakened also in several provinces : Brune had, at the same time, his enemies to repulse and some of his allies to satisfy.

3. THE ARMIES.—Our army of Italy was reorganized with haste. It then gave us a spectacle worthy the brightest days of the ancient republics. The young lieutenant of Napoléon, Joubert, on receiving the command from the hands of General Moreau, nobly demanded the assistance of him whom he came to replace ; and

Moreau, whose glory was then so brilliant and so pure, yielded to the prayers of his successor, and remained to aid him in the approaching battle. Both of them merited that the crown of oak should be mingled on their foreheads with the laurels of battle. They commanded together a general attack against the Austrian-Russians. But fortune would not that time range itself on the side of all the civic virtues. The plain of Novi was the tomb of Joubert. Moreau saved the remains of our army that the superiority of numbers had vanquished, notwithstanding the most noble efforts; and the names of Joubert and of Novi traversed France amidst a funeral concert.

The child of victory, the invincible Massena, maintained himself alone with advantage, notwithstanding his inferiority: he attacked even the enemy at the passage of the Aar, and beat him completely. But that advantage was not of a nature to balance the catastrophe of Novi.

4. THE INTERIOR.—From the commencement of the month, the progress of Suwarrow struck a fatal blow upon the Directory. The parties, suppressed for a moment, revived with fury. The Jacobins and the royalists, far from having coalesced, were very open enemies; but the impatience of the first and the hatred of the

second, tended equally to overthrow the government. The interior, in the month of reverses, offered everywhere an obstinate and bitter struggle.

The Jacobin newspapers repeated the gross contradiction which they had given to the Directory. "If there could be found," said they, "in our language a word more expressive, we should make it our duty to employ it. Sièyes is more culpable than Carnot and Merlin. If he does not change his system, there must be made another 18th of Fructidor or 30th of Prairial for him." I was not spared by these indefatigable denunciators. They reproached me for having been member of a revolutionary committee, (singular accusation in their mouths,) of having been named deputy at twenty-three years of age, in a department that had no right to name that year; of being the brother-in-law of an emigrant; and, what was still more extraordinary, of having endeavoured to assassinate some merchants of Morocco, to obtain possession of their vessel, &c. Since we had declared our horror of 1793, we had become conspirators, traitors, assassins! The authors of those poisonous writings caused at the same time the most impudent pamphlets to be distributed. One of these pamphlets, entitled *Change of Residence*,

placed the Council of Ancients at Montmartre, (where the gallows had formerly stood!) The Ancients lost patience, and they denounced to the executive power the pamphlet and the Journal of Free Men. In communicating to us their decree, they made no doubt of our consent. But they were deceived in their expectations. Notwithstanding the high-minded speech of our colleague Cabanis, the Council of Five Hundred passed to the order of the day. The Directory, however, caused the journalist and the pamphleteer to be prosecuted before the tribunals.

The law of the hostages had been applied to twelve departments of the west, and to that of the high Garonne; far from having calmed them, those immoderate measures had increased the evil and propagated the alarm. "They want to bring us back to the government of 93!" they cried on all sides; "we will not suffer it!" The agents of royalism took advantage very actively of that unfortunate law; the insurgents recruited in crowds, and defended themselves near Toulouse in several combats against the regular troops. In the departments of La Charente the royalist proclamations and the white flags seriously alarmed the magis-

trates ; and the national guards united to defend themselves.

The condemnation of the Jacobin newspaper did not put a stop to the manœuvres of the party. Sièyes was denounced at the Council of Five Hundred as having been elected before the year was accomplished. Chenier, in repulsing this calumny, deplored the blindness of those who sought to sow division among the authorities ; he made an eloquent eulogy on the accused Director. Garat had spoken in the same sense to the Council of Ancients. We rejected the accusation as a calumny. To put an end to this rage for denunciation against the Directors and the representatives of the people, Chenier, in a motion of order, proposed to us to submit to severe rules the denunciators of the members of the Directory and the Councils. “ We must,” said he, “ fix the conditions on which such petitions may be read at our tribune. Is it not necessary to ascertain the existence and the civil state of the informers ? Ought a denunciation, signed by an emigrant, to be read ? There no longer exists any strength for us but in union. Those who would divide us, are, then, the enemies of France. Does not the coalition hide the guilty hand which ferments

our discords? We must not acknowledge republicans in a handful of strangers, of new and unknown men in the revolution, which was made without them. It is they who dare accuse the civilians who overthrew the throne and founded the republic. The good sense of the people, the wisdom of the Ancients, the firmness of the Directory, and yours, will baffle all their plots."

The proposition of Chenier was adopted without opposition.

The commission of seven, named in the preceding month to present measures for the public safety, had not yet made any report.

Out of seven members, there were four of us very little disposed for extraordinary measures. We thought the government ought not to be embarrassed, and that it was better to let it act in liberty; but the impatient accused our idleness.

Their arguments and the gravity of the circumstances decided us to unite. Enchassériaux and myself were named reporters. Enchassériaux caused several measures to be voted, to accelerate the raising of the conscripts. I was charged to propose the law, and its after considerations:—

“ Representatives of the people, to fulfil its



instructions and obtain a useful result, your commission of seven have been under the necessity of examining the situation of the republic.

“ Its attention has been directed to our frontiers, and to the troubles in the interior. It submits to you the ideas which that examination has suggested, and the resolution in consequence.

“ Joubert has taken the command of the army of Italy ; the hopes of the Piedmontese and Cisalpine patriots are raised ; the confidence of our troops surrounds them. In a few days, perhaps at this moment, Joubert conducts to victory, the brave, impatient re-seize it. The passage of the Bormida, and the occupation of the town of Acqui, the former head-quarters of Beaulieu, are satisfactory presages. The army of Switzerland, commanded by Massena, quits a glorious defensive, necessitated by distress. You have learnt his successes ; you know that the Mont St. Gothard beheld again our phalanxes ; and you learn to-day that the Valais is re-conquered. Numerous battalions crowd on the Rhine. An army, already organized, marched towards the Alps : Championet and Moreau directed them. The first may conquer to-day with impunity ; the second return upon the shores of the great river, so many times the

witness of its glory. The combined fleets of France and Spain await the expedition prepared in the English ports at a great expense; the re-union of those fleets proves that we have sincere allies, and that interest and loyalty may unite governments whose principles differ. On the other hand, the abuses of the administration are corrected in silence; the fatal inaptitude, which seconded, three months ago, the efforts of the coalition, is replaced by an indefatigable zeal. All is in motion for redress. This general movement, which succeeds a calm of too long a duration, is in a republic the sure guarantee of victory.

“ Here, then, representatives of the people, are the fruits which we gather from the events of Prairial. Let the detractors of that day, the more glorious that it never cost a drop of blood, judge and consider it at least in silence.

“ Your commission is far from finding the position of our armies as alarming as it has been endeavoured to be represented: it believes, however, that it is right that you should provide against reverses. Excessive security might become fatal.

“ We have been struck, therefore, with the necessity of uniting new forces, to guarantee our

frontiers ; and although the probability of the danger is farther removed every day, we have resolved to propose to you the formation of an army of a second line, ready to march upon every point directed by the executive power.

“ As for the interior, your commission cannot dissemble to you its painful state. From the first days of Thermidor, royalism, at the aspect of an active and regenerated Directory, trembled for the coalition. Royalism, implacable in her hatred, and accustomed to find resources in her defects, calls again discord to her aid, and replies by civil war to the call of strangers. Faithful to its frightful system, it takes all masks and all forms to excite troubles. It arms in La Vendée. . . . assassinates in the west and the south. . . It recruits in the towns, and laments in the country over the fate of the conscripts. . . . There it advances with the menacing eye of a tiger. . . here, not yet daring to show itself openly, it creeps and crawls like a reptile.

“ Our troops, it is true, make everywhere the royal troops bite the dust. You know the patriotic conduct of the functionaries and the citizens of the high Garonne. At Montauban, in the space of three hours, the several companies of cavaliers have formed themselves

against the revolted. But it is already a great deal to have dared to combat with us. These attempts failing, are ready to be renewed, and prove the hopes and the audacity of royalism. . . . Fathers of the country ! you can no longer shut your eyes upon the abysses that are open at the same time in several parts of the republic.

“ Your commission has felt that the sword is for the future the only law that ought to be opposed to the partisans of royalty. . It has felt that they ought to publish all their attacks, that the general indignation may be raised against them. It thinks that, at the present moment, the second measure of public safety is to create a force partially destined to repress the troubles of the interior ; and we have adopted the formation of an army in the departments.

“ Your commission having decided unani- mously the creation of these two new armies, its attention is drawn to the means of execution.

“ The raising of the auxiliary battalions decreed by the law of the 10th Messidor, offers resources sufficient for the completion of the actual regiments, and for the armies of the second and departmental line. The affirmative has been proved to us. After having filled the ancient regiment, the auxiliary battalions still offer a surplus of a hundred thousand

men, sufficient for the two new corps. Our enemies ought to know, however, that to augment our levies, we only need a signal. The ardour of our youth is equalled only by the zeal of the citizens of every age. What Frenchman but would prefer to perish rather than drag on without honour a miserable life beneath the yoke of a barbarian? Who could support the idea of becoming the conquest of a Cossack, and to see a great people, the conquerors of so many kings, reduced to become the slave of slaves? . . . . O my country! notwithstanding the perfidious assertions and the hatred of the counter-revolutionists, thy noble bosom is ready to open again for liberty! That bosom was, it is true, torn by parricide children. It is still! . . . but all thy blood has not yet been shed! There yet remains enough for independence and glory! Before strangers every Frenchman cries, Fidelity to the republic! No more divisions, no more interior struggles, no more unjust suspicions . . . . The constitution and victory! The first is confided to us, the second is for our armies: and we and the armies will fulfil our duties, or we will perish at the post which is assigned to us.

“Your commission proposes to you to demand an account every ten days of the Directory, of the levy and of the arming of the auxiliary

battalions. It proposes also to you to proclaim at the national tribune the names of the zealous departments, and the names of the negligent departments. The honourable naming awaits them ; and, without doubt, the *Côte-d'Or*, and *la Meurthe*, where the levy is accomplished, the high and lower Rhine, where they act with zeal, will be the first to obtain that recompence which our warriors gain almost every day.

“ A last observation has struck us. The plots of our enemies are prepared in silence ; their bands are organized in darkness ; they are scattered, and will fight like the Arabs of the desert ; they pillage, assassinate, separate ; and unite to pillage and assassinate again . . . Such is the seal of reprobation, the seal of the stranger, that for six years past has been stamped upon their foreheads.

“ But ourselves !—Publicity, splendour, imposing reunions, alone are worthy of the national grandeur. The troops that are disseminated are sometimes useful ; but too often they are the prey of brigands who surprise them unawares. Those brigands watch the insulated *gend'armes*, the small detachment, and the cash-box ill escorted. When they see a departmental army organized ; when that army covers several

points, and that in the south, as in the north, those standards float upon immense camps; when those camps, in case of necessity, become the point of reunion of the national guards, concentrating in their bosom the republican thunder; then, doubt not that fear will disperse the conspirators, and the stipendiaries of Pitt will tremble: the thirst of gold will give way in their souls before the fear of death. Upon the first rumour of a revolt, an avenging legion will fly to the spot where they attempt it. Woe then, woe to the rebellious commune, if there is one who dares to raise the banner of royalty!

“ The following is the plan of your commission.

“ 1. The executive Directory will render an account every ten days, to the legislative body, of the auxiliary battalions, of their equipment and their armament.

“ 2. The Directory will indicate the departments which display the greatest activity in the execution of the law of the 10th of Messidor, as well as all those whose tardiness is remarkable. The names of those departments will be solemnly proclaimed by the president of each council.

“ 3. When the auxiliary battalions shall have completed the regiments of the active army, the remaining force shall be divided into two bodies.

“ 4. The first shall be united as an army of the second line upon the points fixed by the Directory.

“ 5. The second will form a departmental army, particularly destined to suppress the troubles in the interior.”

The proposition for those two armies, of which one was to act in the interior, had greatly augmented the power of the government. But it was for a contrary end that the commission of seven had been formed. They were not measures of strength and concord that were expected from us. Our scheme was attacked without circumspection: it was adjourned, then put aside. They discovered that to have laws for public safety, *as they expected*, it was necessary to have another commission. They reproached Jourdan for having given his vote to my report, which they found insignificant and favourable to the directorial despotism. That general was surrounded with a well merited esteem. He was equally beloved at the council as in the armies. Sièyes anxiously desired to reconcile him with the government, and I took him several times to the Luxembourg. In the reunions of the commission of seven, we had frequent occasions to exchange amicably our reciprocal convictions: I had succeeded, with the aid of



Boulay de la Meurthe and Chenier, to modify the opposition of that noble mind, sufficiently exasperated by the reverses of our armies, to recur to conventional measures as necessary for public safety. After one of our reunions in committee, the discussion between us having been raised to a degree of unexpected violence, I retraced the inevitable excesses of the system to which his friends drew him; and in the midst of several speeches, I made use of an interpolation which would have appeared an outrage to a less virtuous man: "Ah! Jourdan de Fleurus!" I exclaimed, "*Jourdan de Fleurus!* wouldst thou then become *Jourdan Coupe-têtes?*" (20.) Our excellent colleague, confused a moment, advanced immediately towards me, holding out his hand to me in a friendly manner: his friendship was assured to me from that day. He had sufficiently coincided with us to place a departmental army at the disposition of the government. Unfortunately the catastrophe of Novi had renewed his patriotic inquietudes; he again placed himself at the head of the Jacobin party, where we had to combat him till the 18th Brumaire.

The rigour of the Ancients and the Directory against the newspapers and pamphlets, had not repressed their licentious excesses; upon the

news of the disaster of Novi, and of the defection of the Batavian fleet, they no longer knew any limits : Moreau and Macdonald had delivered up the army of Italy to the Russians!!! The Directors had delivered up the fleet of the Texel to the English ! They called upon the people to save themselves. The Directory determined all at once upon a rigorous measure : the 17th Fructidor, they caused eleven journalists to be arrested, and placed seals upon their presses. They informed us of it immediately, by a message. (21.) They addressed at the same time a proclamation to the French. (22.) The Directory thought that they had the right to act thus after the article 145 of the constitution, of which the following is the text.

“ If the Directory be informed that any plot or conspiracy is forming against the safety of the exterior and interior of the state, they may decree mandates to appear and mandates of arrest against those who are supposed to be the authors and accomplices.”

The next day was the anniversary of the 18th Fructidor : Sièyes alluded in his speech to the rigorous act exercised against periodical papers. (23.) The opinion which he demanded with so much frankness was favourable to him, not unanimously but in great majority. The Council

of Ancients, who had provoked it, approved of it highly; they expressed a lively regret at having revoked the law of censure of Fructidor before they had promulgated a law of repression. But the Council of Five Hundred heard the directorial message with less favour. Briot accused the Directory of the most scandalous tyranny—"I declare to France," said he, "that a *coup d'état* is in preparation . . . Perhaps the Directors of the public calamities have a treaty of peace in one pocket, and a constitution in the other. If the act which I have just denounced is consummated, it is necessary that the people should come to our aid; and then we have no longer either liberty or independence, they must rise and save themselves." These words did not want echoes in the council, but they remained without any other result than to cause them immediately to deliberate on the penal law against the abuses of the press. Every sensible mind felt, that to deprive the government of the censure and the penal law, and deliver it up to the unpunished rage of the contrary parties, was to reduce it to impotence. The application to the journalists of a constitutional article directed against the cases of confiscation, was without doubt forced; but there was less inconvenience in forcing the application of

an article, than to leave the power at the mercy of the royalists and Jacobins. Sièyes, by his firmness, acquired new rights to the national confidence.

The arrest of so many journalists appeared, to a great part of the Five Hundred, to announce a *coup d'état* : they thought themselves menaced : they united around the Directors Gohier and Moulins. Jourdan, Augereau, and Lamarque, convinced that the danger was real, put themselves in defence ; and as, in a revolution, the better to be able to defend oneself it is wise to attack, it was soon resolved among the Jacobins to cause the country to be declared in danger and to decree a permanence.

I ought not to disguise here, that for several months past, many of the deputies of our party, frightened at the state of affairs, had thought of the means of ameliorating them. The Jacobins not only thought, but they constantly endeavoured to bring us back to the conventional measures. Looking upon the safety of the republic precisely in an inverse sense from the Jacobins, we thought with Sièyes that we ought to concentrate more than ever the power in the government, as long as foreign invasion menaced us. The ideas of 1793, which appeared salutary to our adversaries, appeared mortal and imprac-

licable to us. Each party made its plans. *What shall we do if we are attacked?* It was what they said on both sides. To neutralize the influence of the generals, Sièyes and his two colleagues had placed their hopes upon the youthful conqueror of the Tyrol, the brave and unfortunate Joubert. Overtures were made to him; he modestly replied that he was not yet sufficiently known by victory to repose upon his laurels. They gave him the command of the army of Italy. If, instead of falling at Novi, Joubert had vanquished Suwarrow, his glory would have sufficed to balance that of his rivals. I so little expected the return of Napoléon, that I had embraced with ardour the hope that Sièyes had placed in the victories and virtues of Joubert. His early loss appeared to us a public calamity.

After that loss, Sièyes was fearful that the struggle, thanks to the influence of the generals of the council, might finish against the Directory. I believe, though unable to say positively, that the overtures made to Macdonald and Moreau were received with coldness. I had been ignorant of the communications which might have existed between Sièyes and these two generals. It was the union with Jourdan that I had preferred, and Sièyes engaged me to make some

I believe that no one would have

been more calculated than the citizen hero of Fleurus, to cause the project of republican reform to succeed, the sole aim of our hopes. I spoke to Jourdan on the part of Sièyes, but it was in vain. It was not by concentrating the directorial power, but by concentrating the authority in the Council of Five Hundred, that Jourdan desired to save the republic. Sièyes, alarmed by the report of a reunion held at Bernadotte's, said to me one day with a sigh, "We have no longer, then, a sword for us—ah! why is not your brother here?" He must have thought the danger very pressing, to have let that wish escape him; and, in fact, all the probabilities, in case of a violent struggle, appeared to be in favour of the Jacobins.

Of all the generals, the minister of war, Bernadotte, was the most suspected by Sièyes for his ambition and audacity: the resolution had been adopted for several days past to take the ministry from him. Sièyes and Roger Ducos wanted to replace him after the arrest of the journalists. The indecision of Barras alone retarded this vigorous act. Barras, according to his custom, had open negotiations with everybody. Bernadotte restrained Barras, and excited Jourdan. It was after a nocturnal conference, held by the minister of war, that Jourdan,

ing united the commission of seven, invited us, in a rude and peremptory tone, to propose to the council the permanence, and to declare the country in danger. The commission having rejected his invitation, he hastened to the council, surrounded by all those who thought like him, and he pronounced a written speech, in which the following passages were, above all, remarkable.

“ The dangers of the country are so imminent, that it is no longer permitted to keep silence. He who persists in not speaking renders himself guilty of compliance with the evils which weigh upon the republic, and those which menace it.

“ Yes, the country is in danger! To delay any longer in proclaiming that afflicting truth, would be to reject the means of saving it.— After this proclamation, let a special commission be charged to present us *the measures of public safety*.

“ Let us cease to walk in the dark : let us advance with quick steps *in the vast career which we have to run. The safety of the people is the supreme law.*”

These passages, more particularly applauded by a formidable mass of the deputies, were also by the galleries, in the most lively manner.

Jourdan finished by proposing the formation of

a commission of nine members. It was that which they had determined upon obtaining at any price. Scarcely had the orator finished, when they decreed the impression of his speech in twelve copies, and demanded on all sides, with loud cries, a vote of urgency. Chenier appeared at the tribune, where at first he could not make himself heard. The deputies and the spectators had never evinced so much excitement. Unusual clamours, personal provocations, resounded on all sides. One half of the assembly cried, with furious gestures—“*Put it to the vote!—save the country!*” The other half cried, with not less force and union, “*Let Chenier speak!*” Augereau sprang to the tribune, and endeavoured to support the motion of Jourdan ; but he could not find words prompt enough ; and the tumult increased to such a point that the president covered his head to establish tranquillity. It was Boulay de la Meurthe. . . . He was one of those men who are not to be frightened : he had voted in the commission of seven with Chenier, Dannon, and myself, against Jourdan ; and he maintained with firmness the liberty of discussion, which they wanted to stifle by cries and menaces. After a quarter-of-an hour of disorder, Chenier replied to Jourdan.

“ The proposition that is made to you,” said,



he, "is of so much importance, that it demands the most profound attention. I am about to combat it, and I shall support myself by the authority of the past, by the conduct even of our predecessors. It was the legislative assembly, which, in 1792, declared the country in danger. What was then our position? There existed a conspiring throne to destroy! Our armies, feeble and ill-exercised, were commanded by generals named in the centre even of the conspiracy. I appeal even to the sincerity of all my colleagues: what comparison can be established between our situation in June, 1792, and that in which we are at this time? An evil too real exists at this moment: it is the want of confidence, and the power of calumny. I know that they talk of a treaty concluded with the king, and a project to re-establish a monarchical constitution! But like me, without doubt, you will not put any faith in such reports; you will not pronounce so lightly against the veterans of 1789, in favour of those modern enthusiasts. No, it is not upon the evidence of such men that you will give way to unjust suspicions."

They interrupted the orator with murmurs, and by recalling the question.

"I am in the question," (he replied with more warmth than ever :) "the measure taken

in 1792 is not applicable to our epoch, because the dangers are not the same; because then a just mistrust was a duty, and at this moment confidence is a necessary virtue; because at that time a perjured king conspired, and to-day the republican magistrates hold, by your suffrages, the reins of the executive power."

Upon this short and feeble discourse of Chenier, Lamarque replied by an harangue, prepared, like that of Jourdan; and in which the vehemence did not exclude the adroitness. The proclamation of the dangers of the country, and the nomination of a commission of public safety, being only, according to him, but auxiliary means to aid the government. He terminated by crying out, "*Liberty or death!*" The assembly, electrified, rose altogether in repeating this cry. The effect produced by Lamarque had alarmed us: and I spoke in the following terms.

"In terminating his discourse the last speaker has called for *liberty or death!* A movement of unanimous approbation has been manifested amongst us. I will also repeat those admirable words—'*Liberty, or death!*' It is here that liberty would find, if required, her last asylum. Here, the suffrages and the opinions are free; and whatever may be your deliberation, no one

will suppose that the violence of which this place has been the theatre, could give to your vote a contrary direction to your real sentiments. No : the excesses to which they have abandoned themselves have not influenced you in any way : fear and weakness are far from our army. He who could yield to those vulgar sentiments would be unworthy to sit here."

*(A crowd of deputies cried, " Yes, yes ! speak, speak ! ")*

" The motion of our colleague, Jourdan, has been presented to the commission of seven. I combated it at that commission : I ought to, and I will, combat it at this tribune.

" Representatives of the people, at the crisis in which we find ourselves, there is no longer any thing to disguise. It is necessary to explain ourselves with frankness : this sitting must show what you desire."

*(Fresh interruptions from our adversaries informed me that I was in the right road.)*

" Our intentions are the same, without doubt : we all desire to save the republic ; but we differ in the means of saving it. To find the best, we must seek after them with calmness : we must regulate the discussion, instead of endeavouring to stifle it ; we must enlighten ourselves by a mutual tolerance ; we must renounce, on both

sides, imaginary inquietudes. What union can you hope for among the people, when their representatives give them such an example? But I come to the point.

“ You want to save the republic—two means are offered to you.

“ Some desire the declaration that the country is in danger, the permanence of the councils, the call for a new federation, and, above all, a commission of public safety more active. Others, under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, fear that all extraordinary measures may be fatal. I think like the last. I declare that I see to-day no safety for France but in an intimate union between the first authorities. A state that is sharply menaced at the exterior, and torn in the interior by armed factions, cannot be saved but by an energetic power, to which all constitutional latitude is assured.

“ Yes, in our position we must augment the strength of the executive power, *or we must change it*. There is no medium: out of one or the other of these two parties, you have nothing left to do, but to accumulate to yourselves all the powers. . . . *Is it there that the safety of the republic is to be seen?*

*(At these words a violent agitation manifested itself in the council. I had put my finger on the wound.)*

“ Despotism, say you? . . . . The dictatorship! Who would offer it? Who would dare to accept it? There exists, then, amongst us cruel mistrust. The shame of this proposition, the infamy of this yoke—would there be found here one single man who would not arm against them with the sword of Brutus? But I have only spoken of the dictatorship to reply to those who made use of that word to interrupt me. It is in vain that they would put me aside from the question. I despise the clamours, and I do not fear menaces. I shall say all I think.

“ I will say that when the enemy is at the gates, if there be an imperious necessity for the friends of the country, it is that of union. Shall I recall to you the example of the ancient republics? In the common danger, resentments were suspended. In England, (must that nation be cited to the French to seek examples of wisdom?)—in England, there is no longer any discord: the land is menaced by the enemy—parties are then at an end. Parliamentary opposition sustained the principles of our revolution against a dominating ministry. We threaten Ireland—and suddenly Pitt and Fox agree. They are no longer rivals, but fellow citizens marching against the invaders of their country. Well then, representatives, with us also

safety is in union. Instead of changing the system, we ought to-day to concentrate all means of strength in the government; we should lavish all upon it.

“There is but one case in which we should follow another road. If the government appears to you to be guilty of treason, or you think it unqualified, then there is nothing to be done but to judge and punish it, and, above all, to replace it. But, in truth, I do not see with what serious reproach you can accuse the executive power. I have not disguised my opinion against the Ex-Directors: I have contributed to their fall . . . I should act in the same manner, if they deserved it, against their successors.

“Permit me to inform you, that there is in the republic an authority, whose calm, energetic, and constitutional attitude we ought to imitate to save the state. If we had followed the example of the Council of Ancients, our dangers would have perhaps been less great.

“As for the reaction which they talk of, the Directory has taken every means to repress it. It is far from my intention to justify any reaction: all are culpable and fatal; but without action, there is no reaction . . . And it is the action which, in the first place, it would be wise to prevent.

“ The necessity of giving great latitude to the executive power in public danger, is so evident, that those who would themselves to-day overturn the Directory, would be obliged to-morrow to re-establish one stronger. Ought not our predecessors to have obeyed that necessity? Was it not to such necessity that the committee of the convention owed its power, famous for so many prodigies and so many horrible evils? Of what use in fact would a government be that was powerless? What good would an authority be to which contempt was attached, and that might be insulted with impunity even beneath the walls of its palace? (*Murmurs.*)

“ These murmurs which interrupt me again, strike agreeably my ear. *No one*, they tell me, *will overturn the Directory!* . . . I trust that no person has such an intention. . . . But, representatives of the people, do you not see that the system which is proposed to you would soon mislead you, in spite of yourselves, beyond all constitutional limits? The measures of permanence, of federation, of dangers proclaimed, of commissions of public safety, are good, excellent, when they want to destroy that which exists, to overturn a power of which they despair. No one will pretend that they are the means of union and concord; and it is concord and union of which we are in need.

“ With an executive power like ours, (I demand of all my colleagues,) ought it to expose us to the terrible chances of a revolutionary authority, rather than unite around the constitutional authority? What have we to fear from the Directory? It represses with a firm hand the royalists and the men of the Rue du Bac . . . . Well, then, far from accusing it, let us return it our thanks. In putting a stop to the reunion which served as a den of faction, it has done its duty; for the deposit of the constitution is also confided to the government. I do not mean, in expressing myself thus, to condemn political societies; but I approve of them only contained within the limits of the law, and submitted to the inspection of government.

“ Let us beware more than ever, to-day, of yielding to the revolutionary temptation. Since no one will, as in Prairial, overturn the Directory, let us fortify it by our confidence, and cease to listen to the fables of royal treason attributed to the most illustrious republicans. It is after the considerations which I have submitted to you, that your commission of seven has rejected the propositions of our colleague Jourdan. If they confined themselves to the declaration that the country is in danger, that declaration alone would produce nothing: if it were the prelude to ex-



traordinary measures, it would only increase our dangers. I demand to move the previous question."

The marks of approbation given to my speech appeared to presage us a victory. The Deputies Quirot and Lamarque supported the motion of Jourdan. Dannon and the president Boulay de la Meurthe combated it. The Jacobin party beheld the hope vanish which to them appeared certain; and notwithstanding those new violences, the discussion was adjourned to the next day.

Barras perceived, at length, that he had nothing to hope, and that he had been wrong in retarding the deposing of the minister of war: he united with Sièyes and Roger Ducos: they addressed to Bernadotte a dismissal that he had not asked for, and replaced him by the General Millet Mureau. They changed also the central administration of Paris, and held themselves in readiness for the events of the next day.

The news of these depositions troubled the Jacobins. Crowds assembled round our palace, which although composed of the men of the Marne and the Fauxbourgs, had not that confidence which the sentiment of superiority gives. In going to the assembly we traversed these disconcerted groups, and several amongst us reproach-

ed them severely for their temerity, and recommended them to disperse ; some threats notwithstanding were uttered ; and some deputies were insulted. “ *We will save the country in spite of you,*” they cried on all sides upon our passage. Applauses unworthy of him broke out *at the sight of Jourdan*, whom the deposing of Bernadotte had exasperated : renouncing all moderation with them, and scarcely in his place, he cried—

“ While you deliberate, they depose Bernadotte, and Lefebvre, (the last was not true.) I wish to believe that these changes are not the prelude of a *coup d'état*. If this were true, let us swear that they should never take us from our curule chairs till after they had given us death.”

This oath was pronounced by the whole assembly standing. Jourdan was desirous of taking advantage of this movement, and he again proposed the permanence. The public galleries resounded with the most violent acclamations. The president called to order with severity. Augereau then made himself heard to pronounce an eulogy upon the 18th Fructidor, which he had directed, and to declare that the actual situation not being the same, the national representation was inviolable. I repeated the declaration of Augereau, and I recalled the council to the question. “ We must be also inviolable

against a *coup d'état*, as against the crowds, whose unworthy clamours we hear from here. Hitherto, we are all agreed ; and this unanimous sentiment ought not to influence in the least our decision. Let the proposition of Jourdan be put to the vote." The council closed the discussion ; and after two trials they proceeded in the most profound silence to the nominal call. One hundred and seventy-one deputies voted for Jourdan ; two hundred and forty-five voted against him. We had the advantage of them thus by seventy-four voices. The propositions were rejected, and the assembly rose. On quitting the hall, we again found crowds of the men of the Manège, but the chiefs had disappeared.

That day of the 28th Fructidor proved that new revolutionary experiments were odious to the majority of the Directory, and to almost the whole of the Council of the Ancients. It proved also that the population of Paris did not care to see the authority pass from the Luxembourg to the legislative palace. Sièyes, strong in the approbation of the people and their representatives, could give himself up to the hope of snatching the republic from the evils which oppressed it. Our success, however, had only depended upon a few votes. It was not sufficient to have

avoided the abyss: it was necessary also to secure ourselves for the future: we felt the inevitable necessity. The Jacobins had not concealed from us that they intended saving the republic without us, and in spite of us. Every night there were secret reunions of the party, whose excitement was fearful. "If you are not beforehand with our adversaries," was said, "an insurrection in the Fauxbourgs will overthrow it. Although everybody talks about the constitution, no one has any longer the slightest confidence in it. The question is reduced, by the force of circumstances, to this dilemma:—either let the Jacobins accomplish the change, or act against them." On both sides, the conviction was profound. Jourdan and his friends thought they acted like good citizens, in concentrating the power in the Council of Five Hundred, and in following the revolutionary route, opened already by the laws of the hostages and the forced loan. Their error was deplorable, but they had no more secret intentions or personal motives than we had: they did not consider that the measures which had succeeded in 1791, were impracticable at that moment, because the mass of the people held those measures in horror. They did not see that the resources of the national domains no longer existed, and

that in the impossibility of creating new assignats it was necessary to have recourse to credit, to the public confidence, which trembled at the clamours of the Manège, and at the idea even of the discussion of the permanence. They did not see, Jourdan above all, that to advance in that terrible route, notwithstanding the general animadversion, it was necessary to have recourse to terror, and that his probity condemned him beforehand to the scaffold, which would be set up in spite of him by the forced results of those principles to which he abandoned himself with the most fatal confidence. I renewed my efforts with Jourdan. If we could have united him with us, with several of his friends, I am convinced that the reform obtained without violence, would for a long time have consolidated the republic. We offered freely to Jourdan for him to form a part of the new government. A firmness of character, united to great gentleness of manners, rendered him more proper than any one to enter into the supreme magistrature.

But there was no conciliation possible. The division was complete; the menaces of the Jacobins determined us to break with them. The triumph of their opinions appeared to us to be the greatest danger of the country.

Revolutionary exaggerations are, in fact, the most ordinary cause of the fall of republics. One excess occasions a contrary excess. The Jacobins have almost always been the most effectual promoters of royalty, as the flatterers of kings have been also often the blind promoters of the republic. This comparison is perfectly simple, since the demagogues are the flatterers of the multitude. — But amidst those flatterers of the multitude, many of them are perfectly sincere. . . . Without doubt they are equally as sincere as many courtiers who, accustomed to contemplate their master through the prism of absolute power, finish by really admiring him, by almost even adoring him, as a being of a superior nature. In the same manner, fascinated and intoxicated by the popular favour, many of the democrats, sincere at first, finish by suffering themselves to be carried away to commit crimes, even to murder. All fanatics resemble each other : those of the Jacobin sect, those of the St. Barthelemy, those of the Old Man of the Mountain, were all equally the prey of a moral frenzy. The most sincere are the most dangerous : they are infinitely more so than the troop of satellites who, without conviction, like the crows, hover to find food, over all the battle fields. When these wretches

behold the victims fall on either side, whatever they may be, they precipitate upon them. One may neglect a moment these valets of all power ; but as for the men of courage and faith, it is to them we should attach ourselves ; and if we cannot convince and enlighten them, we must combat them without intermission when their fanaticism threatens to overturn society.

Penetrated with these truths, we decided on being beforehand with the Jacobins ; we resolved upon changing to open hostilities our former circumspection, and to make the reform succeed at any price, of which they had spoken for some time past ; and we exacted at length that Sièyes should no longer delay submitting to us the developement of his constitutional ameliorations. It was then that he must have thought that the moment had arrived for his wise theories to be adopted. But France, although a republic for seven years past, was she really ripe for political liberty ? The future has answered in the negative. But not one of us at that time, not one of us foresaw the answer of the future.

The accusations of royalism, launched without ceasing against Sièyes, were complete calumnies. This statesman had only republican views. . . I

think it my duty to pause here upon his plan of reform, which belongs far more to him than the charter preferred by Napoléon, and voted by the French people. I shall terminate this first volume by pointing out the basis of that plan of reform. I will show in the second volume how, upon the miraculous arrival of the hero, the national enthusiasm was entirely submitted to his magical influence ;—how this torrent, (too often without obstacle with a generous, warm-hearted, but changeable people,) after having carried away with it existing laws, schemes of changes, even sanitary precautions, precipitated itself toward the dictatorship ;—how that dictatorship, the necessity of which was but too evident, but which ought at least to have been temporary, and placed out of the permanent law, was unfortunately incorporated in that law ;—how, at length, a conception, sublime in the whole, having been mutilated, was transformed, in spite of us, into an incomplete code, incoherent, and very different from what Sièyes had proposed. . . . To each and every one his ideas and his work : . . . *Suum cuique.*

Sièyes, from the moment of the establishment of the directorial charter, was persuaded that it was not likely to live : he did not partake of our illusions. We have already said that he



was so deeply penetrated with the faults of the charter, that he would not accept of a place in the Directory. He yielded afterwards to our intreaties, (in the year 7,) but in the hope of a legislative reform, desired by many of the deputies, all disposed to second it. These luminous communications made every day fresh adepts; and I glory in having been one of the most ardent. They established before all the necessity of concentrating the executive power, of replacing the five Directors, elected for five years, and not re-elective, by three consuls elected for ten years, and re-elective. At that epoch there was no question of a great elector of the republic. It was after the return from Egypt and for Napoléon, that the supreme magistrature was proposed, and so ill received. I find nothing in my notes relative to it before the year 8. The three consuls of Sièyes were to be equal in rights; and the annual presidency to be exercised in turn by each of them. There was no question, then, either of a tribunal, or, above all, of a mute legislative body!!! But let us proceed in order in exposing the basis of the primitive project of Brumaire.

1. *The Division of the Three Powers.*—The legislative powers, executive and judicial, should be as much as possible independent of each other;

and always serve reciprocally as a barrier. Without the division of these powers, there is no political liberty. Their reunion constitutes despotism. In this sense, the conventional government was of the same sort as that of Louis XIV. ; and the republican government was the most despotic of the two, since the powers were more concentrated in the great assembly than in the great king. The parliaments, the clergy, the provincial states, were poor barriers for him who said, *I am the state*. . . . But the convention had no barriers of any sort.

2. *Division of the Legislative Power*. — The division of the three powers is, then, to assure our liberty. Let us apply that theory, and seek for the equilibrium of those powers. We shall find ourselves stopped by the immense preponderance of one of the two. What equilibrium can be established between him who makes the laws and those who execute them? That which is out of all proportion, can never be put in proportion, except in being weakened; that is to say, by being divided. It is, then, the great power, the sole, which rigorously merits the name; it is the legislative power which should be divided, to avoid despotism. And here we are brought by the application, to separate the formation of the laws from their sanction. Here

we are brought to the necessity of two chambers.

3. *Elective chamber—Universal suffrage, direct and indirect—Popular censure.*—All society is composed of individuals who are proprietors, and others who are not. It carries, then, with itself, two opposite wants,—that of movement, and that of stability. Those who find themselves well off, desire to remain as they are, those who are ill off desire to change their position. This double state of human society, such as God has made it, exacts imperiously the same state in the legislation. One of the two chambers, representative of the movement, ought to be elective, and frequently renewed. The other chamber, representative of stability, ought to be immovable. To the first belongs the proposing and the compiling of the plans of law: to the second belongs the sanction or the rejection of these plans. These two chambers, to constitute a good government, should be equally powerful; and each of them, to be powerful, should lean upon its principle, and be endowed with all the strength derived from it.

The elective principle being that of the chamber of the movement, let us examine this principle. The exercise of the rights of each ought not to be limited but for the general interest;

and all the members of a society possess in principle the same rights. Universal suffrage is then the rule, and the restriction to that rule can only be the exception. That exception would be then tyrannical, *if it were not indispensable*. For every man may usefully, without inconvenience and without difficulty, vote in his primary assembly to choose the public functionaries of his commune. Those functions touch very nearly the interests, the welfare, and the safety of each inhabitant, rich or poor. Those inhabitants all know one another: they are then capable of choosing amongst them those who merit their confidence. They should all then co-operate in this choice. The universal suffrage, direct in the-commune, is then just and convenable; and there is no reasonable motive for depriving any one whatever of it.

Besides, the justice of universal suffrage is felt by all, since the periodical papers have carried the declarations of the rights of man and of the citizen, even to the lowest ranks of the non-proprietors. In our social state, many then may still be in want of bread; but no one can be in want of political aliment to irritate his hunger. The accession, therefore, to the affairs of the country is become a necessity of our epoch; and as long as that necessity is not satisfied, the

revolution will not be appeased. The human mind marches towards this end, and it will attain it in spite of all obstacles. The consideration of the fact is still more decisive for the legislator than the evidence of the right. The political emancipation having become an universal instinct, if they feel a repugnance for it, they must resign themselves, if they wish to reconstitute something durable. . . . If not, to the irresistible interrogation, of *What is the third state?* will soon succeed the interrogation, not less irresistible, of *What is the Proletariat?\**

And indeed, if we study the annals of European civilisation, we shall read upon the brightest page of ancient history, that inscription of Christianity, *Liberty of the slaves!* The brightest page of intermediate history offers that inscription of philosophy, *Enfranchisement of the serfs!* And at the end of the last century, the contemporary history inscribed, in its turn, upon the brightest page, *Emancipation of the non-proprietors!* This third idea, positively admitted in the code of Condorcet, but immediately effaced under the blood and the dirt of 1793, was revived, and wisely put in practice by the legislators of Brumaire. It traversed in silence the empire and the restoration.

\* State of the non-proprietors.

It arises to-day more powerful and more ripe. . . .  
Glory to the government sufficiently enlightened to preside with courage over this third development of religion and philosophy! I will here treat of the great question of the political rights to be accorded to the non-proprietors, and refute, article by article, the ninth and tenth chapters of a work, entitled, "Two Years of Government, by Alphonse Pepin." But I will defer that refutation to my second volume, where it will naturally be found to be introduced in my legislative discussions upon the lists of notability. Let us be now contented with observing to-day, that until Brumaire, notwithstanding all the declarations of rights, they had been fearful of granting the right of city to the poorest and most numerous classes: they had confined themselves to enfranchising the burghers of the town and country, in exacting a census of several days' work, or revenue of several hundreds of pounds. Instead of equally fortifying the two chambers, they had equally weakened them, in admitting to the democratic election but a minority of the society, and in leaving the conservative chamber without means of resistance against this bastard democracy. Our divers essays of electoral census, ed since, and more or less enlarged, are equally insufficient; for the question is not the

limiting the emancipation of such or such a class ; but to dare to generalise it, and to know how to do it without overturning. It is with this view, that after having consecrated the direct exercise of the universal suffrage in the commune, we submitted that exercise out of the commune to several degrees of delegation. As soon as it was necessary to name them to functions that included a district, a department, the whole republic, we established the necessity of modifying the principle. For in that case, could we, without inconvenience, apply the universal, direct suffrage ? How should five or six millions of men understand one another sufficiently to exercise this right without intermediates ? How should citizens, the greatest part of whom have never been out of their district, make a good choice beyond the limits where their habitudes retain them ? Can they know the aptness of such or such a citizen for the high places of the administration, of the judicature, of the elective chamber ? . . . . The greatest part of these voters have most probably never seen the candidates, and perhaps scarcely heard speak of them. . . . Experience, as well as reflection, shows that direct voting in such a case would be difficult and dangerous. Here the exception becomes applicable. Society will find the utility and

convenience of delegating its power to electors ; and the universal suffrage, direct in the commune, would be indirect (more or less) for the high functions.

Indirect for the high functions . . . I grant it. But all the citizens, without exception, should delegate this right of suffrage ; and all can receive the delegation—all—admitting the smallest census is to acknowledge two nations in one nation. When two people, enemies, (the Franks and the Gauls,) inhabited Gaul, the feudal legislation only confirmed the existing fact. But, to-day, that the existing fact is the unity, is it not absurd to seek to destroy that unity by the legislation of the electoral census ?

The indirect suffrage is more perfect, being nearer to the direct suffrage from whence it springs. If the electors are constrained to choose the high functionaries from among themselves, it is evident that the delegation would be less absolute. By this restriction, the electors, *chosen by all and amongst them*, would be at the same time *the delegates and the candidates of the direct universal suffrage*. After these popular considerations, Sièyes established,—

1. That each primary assembly, composed of every Frenchman that was of age, should choose in its bosom a tenth of its number, *notables*



*of the commune.* It should then choose, amidst those notables, the public functionaries of that commune.

2. The notables of all the communes of a district, united in the chief place of the under-prefecture, should name the tenths amongst them as *notables of the district.* They should afterwards choose in this tenth the public functionaries of that district.

3. The notables of all the districts of a department, united in the chief place of the prefecture, should name amongst them the tenth of their number as *notables of the department.* They should then choose in this tenth the public functionaries of the department.

4. The reunion of all the lists of notables of the departments, (arising to nearly six thousand names,) *would form the great national list,* in which they should choose the members of the tribunal of cassation, the deputies, the senators, and the consuls.

Here, then, is the system which has been denied, calumniated, and misconstrued. . . . It was called very complicated. . . . Without doubt, nothing is more complicated than real liberty, in a great society accustomed to servitude; but, in requital, nothing is more simple than the despotism of a man or of an assembly.

Has there, at least, been established some better system than our universal suffrage, direct and indirect? What have they discovered after thirty-six years of experience, of criticisms, of doctrines, and political pleadings? They have found a census in order to be eligible, and a census to be elector! That is to say, to combine the interests of the proprietors and the non-proprietors, the aim of all association, they have deprived of civic rights all non-proprietors, and a great portion of small proprietors!!! And they flatter themselves, that by excluding from the forum the majority of the nation, they have triumphed over the difficulty. . . They have done nothing but thus perpetuate the trouble and discontent; and this state of sickly transition has no other term possible than *the electoral reform*.

Some adversaries of the lists of notables of Brumaire have said that these lists disinherited the people. But six millions of men voted then in the primary assemblies; and they delegated only in a limited manner but a part of their right of suffrage, to *six hundred thousand notables*, electors and candidates of the universality of the French people. And now, it is not the universality, but only a part of the population, which scarcely names *two hundred thousand electors!* Our system of notability was then far

more popular than all your electoral systems. The senate, it is said, chose the high functionaries and the deputies . . . . This prerogative was but momentary ; it was to diminish and expire as soon as the people were accustomed to, and had an affection for, the exercise of those rights of election. Such was the plan of Sièyes : the direct universal suffrage was to extend with favourable circumstances, in case that the republican manners taking root amongst us, the primary assemblies, or at least the notables of the communes, could have named progressively the functionaries of the district and department. As for the deputies, we left for a time their choice to the senate, that the legislative authority, in the first age of the consular charter, might be reserved to men equally opposed to royalism and demagogy. The choice of the senate could not, moreover, fall but upon the notables of the department, that is to say, upon the candidates of the people. But with time the right of electing the deputies might have passed successively from the senate to six thousand notables of the departments, and then to the sixty thousand notables of the districts, then at length to the six hundred thousand notables of the communes.

The people, moreover, even at the beginning of the organization, exercised really an universal censorship upon all the public functionaries

which modified wisely the right of delegation of the divers degrees of nobility, as well as the temporary prerogative of the senate—an important consideration, which has passed away amidst us almost unperceived. In effect, every three years, the primary assemblies renewed the lists of six hundred thousand communal notables. The public functions could only be filled by those who were maintained upon those lists; it followed that every Frenchman had not only the right of direct suffrage in his commune, but that he had also, every three years, the right of direct censure upon the public men of all degrees. We have already said that the great concessions made to the democracy, would be progressively increased; but such as they were, it was still an immense progress: it was a political liberty superior to that of the constitution of the year 3, and many other constitutions.

Thus, (if I may be permitted to repeat it,) six millions of citizens, naming in a direct manner the functionaries of their communes, choosing six hundred thousand notables, all at the same time electors and candidates for the other functions; and every Frenchman whose name was not preserved upon those triennial lists of popular candidates became ineligible for all magistrature. Thus the question of universal suffrage, applied to a great and old society, was decided in

the most satisfactory manner. I hope that the constitutional future, which approaches for all the people, will appreciate better than our contemporaries have done, this wise institution of our great civilian. In France, above all, political education has made too great a progress for some years past, for the electoral reform not to bring about very shortly the universal voting of several degrees.

4. *Unremovable chamber—Personal aristocracy—Senatorial Absorption.*—The chamber which represents the necessity of stability should be unremovable. The maintenance of the existing order being especially confided to it, it must be at all times powerful, and more powerful after a popular revolution, where opinions, having impetuously wandered even to the end of the democratic bent, have far outmarched the point where they should have stopped. Immediately after these profound struggles, the legislator, to reorganize society, should give motion to the conservative power, an action so much the greater, the power being in momentary discredit. That action can only spring from the attributes given it by the constitution, or from great wealth, the influence of which may to a certain point make up for the law. We are not ignorant that a magistracy of great proprietors, (without being hereditary, as it ought to be in a moderate monarchy)

but only during life, and seated upon a very high-raised census, would have been a good combination for the high chamber of our republic ; but there were no longer in France but very few great proprietors, and they were almost all of them hostile to the new *régime*. This element of order not being at our disposal, we could not supply it but in augmenting the attributes of the conservative body. This is the reason why Sièyes proposed to confide so much power to the senate. The sanction of the laws, the nomination of the senators and counsels, and the supreme right of absorbing the consuls, were to form the permanent attributes of the unremoveable chamber ; the election of the deputies and the high functionaries was its provisory attribute. So much authority was not more than was requisite, that this patrician life-rent of the republic might resist the always invading executive power, and the still very unquiet democratic chamber. Nevertheless, that patrician magistracy sprang also from the popular election, the sole source of legitimate power, since its members, like the consuls, were taken exclusively from the list of the six thousand notables of the departments, to which every Frenchman might only arrive by the confidence of his fellow-citizens. The senators were also ineligible for every other pub-

lic function, that they might not have any personal advantage to expect from the government.

Notwithstanding so many attributes, was the senate in a condition to guarantee the republic from the ambition of the executive power? A government of three magistrates, re-eligible every ten years, substituted for five magistrates, elected only for five years, who could not be re-elected, appeared still to be a great deal too strong for many suspicious minds. Sièyes hesitated whether or not to limit the authority of the consuls to five years; but it appeared preferable to him not to limit too much the time, and to establish a repression always existing for cases of public danger. Although the consulate, totally a stranger to the legislative and judiciary powers, had only the number three in common with the Roman triumvirate, it was quite evident that it was thence that most probably some day might spring forth tyranny. It was, then, against that probability, above all, that the legislator was right in directing the conservative power.

In some ancient states and in the middle age they banished the citizens whose power they feared. Ostracism, exile *ob nimiam potestatem*, had appeared the sole remedy against that mortal malady of republics; but ostracism had two faults which balanced the advantages. 1st. It was in the

highest degree unjust, since it punished an influence acquired, perhaps, by civic virtues. Not only did it deprive the state of Aristotle and Themistocles, but it inflicted on Aristotle and Themistocles the most cruel and the longest torture of human life. . . . Exile! . . . exile! . . . without a term! . . . far from one's country. The fear of suffering this horrible torment, might it not precipitate a feeble mind into the career of usurpation? . . . If anything could ever excuse tyranny and civil war, was it not the terrible sword of exile suspended over the head of a citizen sufficiently illustrious to excite envy? The injustice of ostracism went evidently, in that respect, against the aim of the legislator. 2nd. Ostracism, punishment imposed without judgment—was it, at least, imposed by an authority calm, enlightened, and deliberate? On the contrary, it was the crowd who pronounced in the agitation of the forum, always open to the poison of hatred, to the prejudices of the moment, to the seductions of intrigue. The multitude condemned without appeal; the areopagus was powerless. . . .

How then ameliorate ostracism? How preserve this heroic remedy of the republics by stripping it of its injustice, and by giving to the victims of glory a guarantee against the caprices of



envy? . . . Sièyes proposed confiding the right of absorption to the same body who sanctioned the laws, and whose unremovability, high position, and interest of conservation, rendered more useful and less dangerous the exercise of an extraordinary censorship: by this right of absorption, the senate could absorb, that is to say, call into its own bosom, the Consul who appeared dangerous to the liberty of the republic. The Consul being absorbed ceased at the same moment his functions, and became *ipso facto* a member of the senate. The suspected statesman was not thus condemned to drag on the remainder of his life far from his countrymen; he was only removed to yield to another the post he occupied. He had not to choose betwixt revolt and torment, of which the ministers and deputies, quietly seated at their domestic hearths, do not at all appear to understand the cruelty. If the suspicions of the senate were just, the absorption saved the state and preserved from crime him who was about to commit it. If the suspicions were unjust, the absorbed quitted only his place for another; and he found himself seated for the rest of his days in the curule chair. Certainly, such an ostracism had no longer anything odious in it. Sièyes had completely, admirably resolved the problem.

But the absorption could deprive the republic of the services of a great citizen in the government. . . . A republic does not know any necessary man.

It is, without doubt, superfluous to repeat here, that I speak of the project of reform that Sièyes had meditated, that we had approved of with a profound enthusiasm, and that he would have given it to France if he had been sufficiently powerful to have done it. A part of these ideas were preserved in the constitution of the year 8; but what is a system disjointed and divided on all sides? It is sufficient for one single article to be omitted or added, to spoil the whole. The conservative senate, deprived of its right of absorption, was only able to preserve itself. What shall we say of the senators called, against the fundamental principle of their institution, to all the first employments of the government? . . . I will only speak here then of the primitive project; the modification of that project will occupy us hereafter.

Without the return of Napoléon, would not republican reform have succeeded? . . . Probably we should have been overrun by the party of Jourdan. I think that this unexpected return preserved France from a repetition of the terror, which Jourdan and several of his friends would

have in vain attempted to moderate. There were more chances against us than for us; but the fear of a new revolutionary government merited the risk of our heads. . . . We should only have kept them a few days longer if the times of 1793 had returned!

It is very probable that our reform would not have succeeded, precisely in consequence of what was the best of it,—the senatorial supremacy. A body clothed with so much power was now repugnant to the prevailing opinion, to that vague and exaggerated horror of the aristocracy, a miserable prejudice, which opposed, as it opposes still, the amelioration of our political institutions. They dared then, still less than they dare now, brave the unpopularity which is attached to the idea of a patrician. But let not good citizens persist in confounding in one common reprobation the feudal aristocracy and the patrician magistracy. When a conquering people, despoilers of a conquered people, organise a feudality, which, separating the two classes into masters and slaves, assure to one all the rights, and to the other all the servitude, such a *régime*, terrible abuse of strength, profound line of demarcation dug by the sword between two people, is an odious tyranny, against which the oppressed cannot launch too many

maledictions. This hereditary aristocracy, born of the violences of conquest, even were it modified, as in England, were it even with time sufficiently identified with the public liberties to have become their most solid guarantee, it is natural to suppose, notwithstanding that transformation, that a republican state would repulse all hereditary privileges of tribes and families. But a patrician and personal magistracy is quite of another nature : it is indispensable, as an intermediate and conservative body, to every liberal government ; without such magistracy, equally placed out of the movement of the administration and out of the movement of popular election, the government would soon become absolute, whether it were in the executive, or whether it were in the democratic body. Besides, without repeating here what the civilians of all times have said in all languages, let us content ourselves with observing the contradictions which these demagogical theories present, and their application. The progress, they say, consists in the absence of all aristocratical principles in political equality ! . . . But where is then that society without aristocracy, without political inequalities ? Between the chief and the crowd there must necessarily be secondary chiefs. What that re-union of secondary chiefs

receives of power is favourable to the public liberties, since that power is detached from those of the government. If it is not a senate which you place between the chief and the people, you will have a crowd of courtiers who will place themselves. You may prefer the aristocracy of the valets to that of the political magistrates; you may confide the choice to a *bureaucratic*, ever servile, (the most hideous of all intermediate authorities,) sooner than to an unremovable body of independent men. But notwithstanding all, in fine, an aristocracy, hereditary or personal, independent or servile, has governed, governs, and will govern human societies. Among the savages, the strongest, those who have killed the most enemies, and the oldest of the tribe, are they not the aristocrats of the desert? In the United States, do not the elective privileges consecrate the aristocracy of money? And is it not also by the most hideous inequality that in several states of that fine country, they do not treat as their fellow-being the fellow citizen, the Christian, in whom there remains the smallest trace of the proscribed colour? And with us, those who pay the census of elector and eligibility, do they not belong to the privileged classes? . . . Is it equality for two hundred thousand citizens to be over six millions

of Frenchmen? And can they in such a state vaunt of having known how to conciliate the monarchy with liberty and *equality*, without resembling those Roman augurs, whose greatest merit consisted, when they encountered each other in public, in the being able to keep a serious countenance.

In the project of Sièyes, the aristocratic element had been reduced to its best republican expression : it had been popularized ; it neither supported itself entirely upon great property still hostile, nor upon industry exposed to too many chances to be on a solid basis, nor even upon knowledge, which is not always the friend of order. . . . But it supported itself upon a strength to which knowledge, industry, and property contributed at the same time : it was supported upon the *general confidence manifested at several periods*. To arrive at their high position, the great notables of the departments were to exhaust all the degrees of election ; and that new basis of influence was more solid, and, above all, more liberal than all the rest, since it did not admit of the privileges of the burgess—a larger privilege, and, in consequence, less odious than that of the ancient noblesse, but which, however, does not accord any better with the declaration of rights. Even in the constitution of Brumaire,

such as it was modified and voted, there were six millions of citizens over six millions of Frenchmen ; for, rich or poor, all had the right of suffrage. If since, by successive decrees of the people, all has been perverted, who is to blame? You and your fathers, who would have it so ; but not those who desired other things ; not those whom you reproach with the imperial monarchy with so much injustice, as if you reproached the constituents of 1789 with the constitution of 93 ; not those who renounced not their dream of a wise senatorial and consular republic, until after the repeated expression of the national will, really and sincerely manifested. That will, precipitating itself afresh towards the hereditary system, *and precipitating itself solely from horror of Jacobinism*, left to sensible minds no other aim to obtain but intermediate institutions, proportionate to royalty, and sufficiently strong to moderate it. Every Frenchman, in resigning himself to the sovereign vote of France, accomplishes a sacred duty. Some men of Brumaire had, without doubt, more than resignation. . . . But honour to those who retired or resigned without baseness !

But might it not be said, upon hearing some pamphleteers, that amongst our adversaries of

St. Cloud, amongst the most ardent Jacobins, there was not one who had rallied around the monarchy? . . . . But to speak only of the most illustrious, Jourdan de Fleurus was subject of the emperor and marshal of the empire ! Bernadotte did not withdraw either before the name of subject in France any more than before a foreign sceptre ! . . . and Lafayette ! . . . Is it a republic or a monarchy which sprung from the Dictature of July 1830 ? It is true, that notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Manuel and Benjamin Constant, they hastened to render *the peerage for life*, without doubt to make it more upon *a par* with *hereditary royalty*, in order to render it more capable of resisting the executive power . . . . . And it is thus only that they have arrived at transforming that high chamber into provostal commissions, to the great scandal of the French and other nations. The theories of Brumaire, I honestly confess, were progressive in another sense. Mirabeau, whose opinions were become conservative the day after the storm, said that the silence of Sièyes was a public calamity . . . We could have said with as much truth that it was an irreparable *calamity for the republicans*, the inability of Sièyes to cause his senatorial reform to be adopted in the majority of the Council



of Five Hundred, as he had done in the Council of Ancients.

What books, the works of falsehood, of hatred, or frivolity, calumniate the intentions, confound the epochs, and disfigure the history! "Look," they say, "at the despotism of the empire, the wars without end, the invasions of France. It is Sièyes, it is the men of Brumaire, who are responsible for it all." But if you will attribute to us the faults of the empire, notwithstanding our absence, is it not just, by way of compensation, to attribute to us also a part of its glory! . . . Ah! who in that case would refuse being bound? . . . The empire! . . . But in what century, under what *régime*, was France greater, more glorious, more prosperous? Where is the Frenchman, Liberal, Carlist, Blue, or Vendean, who would efface from our history the glorious records of the empire?—Is there one amidst the thirty millions of French hearts, that does not beat with patriotic pride in thinking of the days of the empire? He must be seized with a vertigo, who would attempt to appropriate to himself the least in the world so many wonders to which he had not the happiness of contributing; but it would be rather too philosophical to suffer the errors or the wrongs to be imputed to which he had not contributed.

Besides, though a stranger to the good or ill of the empire, may I not be permitted to reply to him who finds *the ashes of Napoléon well placed at St. Helena*, and to those who, like him, like to see only spots in the sun? Napoléon, without doubt, was not infallible. Spain and Russia attacked at the same time, Holland and Italy awaiting in vain their deliverance, the chief of religion persecuted after having crowned the elect of the people,—these have not occasioned reproaches without some appearance of truth. And yet, what a series of adverse combinations there needed to change into disaster the victorious campaign of Russia? If the inconceivable peace of Bucharest—that fault, so capital and so improbable, from which the Porte will never again perhaps arise—had not sent behind us a new Russian army, or that the allied corps of Austria had held it in respect—if a northern prince, born a Frenchman, after having at first defended, with justice, the interests of his adoptive country, had stopped at the cries of distress of three hundred thousand Frenchmen, struck with the most dreadful scourge—if the freezing cold had not commenced a month sooner than ordinary—if the flames kindled by hands patriotically, heroically, barbarous, had not devoured Moscow conquered—and Napoléon had found general peace, mari-

time peace, in those deserts of disastrous memory . . . then France, Europe, posterity, would not have found sufficient language to celebrate the Russian war; and the powers of the continent, and England herself, would not at this moment look at Greece, Egypt, and the Bosphorus, with so much anxiety.

As for Spain, after twenty years of war and discord, where is she now? She is agitated by the convulsions of the most barbarous reprisals. She struggles in blood and tears to obtain that which the convention of Bayonne assured her, whatever might have been the means employed on another account to unite her. The equality of civil rights, the reform of the convents, the repression of the inquisition, our civil code, our admirable administrative system, our liberal institutions, our public instruction, all that Spain still seeks, all was in the law of Bayonne; all was guaranteed by the accepted king, acknowledged by the convention, by a just king, enlightened, and a philosopher. I have seen many Spanish statesmen in my sad travels, far from my country: and how many I have heard bitterly deplore that the throne of King Joseph had not been consolidated? Nothing, without doubt, can justify violence. Liberty itself, at the point of the foreign sword, would become hateful . . . . But after all,

the torrent of invasion would have retired ; and the fertile earth, deposited by its waves, would have rendered the Peninsula fruitful *during the last twenty years !*

Poland !—could it be constituted when Austria and Prussia in arms were at the head of our allies ? Moreover, that nation, whom all generous men bear in their heart,—did she, during the Russian campaign, do all that she could have done to hasten the hour of her independence ? Has she not had in her own bosom partisans of Alexander ? Did Poland, in fine, demonstrate that intense degree of universal energy, that wonderful enthusiasm, displayed by Spain and Russia ? The emperor Napoléon, in the second Polish war, ought he to have done more ?—could he do more without imprudence ? If he had done it, would they not have accused him with having provoked, like a madman, in the middle of a mortal crisis, the defection of Vienna and Berlin ?

Italy ! the Pope !—Napoléon himself expressed his tardy regrets. He was very far from believing himself to be perfect. Have we not heard him, at Paris, talk of his limited faculties ? The wisest of the ancients said, “ *I know that I know nothing !*” . . . . The greatest of moderns said, “ *Do you believe me to be more than a*

*man ?*" . . . . It is the same cry, precious emanation of the same soul, although uttered by two men, at two thousand years of distance. Before this avowal, so ingenuously sublime, of human imperfection, how wretched is the pride of those state sophists, whose superb theory, without ceasing to think itself infallible, terminates with the most sad results!—No; the emperor was not, and did not believe himself to be, above the common errors of humanity; and yet none ever abused less an absolute power; none had a more prodigious genius than his; none ever accomplished such vast deeds in so short a space of time; none, above all, ever better loved his country.

As for the reproaches of despotism and usurpation, France and its government have made the most glorious of answers, an answer without reply . . . . *They have inaugurated the statue of the emperor!* His detractors do not see how far their accusations are contradicted by public opinion. Let them endeavour to explain to us, to explain to themselves, how a great nation (without it were senseless) could have raised a triumphant monument *to a despot . . . . to an usurper . . . fifteen years after his death!!!* It is that France does not confound, like them, a popular dictatorship with despotism. It is because

France knows too well her rights, to be ignorant that the temporary consul, the consul for life, the emperor, named three times by the universal voting, was the most legitimate chief of all times and all countries.

Can they think that since the inauguration of the imperial statue, the opinion of France has changed? . . . . But the representative chamber has just confirmed that opinion by her last vote. Would it reclaim from the other end of the world the ashes of a despot—of an usurper—*fifteen years after his death?* . . . . It is true that it still persists in proscribing the family of the hero whose remains they claim! May the vote, at least, not be disdained in what it possesses that is favourable! May its prompt accomplishment console us in our exile, where the winds of France sometimes bring us some accents of sympathy! General Pelet, the worthy historian of the campaigns of Napoléon, has refuted the reproach of an immeasurable ambition. Monsieur de Golbery has signalled, amidst the petitioners who have not forgotten us, the illustrious names of Massena, of Lannes, of Ney, that recall so many victories! Monsieur de Bricqueville has declared that it was not the emperor who betrayed the country in the hundred days! Monsieur Mauguin has celebrated the

hero of national independence, whose wandering family is a living trophy of our disasters! General Larabit nobly replied to those who have the courage to affirm that there are no more proscribed! . . . . So many eloquent voices, the wishes of the citizens of Paris, of Toulouse, and La Charente, those great names dear to France, will they all be powerless to repair injustice? . . . . Let us leave to the country the care of our return. When she desires it, her will will be expressed in a fitting manner. Paris, Toulouse, and La Charente will find echoes in every part where the memory of Napoléon is honoured: the names of Moscowva, of Montebello, of Eslinag, are not the only illustrious names of the ancient companions, the friends of Napoléon; and the government which has already repaired in part the iniquity, will throw down, without difficulty, the odious barrier by which they keep out citizens proscribed upon account of their name, and who will never cease, till their last sigh, to stretch out their arms towards their country.

In terminating this first volume, and in returning to our political views of 1800, I ask myself what influence the experience of so many years has had upon our sentiments of that epoch. Has that experience modified the opinions of Siéyes? Have these opinions remained station-

ary? Or, on the other hand, returning to the former recollections of the constituent assembly, have they passed from our consular republic to the constitutional monarchy? The authentic memoirs of that venerable man can alone resolve this question. I hope and trust that he will not deprive the country of his last thoughts. As for myself, my regrets for the senatorial republic have remained a long time. Adversity, which is not good for softening the humour, has struggled in my mind for a long time against the evidence of the universal voting in favour of the monarchy, and against my conviction of the genius and patriotism of Napoléon. In fine, although in my conference at Mantua with my brother, my *refusal* had no other motive than the political restrictions to which I did not think proper to submit, it is not less true, that, until my residence in England, there still remained in me a great deal of the old republican, and public liberty appeared to me to be almost incompatible with royalty.

But, in England, I have been convinced that a monarchy, *really* constitutional, is requisite for a great people, as much, and more, perhaps, than any other form of government. We see here (if not the best) at least a good and happy republic; not in a programme, but in facts and



manners :—The legislative power, wisely divided amongst three authorities, who exercise, without obstacle, their own prerogatives ;—the executive power, having all the authority to do good, and not having, and not seeking, to do evil ;—the judiciary power is so completely independent, that the most obscure individual, as well as the richest lord, the most illustrious or the most humble exile of the continent, repose equally in security, beneath the guarantee of the jury that no sacrilegious attack can tarnish, and beneath the inviolability of the domicile that no wretch can violate ;—the elective chamber, named by eight hundred thousand electors, over a population of twenty-five millions, which, without being the universal suffrage, approaches five times nearer to it than we do, since we ought to have in that proportion more than a million of electors ! The chamber of peers, in fine, is accessible to every citizen, and too powerful and too enlightened to yield to the seductions of courts, or the clamours of the multitude. These hereditary magistrates have been for above a century and a-half the defenders of the charter, the immortal work of their ancestors. Their tutelary supremacy will long continue to be the palladium of the British liberties ;—provided they never cease to oppose

an immovable resistance to the overflowing torrent of demagogical opinions, that a social overthrow can alone satisfy ;—provided they do not abandon their ground, to defend themselves feebly against that of their adversaries ;—provided they follow always the high state reason, which judges in the first place of the effect of a new law upon the whole of the constitution, instead of considering solely that absolute perfection of theory, illusory enough sometimes to insinuate into the political body a mortal germ of dissolution, the seductive appearance of a salutary amelioration ;—provided, above all, that the patrician toga be not dragged through the mud, or at least that it inspire no longer the same veneration that is felt for the royal mantle, or the elective house ; for, (whether through error, thoughtlessness, or a false popularity,) to provoke, to contribute, or even to yield, to the profanation, or to the subjection of one of the three fundamental authorities, would no longer be advancing in the path of a sage reform. Would it not be abjuring Old England and demolishing at its base that charter as yet without a rival in the ancient world, and whose vital strength resides in the *equal* independence, the *equal* respectability, the *equal* inviolability of the king, the lords, and commons ?

Nothing is perfect upon earth, either in men, or in the laws. . . . But where, when shall we approach nearer to perfection ?

We thought on the 18th Brumaire to approach nearer, when we founded simultaneously a vast democracy and an aristocracy during life, upon the sole and same basis—the universal suffrage of several degrees.

But France willed that the consular republic was but a bright dream of a few days. . . .

May she at least perfect her monarchy, by reconciling herself with the system of an hereditary body, patriotically organised. This legislative combination is the most liberal of all, under a monarchy, because it is alone capable of serving as a balance to a royal hereditary power, and to a representative popular power, which it is against its own nature to transform into a privilege of burghership, and from which very shortly it will be no longer possible to disinherit any one amongst us.

It is then only that we shall have *a throne surrounded with republican institutions* ; that is to say, with democratic and aristocratic institutions wisely balanced. . . . It is then, after fifty years of incomplete and glorious essays, we shall rest at once upon an elective representation, frankly universal, and upon an heredi-

tary magistracy, powerfully conservative; we may then equal, and surpass, perhaps, that liberal nation, once our enemy, whose fortunate alliance (strong barrier raised against despotism, individual or collective) appears to promise to the people of Europe the pacific and progressive triumph of mixed government, the the only form in which constitutional liberties, precious fruits of our civilisation, can live and prosper in the midst of the inequalities and passions inseparable from humanity.

During the printing of these last sheets, the grand drama of the electoral reform has opened in Spain, by the proclamation of the charter of 1812, which, (resembling in that only the constitution of Brumaire,) consecrates universal suffrage of several degrees. The Spaniards have felt, for the third time, that the deputies of a privileged class of electors can only represent those same electors, *and that a real national representation can only spring from universal election.* After having reconquered this democratical principle—palladium of the emancipation of the non-proprietors—can the representatives of the Peninsula make up for the want of equili-

brium acknowledged at their constitution of 1812 by the most enlightened friends of Liberty? Let them hasten to establish a conservative chamber equally as stable as the executive power, and sufficiently powerful to restrain the elective chamber, in order to seize that balance of the power without which there can be no duration in political institutions. If wisdom presides at their national congress, the Spaniards will place themselves in the first rank of European civilisation. If, on the contrary, they forget that the *absolutism* of an assembly is the worst of all *absolutisms*—if they take for a model the France of 1793, instead of the France of the consulate, their accession to the constituent power will become equally as fatal to the Peninsula as to the cause of all constitutional governments. Glory, then, success, and wisdom to noble Spain! . . . Universal suffrage! . . . . an elective chamber really national . . . . a conservative chamber equally as stable as the executive power! Thus their work, wisely progressive, may serve as an example to all constitutional nations, where, to the shame of human intelligence, there yet exist men deprived of the right of suffrage.

## NOTES.



## NOTES.

### NOTE 1.—*Page 2.*

THE Abbé Fesch is now cardinal and archbishop of Lyons, although removed from his see by the persecution which has not yet ceased to strike the family of Napoléon.

### NOTE 2.—*Page 70.*

*Address of Raynal, read at the bar of the National Convention. Sitting of the 31st of May 1791.*

On arriving in this capital, after a long absence, my heart and my affections are turned towards you. Ready to descend into the night of the tomb . . . what do I see around me? religious troubles, civil dissensions,—the consternation of some, the boldness and the rage of others ;



a government the slave of popular tyranny ; the sanctuary of the laws surrounded by licentious men, who wish alternately to dictate or to brave them ; soldiers without discipline, chiefs without authority, magistrates without courage, ministers without means ; a king, the first friend of his people, plunged in grief, outraged, menaced, stripped of all authority, and the sovereign power existing only in clubs, where ignorant and violent men dare to pronounce upon all political questions. Such is, gentlemen, doubt it not, such is the true state of France.

I was full of hope and joy, when I saw you lay the foundations of public happiness, pursue all abuses, proclaim all just rights, submit to the same laws a uniform administration in all the different parts of the empire. My eyes are filled with tears when I see the most vile, the most wicked of men, employed as the instruments of a necessary revolution—when I see the holy name of patriotism, prostituted to villainy and licentiousness, march in triumph under the ensigns of Liberty ! Terror is mingled with sincere grief, when I see all the springs of government broken, and powerless barriers substituted for an active and repressive force. How I suffer, when, in the midst of the capital and the focus of knowledge, I see the people seduced to re-

ceive with a ferocious joy the most culpable propositions, to smile at the relation of assassinations, to sing of their crimes as of conquests, to appeal stupidly to the enemies of the revolution, to defile it with complaisance, to shut their eyes to all the evils with which they are oppressed. Called to regenerate France, you ought first to consider what you can usefully preserve of the ancient order, and still more, what you cannot abandon of it. France was a monarchy:—its extent, its wants, its manners, its national character, are invincibly opposed to republican institutions, without working its total dissolution. The monarchical power was vitiated by two causes: the foundations of it were surrounded with prejudices, and its limits were only marked by partial resistances. To purify the principles, by fixing the throne upon its true basis, the sovereignty of the nation,—to set the bounds, by placing them in the national representation, was what you had to do. And you think to have done it! But in regulating the two powers, the strength and the success of the constitution depend upon the equilibrium; and you had to defend yourself against the real inclination of ideas. You ought to see that, in opinion, the power of kings declines, and that the rights of the people increase; so that, in weakening

without measure that which tends naturally to efface itself, in strengthening without proportion that which tends naturally to augment, you arrived forcibly to this sad result—a king without authority, a people without restraint. How can you suffer, after having consecrated the principle of individual liberty, that there should exist in your bosom an inquisition which serves as a model and a pretext for all the inferior inquisitions which a factious restless has spread in all parts of the empire? You have laid the foundation of liberty, of every rational constitution, in assuring to the people the right to make laws, and to decree taxes: anarchy will even swallow up these important rights, if you do not place them under the care of an active and vigorous government; despotism awaits us if you always repel the tutelary protection of the royal authority.

NOTE 3.—Page 94.

*Report on the election of Lucien Bonaparte; sitting of the 29th Floréal, 6th year: Malibran, reporter.*

Representatives of the people, (said he,) the 20th Germinal last, the electoral assembly of

the department of the Liamone, assembled in the place appointed by the central administration, has proceeded to the nomination of a deputy to the legislative body, conformably to the dispositions of the law of the 27th Pluviose, the 5th year ; and the citizen Lucien Bonaparte has been elected, by unanimous suffrages, member of the Council of Five Hundred, for three years.

The procès verbal of this assembly presents a picture of the decorum, calmness, and harmony amongst the citizens who composed it ; all the dispositions of the laws have been respected, and all the formalities exactly observed.

A single difficulty presents itself ; I submit it to the council. According to the description which was decreed, for ten years, the 27th Pluviose of the year 5, the department of the Liamone proceeded, in the year 6, to name a deputy for the Council of Five Hundred ; but, by a subsequent law you have decided, the 12th Pluviose last, that for the present year the department of the Liamone should not nominate a deputy to the legislative body.

If this last law had been promulgated in the department of the Liamone before the holding of the electoral assembly, there is no doubt but that the election would be void ; but your com-

mission has considered that the law of the 12th Prairial, of the year 6, not having then arrived in the department of the Liamone, the electoral assembly fulfilled its duty in conforming to the existing law in nominating a deputy to the Council of Five Hundred. It has considered that in the actual circumstances of the case, being much below the full number, there was no inconvenience in declaring the election made by the department of the Liamone valid. This is the plan.

ARTICLE I.—The proceedings of the electoral assembly of the department of the Liamone, relative to the nomination of a deputy by the said department to the legislative body, are declared valid. Therefore the citizen Lucien Bonaparte shall be admitted, the 1st Prairial next, to the Council of Five Hundred for three years.

II. The disposition of the law of the 27th Pluviose, relative to the elections of the department of the Liamone, are reported in that which would be contrary to the present resolution. The council declares the urgency, adopts the plan, and, in consequence, receives into its bosom for three years the citizen Lucien Bonaparte.

Observations submitted on this subject in favour of the project,—observations which the

council interrupted the reading of by demanding to go to the vote, will be printed.

NOTE 4.—*Page 98.*

*Sitting of the 29th Messidor, the Year 6.*

I am about to recall eternal principles, which cannot be misunderstood in this circle. I rise to support the opinion of our colleague Creuzé La-touche. I must make a distinction between the propositions which are made to you. The decades, you say, are the only fête,—yes, the only national fête, the only republican fête : we have the right to consecrate it by a law ; but we have not the right to hinder a citizen from celebrating the fête which his own religion appoints him. Can we order a free man to work on such a day ? Can we say to a republican on such a day, whatever may be his religion, thou shalt work ? Representatives, Tolerance is the sister of Liberty, Persecution is the daughter of Tyranny ; at Rome, even under the papal domination, did you ever hear that it forced a sect—you will easily call to mind—to work on the Saturday ? And we, the representatives of a free people, shall we give less latitude in the exercise of religious worship than the Roman pontiff !

*Sitting of the 19th Thermidor, Year 6.*

The reporter read the article relative to the opening of shops and warehouses, on the fête days of the ancient calendar.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—You have declared, some days since, that the decades and the days of national fêtes were those of rest throughout the republic: a measure is again presented to you to-day, already combated and already repelled. Penetrated as you are with the deepest hatred against fanaticism and its blind sectaries, I contend against the proposition which is made to you.

*Several voices.*—Adjournment to Primédi!

*The President to Lucien Bonaparte.*—You are the speaker—go on.

*N*——. Maintain the question.

*President.*—I demand a reply to the question.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—Three different propositions have been made. The first declared that the days of the decades were the only days of repose: the second applied the measure only to trades-people: at last the only restriction was to ordain the opening of shops on fair and market days. I will examine these different propositions: they all deserve your attention; not as concerning their object in themselves, but as concerning the

general good, and as to the circumstances and tranquillity of the whole republic. The first amendment declared the day of decade the only day of rest. In this I see nothing more than an inquisitorial measure without a parallel. I open the codes of all the tyrannies, I retrace the acts of all usurpers, and I do not find an example of such a violation of individual liberty.

*The President.*—I interrupt the speaker to intimate to him, that the resolution upon the decades has been adopted by the Council of Ancients, and that this amendment is no longer the question.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—I can speak of all the amendments which have been made, show the danger of them, when they have been supported, at this tribune in full liberty. They relate to individual liberty, and, I think, they are of sufficient importance to be discussed with deep consideration. What has been said in their favour has been heard—the privilege of combating them should also be allowed. I continue—

The adjournment to Priméidi is again demanded. The adjournment is declared.



## NOTE 5.—Page 98.

*Sitting of the 27th Thermidor of the Year 6.*

*The President.*—Lucien Bonaparte has demanded to speak on this question.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—I have asked to speak, but for the purpose of opposing the custom of injurious connexion, a custom which has become too much the fashion.

*Several voices.*—That is true!—supported.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—What means this affectation of always recalling Gibert-Desmolieres, and of linking his name with those of members who appear at this tribune? We have not here to deal with Gibert-Desmolieres: it is not a question as to what has been done, said, or proposed by the conspirators. Without doubt, to attain their ends, they have thought it their duty to employ sometimes popular forms, and to publish notions which approached to the general good; but because such or such an expedient has been theirs, is it to be said that this expedient shall be interdicted to a republican? If they have put forth a constitutional opinion, if they have held republican language, I declare that I will hold forth a like opinion, and will maintain the same language with the single difference of intention.

I have thought it necessary to say these few words, in order that this sort of connexion may not in future be permitted, as it only embarrasses a discussion, and gives the opinion of the council a false direction. I was desirous to warn the council of the use of a similar expedient.

NOTE 6.—*Page 98.*

*Sitting of the 16th Thermidor, Year 6.*

The order of the day calls for the debate on the plan of Lucien Bonaparte, relative to the relief to be afforded to the widows and children of soldiers.

This is the report with which the reading of the plan had been preceded :—

The 18th Prairial, (said the reporter,) you made a resolution relative to the relief to be afforded to the widows and children of the defenders of their country : the 18th Messidor the Council of Ancients declared they could not adopt it. If the Council of Ancients has not approved at once of your scheme of the 18th Prairial, it is because it has considered it incomplete for the land forces, and inapplicable to the seamen. If, however, the land forces have a thousand times well deserved of their country,

the naval forces, held back unto this day, in spite of them begin to press forward in their career, and their first step announces that they are also the favoured sons of victory. Yes, if forests of laurels do not yet overshadow the genius of our marine, it is because it has been to this day in its infancy, from causes which I shall not recall to your mind. Vivacity and courage may be the portion of a noble child ; but vigour can only be acquired by the developement of the physical faculties, and Nature prescribes for this developement a fixed period.

In those isolated battles *or* vessel to vessel, of frigate to frigate, when the English have always had the superiority in numbers, has not our marine proved that the enthusiasm of liberty can overcome the coolness of art. In those isolated battles, the ocean and the Mediterranean, have not traits of valour been exhibited which claim immortality and which the *burine* of history will retrace in characters of gold ?

These first exploits were the sure guarantee of victory, as soon as a French fleet should appear upon the bosom of the ocean. Our marine emerges from infancy and exhibits itself in all the lustre of youth. Yesterday Malta became its first conquest ; to day it is forgotten in search of nobler victories. The destinies of the repub-

lic will surely guide it to accomplish great things. What is there impossible to soldiers covered with laurels, to sailors impatient to be the same? Glory unites the army and the navy; let not the national beneficence separate them: the widows, the children of these warriors shall be equally the objects of our paternal solicitude.

The commission thinks it ought to unite in the same plan soldiers and sailors.

Your commission is of opinion that it is proper to ordain a mode of payment in each department every month, and to simplify it as much as possible without compelling the pensioners to apply to the Treasury.

Representatives of the people, the widows, the children of our warriors speak a language which many clerks do not understand. These respectable families have no intrigues, no gold, they have only tears, and tears so touching to sensible minds, affect but lightly the invulnerable hearts of certain beings. No, you will not confide to these men the carrying into effect a national reward—a reward so noble in its origin becomes in their hands a source of incalculable ignominy. You must cringe before two, three, or perhaps twenty clerks; and before you have completed the half of this career of humiliation, the mind is so abased, that to have the strength to finish

it the cravings of hunger must more than once be felt.

Your resolution ordained that the reduction or augmentation of pensions should be made in the margin of the commission of pensioners, by the authority which would have originally paid the pension. By this article all pensioners were obliged to strip themselves of their titles and to send them to Paris. It has appeared more simple, that the minister of war and of marine, who have in their *bureaux* the titles of all the pensions already granted, should prepare each for their department, a general table of these pensions, reduced or augmented according to the present arrangement.

A third observation is also here suggested. The pensions granted for the future, and those which are going to be reduced or augmented according to the rate marked out in the present law, shall they be susceptible of reduction to a third part, prescribed by the law of 9th Vendémiaire last?

Our opinion upon this question cannot be for a moment doubtful, since in the present law you reconcile, as much as possible, economy with national justice; it is plain that these are the sums fixed by the law, and not the third part of these sums, that you intend to grant to the relations of the defenders of our country. We have had

every variety of words, both politically and financially ; it is time that everything should **resume** the signification and the value which is **appropriate** to it. The commission therefore proposes to you, to declare by an additional article, that these pensions shall not be subject to any reduction.

The 6th article of your resolution of the 18th Prairial, fixes the pensions to be granted to the widows of general officers of every grade from four to six hundred francs. The commission consider this sum too small, and that it is not in the proportion which exists between the appointments of a general officer, and those of subalterns, nor in that which exists between the appointments of a general officer and a general-in-chief ; it has therefore carried these pensions up to from six to nine hundred francs for general officers, and for the same reason it has thought it desirable to fix at from twelve to thirteen thousand francs, the pensions of widows of commanders-in-chief of the land and sea forces. It is unnecessary to develop to you farther the motives of the commission on the subject. The 12th article fixed at fourteen years the relief to be granted to orphans. The commission thinks that the republic ought not to abandon these orphans until they can **become** soldiers.

What ! representatives of the people, would you abandon the children of these brave men, before the age that the law opens to them the career of glory ! What then would become of these unfortunate children ? Deprived of their parents, abandoned by the republic, which had promised to take care of their youth, repelled from the army where the law does not yet permit them to be enrolled, there only remains to them despair, or the debasing resource of devoting themselves to servile employments, or to implore the pity of the traveller ! The livery of misery or of servitude would cover the sons of our warriors, and the incorrigible royalist seeing them would smile with pleasure, and would say to the citizens, Go, pour out your blood for this republic fertile in promises. Your children, succoured for some years, will end in asking charity. No, representatives of the people, you cannot thus forsake the orphans at fourteen years. It is at the age in which poverty brings after it all the vices, when the character is forming, and the passions develop themselves, that you ought to watch with paternal care over the children of our country, until they can follow the impulse of their generous hearts, and render themselves worthy of the name they bear with pride.

The republic ought to take them by the hand, from the field of battle : and from the field of battle to the tomb, the lives of these noble children would be but a succession of services rendered to that country which has been a mother to them . . . Then the dying warrior will close his eyes without uneasiness for the fate of his son ; he will know that his country adopts him, and that it will take care of him, until he can be enrolled ; he will die in the hope that his son will soon follow in his steps, and perhaps surpass him, and his name, repeated a thousand times by fame, will soon be revived still more glorious.

Sublime sentiment of glory ! emanation of the divinity ! thou wilt console the dying warrior in the field of honour, who, without disquiet for his family, and uneasiness for his country, will ask in his last moments if victory has continued faithful to the colours of the republic.

Lucien Bonaparte presents a plan conformable to these arrangements.

NOTE 7.—Page 98.

*Sitting of the 29th Thermidor, Year 6.*

*The President.*—The debate ought to open upon a plan relative to the recruiting of the army, but Lucien Bonaparte demands to speak upon a motion of order.



*Lucien Bonaparte.* — Representatives of the people. Amongst the counter revolutionary factions there are none more dangerous, more tolerated, more spread, than those of the dilapidations ; each of us have declared war to the death against this liberticide faction, and our session will be useful and celebrated in the annals of this great nation, by the suppression of robberies, and the punishment of robbers. Such are the justly cherished hopes of our constituents, such are the unshaken and courageous intentions of each of us. You have already manifested these restorative intentions with a force which has carried a cold sweat to the front of crime. Already commissions are formed for the accounts to be rendered by the ministers, for the publicity of markets, and for that infamous gambling which makes a branch of commerce still more infamous. You desired that a special commission should occupy itself with the means of reaching the wasters of the public money, and to prevent dilapidations hereafter. It is in the name of this commission, composed of your colleagues Duplautier, Destrem, Gourlay, Marquezy, and myself, that I come this day to lay before you the first page of its labours, and to propose to you the means of making use of it.

Your commission has at first been struck with

a circumstance which should offer a mournful subject to the friends of their country. Several times the legislative body has testified its hatred against the dilapidators : it has charged special commissions several times to present to it the means of repression and punishment. Well, these commissions have never fulfilled their instructions : the magic force of circumstances has always substituted silence for courage : the abyss has been approached without daring to look at it, or, if a glance has been thrown at its depth, it seems that they have trembled to say what they have discovered.

We turn aside our eyes from the causes which have hindered the commissions which preceded us, from fulfilling their instructions ; but we promise our colleagues to fulfil our own. We will fathom the abyss, we will march to our aim, and nothing shall turn us aside from the career you have opened to us, and in which we shall press forward with entire devotion.

To stop the dilapidations, to reach the dilapidators, whatever may be the mantles which cover them, without doubt this task will not be fulfilled without obstacles ; but the representatives of the people, to do good, have only to will it strongly. It is for them to promote the public good, without regarding those who sur-

round them, as the warrior rushes on to victory, without calculating the dangers. No doubt the blood-suckers of the people, pursued by you, will dart upon you with their poisons : they possess gold, boldness, and the tact for seduction, and, proud of these advantages, will, perhaps, think themselves strong enough to encounter the struggle ; but we will oppose to them the force of the law, the good of the people, the will of the sovereign, and they will be overthrown, and their punishment will serve as an example and a lesson. The executive Directory will be eager, no doubt, to unite its efforts with those of the legislative body to reach the dilapidators ; it will feel as we do, that the time for half measures against rogues is passed, and that to bear with them much longer would be to let slide into their hands the remainder of the national fortune, and to render new taxes necessary. It is not enough for the purposes of justice and the interests of the people that we represent, that the cowardly agents of its ruins bow down before us their timid faces, to raise them again shortly, charged with boldness and eagerness ; their drooping heads must not be allowed to raise themselves again.

The commission is already occupied with several important objects : it will examine in suc-

cession the different parts of the public expenses, and will present to you in some degree the means of extirpating these abuses. Its labours require this mode of proceeding, because it tends to prevent dilapidations of every kind : it is not a complete plan, but many partial measures that it must submit to your examination ; it was already prepared to propose to you several of them ; but farther reflection has stopped it. In the firm resolution we have taken to tear aside every veil of intrigue, would it not be necessary and prudent that we should only be heard by our colleagues ? Since we must speak out, might not malevolence, always on the watch, profit by our solemn discussions ? None of us, representatives of the people, are ignorant of it ; the hydra of faction watches around this palace ; she spies us without ceasing, and she often translates into her own infernal idiom what is said at this tribune ; she will hear you, and will be eager to comment on our speeches, and to envenom our intentions, that she may be able to seize upon a generous movement, which was certainly not made for her.

The commission has considered that in order to avoid this evil, it should propose to the council to form itself into a general committee, when it could deal with the plans that would be

presented to it. By these means, the faction would be baffled ; we should no longer be impeded by the patriotic fear of giving a hold to malevolence, in spite of us ; we shall give ourselves up entirely to the holy occupation you have committed to us, and we shall present to you with still more confidence and pleasure the result of our labours. The commission has, therefore, charged me to ask for a general committee, in order that it may submit for your discussion several drafts of law, which tend to the salutary design of amelioration.

These reflections have naturally brought us to examine if it would not be advantageous to the public, that every important discussion on the finances should be made in a general committee. In suppressing this publicity, you would already weaken this vile species of wasters of the public wealth, who could not exist by their own strength, if they were not supported and directed by guilty chiefs, who hide themselves in vain in the shadow of crime. How many times have not these miserable swindlers waited for the effect of a report on finances, in order to calculate upon this basis their infamous speculations? How many times immense produce, torn from the fortune of the people, has enriched all that was most vile amongst men?

The wretches ! they dared to employ the words of the legislator as the text for their plundering. They follow, they watch, often even endowed with the sinister gift of Cassandra, they foretel the financial operations.

Representatives of the people, hasten to put an end to this influx of dilapidation and of profligacy. Your commission is occupied on this object with great solicitude, and it considers that it ought to propose to you as a first expedient no longer to employ yourselves with the finances but in secret committee. This measure was called for by the wish of the greater part of our colleagues : we thought that it came within our instructions, and we hasten to propose it to you in the following decree :—

“ The council decrees, that it will form itself hereafter in a general committee, whenever the reporters of this commission, or of the commission of finances, shall have the right of speaking.”

Whatever may be your decision, representatives of the people, I am charged to ask of you for Primédi a general committee, in order to hear the different reports in the name of your commission. I announce to you that there is one ready, if you desire at this moment to form a general committee.

To the vote ! was demanded on all sides.

Bonaparte's plan of discussion on the finances was unanimously and immediately adopted.

NOTE 8.—*Page 144.*

*Sitting of the 22nd Vendémiaire, Year 7.*

General Jourdan, actual president, addressed the following letter to us.

“ Citizen representatives : Called to the legislative body by the confidence of my fellow-citizens, I soon perceived that I was very incapable of fulfilling all the obligations which I had contracted in accepting functions so august. However, encouraged by your kindness, and the expressions of esteem with which you have sometimes honoured me, I should have continued my legislative career ; I should have endeavoured to make up for the feebleness of my talents, by my application and my ardent love for liberty, for the constitution of the year 3, and for the government which has emanated from it. But, citizen representatives, the executive Directory has informed you of the political situation of the republic ; you are impressed with the necessity of preparing to make war in order at length to force your enemies to make peace ; you have ordered an extraordinary levy

of two hundred thousand conscripts, and you are occupied in preparing the funds requisite for their maintenance.

“ In circumstances where our country calls her children to its defence, I have thought that I should serve it more usefully in the army than in the senate. I resign, then, in the midst of you, legislators, the character of representative of the people. I beg of you to accept my resignation.

“ I desire, citizen representatives, that this step on my part may be to you a fresh proof of my sincere attachment to the republic and of my devotion to its service.

“ With all respect and consideration,

(Signed)

“ JOURDAN.”

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—We are about to lose an estimable colleague. Our first sentiment is regret; but to such regret will soon succeed a more sublime sentiment: it is for the camp that Jourdan quits the tribune; the author of the law on military conscription should give place to the general of Fleurus. Well! let him depart, surrounded by the esteem of his colleagues, and followed with the confidence of the republic.

Enemies, insatiate of defeats, have they not



reckoned upon intestine divisions? The fools!—do they not know that at their appearance every difference of opinion disappears? With one word, you have dissipated this funeral hope, and new armies, with new resources, are organized; from your bosom departs one who will lead to victory, and that not for the first time, the children of France.

Representatives of the people, whilst our brethren in arms shall run over their list of combats, we will defend here the constitution of the year 3, and we will cultivate the salutary union of those powers which constitute the strength of states. Certain that I explain but your sentiments, I venture at this moment to become your organ, and to render in your name a brilliant testimony of esteem and confidence to the colleague who is about to leave us.

The council orders an impression of six copies of the letter and the speech, and their insertion in the *procès verbal*.

NOTE 9.—Page 258.

*Sitting of the 9th Messidor, Year 7.*

*Texier Oliver, secretary.*—Here is a second message from the Directory relative to the situation of the republic, and the information re-

quired. Perhaps you will decide to have it read in a secret committee.

Several members supported this opinion.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—This message either refers to diplomatic subjects, or it is an answer to the information you have asked for. In the first case, I am for the formation of a committee; in the second, I claim publicity. The people and the army expect a reply relative to the condition and wants of the republic; both must be made known to them. I demand that the message be read in public.

*A crowd of members.*—Supported, supported!

*Portiez de l'Oise.*—In the first message the Directory announced to you, that a second would contain details which it would be important not to make public. I demand the formation of a general committee.

It is required that the *bureaux* take cognizance of the message.

*Grandmaison.*—A wise and prudent intention has dictated the motion of our colleague Texier; but the people have been led to the brink of destruction: no doubt the message of the Directory indicates dangers, their causes, the source of the evil, and the remedy. These objects require the greatest publicity.

Texier read the following message:—

Citizen representatives, the executive Directory is about to render you an account of the state in which it finds France.

The wounds of the republic are deep; and great dangers surround it, (at these words the speaker is interrupted by the renewed demand for a general committee.)

*Jourdan.*—I demand that the reading be continued in public. Your commission has its labours to present to you after the reading of the message. You are going to ask of the people of France men and money; the people must know what are its wants.

The secretary continued the reading of the message.

The Directory, it is there said, cannot dissemble the dangers which surround the republic, because it is in their very imminence that resources will be found to save—and those great measures which will restore its grandeur, while even the efforts of our enemies attest the wonder which has struck them.

It is too true, that a fatal system, that unjust prepossessions have removed from functions and places, citizens the most capable of maintaining the spirit of the nation, to the elevation of its destiny; that almost everywhere the administrations are formed of weak and careless

men, or of the enemies of the republican *régime*, and require to be entirely re-organized. Public spirit, the support or depression of which depends principally on the good or bad formation of the constituted authorities, is deteriorated and corrupted; an unhappy influence has produced a like reaction upon the tribunals; and the temple of justice has too often become the unhallowed asylum of robbers, covered with the blood of republicans.

It is too true, that, ceasing to be oppressed with the salutary terror of the laws, without which there is no government; that, emboldened by the weakness or collusion of the public functionaries who ought to watch them; robbers who infest the interior of the republic have re-appeared with fresh boldness; that at the signal given by the assassins of Rastadt, they have raised again the bloody banner of revolt. United at present in bands, they infest and desolate several departments of the west and of the south; the purchasers of the national wealth are attacked, as are also travellers, and public carriages upon the high roads; the proceeds of the taxes are plundered in the chests upon the roads, and citizens distinguished for their attachment to the republic are massacred in their own houses. And all these crimes are committed in the name

of the altar and the throne. A civil war is ready to be kindled at several points, to aid by its diversions and its plagues the external war. A blind want of foresight has given time to our enemies to embolden themselves by a new coalition, and to recruit from all parts with fresh hordes, while our triumphant armies have dissolved, even on the field of victory. Whilst we were amused with hopes at Rastadt, we neglected the only means of securing peace, that of being actually prepared for war, which we should have foreseen, and which we must carry on.

We will maintain this odious war, and the ill-connected assembly of our present enemies will meet the fate of the first coalition.

But to the extraordinary efforts of our enemies we must hasten to oppose the all-powerful efforts of the friends of liberty.

Citizen representatives, our frontiers are menaced ; we must defend them ; we must secure the subsistence of armies exposed for too long a time ; we must arm new battalions ; we must restore the means of offensive operations to our brave legions, and make our enemies respect even the soil of our allies. We must encourage the interior by the organization of an imposing force, and terminate this war of assassinations, which stains the land of liberty with the blood

of the friends of the republic. The insufficiency and inadequacy of the collecting of the taxes, is felt in the most painful manner, throwing every department of the public service into a state of disorganization, the disastrous results of which are incalculable, and yet the imperious circumstances in which we find ourselves placed may demand extraordinary supplies, whose necessity is already felt.

In fact, representatives of the people, the Directory ought to say to you, to the nation at large, that the political body is menaced with a total dissolution, if you do not hasten to retemper all the springs of its organization and of its movement.

Our evils are great, no doubt; but our resources are those of a generous people, whose misfortunes augment their strength, and whose reverses only fortify their courage; a people worthy of liberty, and who are never more powerful, more terrible to their enemies, than when such dare to flatter themselves that they have conquered. Our misfortunes originate principally from the bad use, or the abandonment of our means.

The means of the French republic are always the same; they are those with which it has hi-

therto conquered the most numerous enemies. The first of all these means, the most powerful, that which gives a value to others, is the energy of the people, their devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, to that cause for which they have made so many sacrifices.

At your voice, representatives of the people, at that of the Directory, which has with you but the same mind, the same soul, Europe will see this energy exhibit itself more terrible, more heroic than ever. The coalition with which we have to contend is the last effort of our combined enemies. The efforts which the republic is going to put forth to throw down this menacing coalition, are its last, and will force the powers which compose it to submit to the laws of justice and of peace.

The Directory adds to this message, citizen representatives, the reports of the ministers on the different subjects to which your attention has been called. You will there find the detail of the facts of which it has shown to you the results; you will there see the wants of the republic, and some indications of the means by which they may be attained.

The council ordered the impression of twelve copies.

NOTE 10.—*Page 258.*

*Sitting of the 9th Messidor, Year 7.*

*First decree.*

The Council of Five Hundred charges its commissions named to overlook the service of the years 7 and 8, to present, Tridi next, a resolution on the means of realizing a loan of a hundred millions, and to ensure the repayment of it.

*Second decree.*

The Council of Five Hundred charges its military commission to present to it, Duodi next, a report on the organization of the battalions and companies whose formation is ordered by the resolution of this day.

The resolutions and decrees are adopted.

The council adopts unanimously the resolution presented, and hears immediately the second reading of it.

It charges its second commission to present 'imédi, the means for carrying into effect this resolution.



NOTE 11.—*Page 258.**Sitting of the 9th Messidor, Year 7.*

*François de Nantes.*—Your commission has charged me to lay before you the following draught of an address to the French nation.

*The legislative body to the French nation.*

Frenchmen : A system followed by the majority of the executive Directory, sad and deplorable fruit of the want of foresight, of error, of ignorance, which the treason of several agents, and which the corruption of others would have made still worse, has compromised the safety of the republic within and without, the existence of the purest republicans, and the sacred principles of the revolution.

In this great danger of the state, without considering that of our personal situation, placed in the first degree of the political order, stipulating for the interests of the greatest people in the world and those of the allied republics ; amid the emotions with which such great objects strike us on all sides, we thought only of the great and sublime cause which your confidence has charged us to defend, and we swear to you by our address of the 22nd Prairial last, to save you or to pe-

rish. We have kept our oath to you. The events of the 28th, 29th, and 30th Prairial last, are known to you. The French people and the legislative body have triumphed with the constitution without occasioning any shock.

A new Directory, filled with this patriotic courage, which has always been the presage of victory, has issued from this political crisis. The reins of government are in firm republican hands. Rely with confidence on the first authorities. They will always respect the constitution which you have given to yourselves.

Frenchmen, your frontiers are menaced with a neighbouring invasion. Men, money, and arms—this is what is required, this is indispensable to your safety. Men! it is to you, republicans, that we address ourselves! When you were repressed by an absurd and tyrannical *régime*, when feelings of the purest republicanism were treated as anarchical conspiracy, you might have feared to give yourselves up to your zeal; but when we swear fidelity to you, it is for you to swear to us the victory. Go and reinforce our armies which wait for you, and associate yourselves with their immortal renown.

Sing the hymns of liberty, form your battalions in accordance with the law, and let a fortunate advance directed to our frontiers,

destroy this impious coalition, and avenge the blood of our plenipotentiaries. Employ with zeal and wisdom the right which the constitution assures to you, to unite yourselves. Be on your guard against strangers who would endeavour to carry you beyond the line of the laws, and the respect due to public authority. Do not suffer your constitutional charter to be outraged or violated,—it is our safeguard, and our rallying point. Invigorate our republican institutions ; they give force and grandeur to the state ; they disengage minds, by little and little, from the hideous swaddling-clothes of superstition, and elevate them to those liberal principles which redouble energy, and reanimate courage : they are most guilty who insult these peaceable societies, professing the most pure morality, and scattering forth the happy seeds of a fraternal reconciliation and of a universal benevolence.

Woe to those who would conspire against the state, who would urge the citizens to rebellion, to the violation of the laws, by whatever means they are able ! Woe to those who practise re-actions ! revenge ! No more terror, no more arbitrary *régime*, no more tyranny ! Liberty and the constitution—this is the duty of all !

Republicans, we fulfil ours with zeal and firmness ; it is for your courage to insure the triumph

of the republic without, and the reign of a wise liberty within.

The council adopts the digest.

*Lucien Bonaparte.*—I propose that the council pass a resolution to send the message of the Directory, and this address, to all the departments and to the army. It is right that they should know the truth, and the causes of their reverses; that they should know that they have ceased to conquer for a moment,—but from the most profound folly, or the blackest treason, which allowed them to want the most common necessities,—because they had not, at their head, generals to whom multiplied victories had created a right to the confidence of the soldier. It is essential to the army that this state of things exist no longer, that the authorities march together in concert with redoubled zeal, that the nation respond to this appeal, and victory will then be always certain under the colours of the republic.

The proposition of Lucien Bonaparte was adopted.

NOTE 12.—Page 271.

*Sitting of the 24th Messidor, Year 7.*

*Montellier* then presented himself at the tribune, to make the report upon the measures necessary

to reach the dilapidators of the public wealth, and the means whereby conspirators may be seized, their abettors and accomplices.

It gives an account, at first, of the deep impression which the revolution of the 30th Prairial made upon the people. It was the result of opinion, that immortal power which is sometimes quenched, but which strikes always in a bold manner. It abandoned, by little and little, the triumvirs, and delivered them up alone, and without defence, to the movement which has overthrown them ; but it is of consequence that the results of these movements be prompt, were it only to keep off those political oscillations and strugglings, always dangerous. The commission hastens, therefore, to submit its determinations. The reporter makes here the analysis of the petitions which have been referred to the commission. Grave imputations result from them, if they are well founded, against the ex-members of the Directory, Rewbell, Merlin, Treilhard, Reveillère, Schérer, who are there designated as the authors or accomplices of a conspiracy which has brought the republic to the brink of destruction.

They are denounced—

1st. As the authors and accomplices of a conspiracy, which has placed the republic in the greatest danger.

2nd. For having transported to the deserts of Arabia forty thousand men, forming the *élite* of our armies, General Bonaparte, and with him the flower of our men of letters and of science, and our artists.

3rd. For having pillaged the arsenals, and sold at a low price arms and military stores.

4th. For having, by force of arms, overturned the Cisalpine constitution, which had been guaranteed by the legislative body.

5th. As guilty of an outrage against the sovereignty of the people, in endeavouring to influence the elections by intrigue, menaces, and force, and in leaving unpunished the directorial commissioners denounced by the legislative body, and especially that of the Sarthe.

After having named the guilty, the commission has sought the means of reaching them through the constitutional authorities. The chain of proof may require the accusation of individuals with respect to whom there exists an especial legislation; but a special commission being charged to examine the law of the 10th Vendémiaire, year 4, it will not be made a question in this report; there will only be presented to the council the following question to be resolved:—The article 3 of the constitution, which does not deliver up legislators to the ordinary tribunals,

until thirty days after their functions have ceased, ought it to be limited to them alone, or applied to the ex-members of the Directory? As for the rest, it is acknowledged by a legislative enactment, in the affair of Babœuf, that when an accused is to be justified before a particular tribunal, he takes with him his co-accused: thus there is less difficulty. We must again examine if the addresses may be considered as denunciations against a member of the legislative body, which, according to the terms of the 116th article of the constitution, should be written and signed. The commission has thought that the affirmative could not make any difficulty, since the addresses are written and signed individually. From that time its attributes have ceased, there has only remained to propose to the council to form itself into a general committee, to examine if the denunciation made against one of its members shall be rejected or admitted.

Representatives of the people, (says the reporter in conclusion,) opinion has been struck by the revolution of the 30th Prairial; patriotism has exalted herself at the voice of the legislative body; let it not wander without a guide; let the Directory speak, let it act that it may declare its character. In political crises, it

is towards those who have authority in their hands that all eyes are turned ; it is for them to respond to the general expectation, to choose well their co-operators, for the public safety is especially in their hands ; to grasp, in fact, the helm with a firm hand, and to march boldly. You, representatives, will not leave them isolated.

Men whose conceptions embrace all the aspects of our situation, must mature, put in motion, and dispose in order all those legislative measures which circumstances may render necessary, that patriotism may have a focus as well as royalism a centre, and then we shall be conquerors 'as soon as we show ourselves.

The commission announces that it will forthwith present measures, in order to reach the dilapidators, and proposes to the council to form itself into a committee to deliberate upon the accusations which have been presented to it.

This proposition was adopted, and the committee was immediately formed.

NOTE 13.—*Page 275.*

In the centre of the hall where the Council of Five Hundred had their sittings, facing the tribune, there was a column supporting the book



of the constitution of the year 3. This book, in marble, was surrounded by garlands of oak and of laurel. #1

NOTE 14.—Page 281.

*Speech delivered by Citizen Sièyes, President of the Executive Directory, at the Champ de Mars, the 10th Thermidor.*

We celebrate to-day the fête of liberty. All that has been imagined and executed for it ought at this moment to be recalled to our remembrance:—the precursory labours of philosophy, which struggled with so much constancy against a multitude of prejudices, the more immediate labours of some citizens, before even they had a country, who, towards the epoch of 1789, awakened in the hearts of Frenchmen the sentiment, almost extinguished, of the rights of the nation. The generous efforts, the creative conceptions of this first national assembly, whose errors cannot obliterate their important services, and by which has been insured, for ever, the wrath of all the enemies of the revolution; the ardent energy, so prolific in successive assemblies, which, profiting by the impulse given of a new civic force, the faults, virtues, misfortunes, lights, founded at length the republican constitution, where French liberties have

taken refuge ; the devotion was the more meritorious, as it was the most obscure of the great number of good citizens, who were always ready at the call of their country, and who have constantly made for it the greatest sacrifices, without considering themselves entitled to occupy the public with it, and, more especially, to menace it with their patriotism. The glory, without a cloud, of the French armies ;—who, always great, always indefatigable, have extorted admiration, even in their reverses, from all the powers of Europe ;—so many deeds, so many prodigies, so many events, unheard of until these latter times, will live eternally in the memory of mankind. The victory gained over a long and bloody tyranny will also live, the downfall of which we this day more particularly call to mind. I will not re-produce here an afflicting picture, traced so often with intentions so opposite. After six years, it still oppresses the soul and distracts the thoughts. What a lesson ! men without genius, but not without boldness, drew from the name of liberty which they profaned an incomprehensible force, a monstrous power, of which there has been no precedent, and which, I swear by the republic, shall never return.

Always jealous, always cruel, they could only

see in the talents, generous virtues, and all the natural affections, crimes worthy of death. Not less stupid than ferocious, they created obstacles, destroyed means, provoked, at length, resistance, and punished France with their incapacity to govern. Formidable, especially to the tried friends of liberty, they caused to perish under the iron of the executioner, or to sink under their own misfortunes, many republicans, so pure, so enlightened, so magnanimous, whose irreparable loss we still weep over, and whom the country ought ever to mourn. They were thus the scourges, the unfeeling devastators of the republic, of which they dared to proclaim themselves the saviours.

These tyrants were overthrown the 9th Thermidor: honour then to this memorable day! No Frenchman can abjure it without shame. Honour to the national convention, which, breaking at once its chains, revived liberty for all! Honour to the epoch when a numerous portion of our fellow-citizens were, at length, disabused, over whom had been spread the darkness of error and ignorance, and who by an effect even of the natural love of justice and liberty, could not bring themselves to believe, that in the name of these virtues Frenchmen were become assassins and tyrants. But indelible disgrace to

those men, who, cruelly abusing a victory sufficiently unnatural, hastened to persecute even those who, at the peril of their lives, had restored life and liberty! Ignominy upon those cowardly persecutors, who, by the aid of words found in the terrible vocabulary of calumny, substituted, with a facility so dreadful, a new tyranny, for the one which had just been cast down! There are, then, men whom no law will touch, no favour soften, no indulgence disarm; men who, hardly raised from the oppression under which they groaned, hasten to arm their tongues with calumny and their hands with a poniard against those whom they invoked but the other day as liberators. May this unhappy reflection apply but to times which are gone by!

Thus we have seen tarnished the lustre of the brightest days of the revolution, and the friends of liberty have been constantly bruised between contending factions.

Citizens, these calamitous times will not occur again. Your representatives, your magistrates, ought to secure you from them; they will know how to prevent, until there is a necessity, those crises which shake always that which they repair. Our situation presents difficulties, no doubt; but many are pleased to exaggerate them unreason-

ably. In this respect the hopes of hatred and the miserable calculations of fear will be disappointed ; for our strength is superior to our dangers. Our transient reverses are a delay, but not a defeat. Our armies have been able to preserve intact the sacred territory of the republic ; they are reinforced at this moment with bright and valorous youth, the fresh hope of their country.

Go, **young** conscripts, and rejoin your predecessors in the career of glory : here we will watch over your families ; let no fear as to the objects of your affections hinder the flight of your courage. We abhor, as much as you, everything which is contrary to good order and to the tranquillity of the citizen.

No more illegal vengeance, but the firm and calm action of the law : no more reaction whatever : the government exists for justice, as you for victory ; it knows its duty ; it desires to fulfil it. When, triumphing over the enemies of our country, you shall return again to your hearths, you will there experience, with the national gratitude, and the liberties you will have preserved, repose, security, the guarantee of your property, —in a word, all the benefits which have been promised to you, and which we know how to insure to you.

Long live the Republic !

NOTE 15.— *Page 283.*

*Sitting of the 24th Messidor, year 7.*

*Law of Hostages.*

Article the 1st. When a department, canton, or commune is notoriously in a disturbed state, the executive directory proposes to the legislative body to declare it comprehended in ~~the~~ following resolutions.

2nd. The relations of emigrants, their connexions, and the heretofore nobles comprised in the laws of the 3rd Brumaire, year 4, and 9th Frimaire, year 6, the grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and mothers of individuals who, being neither ex-nobles nor relations of emigrants, are nevertheless notoriously known as making part of the assemblies or bands of assassins, are personally and civilly responsible for the assassinations and plunderings committed in the interior in hatred to the republic, in the departments, cantons, or communes declared to be in a disturbed state.

3rd. Immediately after the publication of the law made executive by the first article, the central administrations shall take hostages in the classes aforesaid, in the communes, cantons, and departments declared to be in a

state of disturbance; moreover, in the event of imminent disturbances, although the department, canton, or commune should not yet be declared by the law to be in a disturbed state, the same administrations are provisionally authorized to take hostages; they must inform the executive Directory of it within twenty-four hours.

4th. Hostages shall be kept at their own expense, in the same place in a commune of the department, under the inspection of the central and municipal administrations and of commissioners of the Executive Directory near these said administrations.

5th. Hostages who, during the ten days of the notice which shall be given to them by a gend'arme, do not repair to the place indicated by the administration, shall be taken there by an armed force: those who make their escape shall be held as emigrants, considered and treated as such.

6th. From these resolutions are excepted the former nobles and relations of emigrants who have constantly filled public functions by the nomination of the people, or who are in the exceptions provided in the laws of the 3rd Brumaire, year 4, and 9th Frimaire, year 6.

7th. The central administrations shall draw

up, in the month of the publication of the law which shall appoint the communes, cantons, or departments to which the present law shall be applicable, in conformity with the first article, a list of all the individuals subject to the personal and civil guarantee fixed by the second article.

8th. The central administrations will include in this list all the individuals named in the second article, domiciled in their respective arrondissements at the epoch of the 1st of September, 1791 (O. S.)

9th. If a citizen be assassinated, having been since the revolution, or being actually a public functionary, or a defender of his country, or a purchaser or possessor of national domains, the Directory, after having consulted the central administration, is charged to transport out of the territory of the republic, within two decades from the assassination, four of the individuals designated by the 2nd article, for each person assassinated; taken, in the first place, from amongst the noble relations of emigrants; secondly, from among the former nobles, and, lastly, from among the relations of such individuals in the neighbourhood.

The carrying off forcibly of the citizens above designated, of their fathers, mothers, wives, or



of their children, will occasion the same penalty of transportation, and, moreover, liability to fines and indemnities hereafter to be fixed, if they are not set at liberty within twenty-four hours from the carrying off.

In all cases of the carrying off of one of the persons above denominated, the securities shall be subject to a fine of six thousand francs, besides being subject to the penalties prescribed by the Code of crimes and penalties against the authors of the crime.

10th. The penalty of transportation against hostages shall not take place when one of them shall have formally denounced and procured the arrest of individuals who shall be afterwards declared guilty.

11th. Sequestration shall be put upon the goods of hostages transported, and shall continue until condemnation be pronounced upon them, and until the production of a legal certificate, verifying that they submit to their transportation.

12th. The infraction of the transportation shall be equivalent to emigration, for the personal effects only of the transported.

13th. Independently of the penalty of transportation pronounced by the 10th article, the individuals, named in the 2nd article, shall be

respectively in each department legally and individually responsible to a fine of five thousand francs for each individual named in the 9th article; whether assassinated or slain in an action, or in any other manner whatever.

14th. The fine of five thousand francs shall be paid within fifteen days at the utmost from the assassination, or the carrying off, and shall be placed in the treasury of the receiver-general, on simple decrees of the central administration, which shall decide on the remittance of the *procès verbal*, written down either by the municipal agents, or the commissioners of police; or by the justices of the peace, or by the commanders of the armed force.

15th. Besides the fine of five thousand francs, placed in the public treasury, the said individuals expressed in the 2nd article shall be legally and individually guarantees, and responsible for an indemnity which shall not be less than the sum of six thousand francs in favour of the widow, and of three thousand francs for each of the children of the person assassinated.

16th. Citizens of the quality designated in the 9th article, who, wounded, shall survive their wounds, shall be entitled to an indemnity of not less than six thousand francs.

17th. Citizens who, in execution of a particular mission given to them by a civil authority, or by a military order, in the search of returned emigrants or transported priests, may be assassinated or wounded in the course or at the termination of this mission or military order, shall be entitled, they, their wives, and their children, to the same indemnities as above.

18th. The indemnities aforesaid shall be acquitted within ten days after the decree of the central administration.

19th. Individuals comprised in the 2nd article are equally in each department legally and individually responsible as well towards the republic as towards private persons for the abductions, gatherings, exactions of farm-rents, spoliations of public monies, as also of burnings, injuries, and pillagings committed upon property.

20th. The indemnities resulting from forfeitures comprised in the preceding article, shall be regulated by a decree of the central administrations in the said ten days, which shall follow the crime, and be paid within the ten days following, and they must be equivalent to the things pillaged, burnt, or destroyed. The securities shall, besides, be held liable to a penalty to the

public treasury, equal to the value of the said things.

21st. The indemnities due to the nation on account of the carrying off of the public monies, of burnings, degradations, or pillaging of the national properties, shall be paid into the respective treasuries, which refer to the things pillaged or destroyed.

22nd. The central administrations shall regulate the indemnities and fines after the examination of the *procés verbal*, overlooked by the municipal agents or commissioners of police, or justices of the peace, or commanders of the armed force, according to the information they have thought proper to take.

23rd. The municipal agents, or commissioners of police, justices of the peace, and commanders of the armed force, shall be bound to draw up their *procés verbaux* within three days of the commission of the crime; but when the crime shall have been committed in the commune where the municipal agent or commissioner of police, commander of the armed force, and justice of the peace reside, the *procés verbal* shall be written down conjointly by the first, and separately by the justice of the peace: it must be addressed to the central administration the fourth day after the commission of the crime.

24th. The municipal agents or commissioners of police, justices of the peace, and commanders of the armed force, who shall not write down or send their *procès verbaux* in the periods fixed by the preceding article, shall individually incur a penalty of three hundred francs each.

25th. The penalties named in the articles 13, 20, and 24, shall be placed in the treasury of the receiver-general of the department, who will open a particular account for this purpose, which is to be specially applied to citizens aiding in arresting an emigrant or a priest returned from transportation, or subject to transportation, or an individual forming a part of the bands of assassins marked upon the list.

26th. The rewards mentioned in the preceding article are fixed ;—that is to say, for an emigrant or a priest returned from, or subject to, transportation, or a chief of assassins, the sum of from three hundred to two thousand four hundred francs ; and for other individuals, making a part of the bands of assassins, from two hundred to six hundred francs. These rewards shall be regulated by the central administrations.

27th. The gend'armes and national guards, whether or not in active employ against the bands of assassins, shall be entitled to the same rewards.

28th. The rewards shall be paid by the receivers-general of the departments by drafts upon the central administrations, from the funds arising from the penalties pronounced and paid by virtue of the present law.

29th. The rewards granted to the gend'armes and national guards, sedentary or in activity, shall be equally distributed amongst the soldiers who shall have aided in the arrest of individuals designated in the 26th article aforesaid.

30th. In default of funds in the treasury of the receiver-general of the department accruing from penalties, individuals named in the 2nd article shall be bound to pay into the treasury of the said receiver the whole amount of the rewards accorded, within ten days from the decree of the receiver-general.

31st. In default of the individuals called upon to pay, during the above-mentioned periods, the penalties, indemnities, and rewards, above mentioned, they will be condemned by the civil tribunal of the department, by process from the commissioner of the executive Directory to the same tribunal. The central administrations will, therefore, be bound to address to the said commissioner a copy of the decree, fixing the rates of the said penalties, indemnities, or rewards, with a state-

ment of the property of the individuals called upon for payment, and the goods of these individuals are to be put under sequestration, until the fines are paid, under pain of one thousand francs penalty against each of the members of the said administrations.

32nd. The commissioner of the executive Directory, near the tribunal, shall be bound, under pain of one thousand francs penalty, to furnish his suit to the civil tribunal within three days from the receipt of the decree of the central administration, and, within three days following, the tribunal shall be equally bound, under pain of one thousand francs penalty against each of its members, to pronounce on sight of the said decree.

33rd. The penalties aforesaid shall have the same destination as that mentioned in the 25th article aforesaid.

34th. If within three days after the notification of the judgment given by the civil tribunal, the individual or individuals condemned do not pay into the treasury of the receiver-general the amount of the said penalties, indemnities, or rewards, and the expenses relating thereto, they will be compelled by distress and sale of their goods, and by means of bonds in the forms prescribed.

35th. The judgments given by the civil tri-

bunals shall be executed, notwithstanding an appeal.

36th. The central administrations, on the advice of the municipal administrations, shall prepare, in the month of the publication of the law which shall name the communes, cantons or departments where the present law shall be applicable, a list of all individuals notorious as forming a part of the bands of assassins.

37th. The individuals known to form part of the said assemblies or bands of assassins, and who prove themselves to be of the class of artisans, workmen, or cultivators, shall be admitted, within fifteen days from the publication of the law indicating the departments, cantons, or communes in which the present law shall be executed, to return freely to their homes without molestation, on condition that the said individuals present themselves within the said period to the central administration, and there deposit a good single-barrelled musket, or a good double-barrelled one. The central administration is authorized to erase definitively those individuals who shall deposit arms within the said period, from the list prepared in execution of the preceding article.

38th. The chiefs already pardoned shall not enjoy the privilege granted by the preceding arti-



ticle, whatever may have been their rank, nor the formerly privileged though without rank, pardoned or not, nor the emigrants, nor the transported priests, returned or subject to transportation, the law concerning these last remaining in all its force.

39th. All the individuals placed upon the list prepared in virtue of the 36th article, who do not take the benefit of the 37th article during the period prescribed, are personally assimilated to the emigrants, and to be considered and treated as such; they shall therefore be brought before a military commission, and be condemned to death, whether they shall have been taken armed or not.

40th. The grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers and mothers, placed upon the list prepared in execution of the 36th article, and who shall not profit by the advantages of the 37th article aforesaid, are personally assimilated to the ancestors of emigrants, and are submitted to the same indemnity in the forms and in the periods prescribed for the latter, without being able to plead the minimum of property.

41st. Individuals who shall be convicted, of having knowingly given asylum to assassins shall be subjected to the civil and personal security mentioned in the 2nd article.

42nd. The lists prepared in execution of the

articles 7 and 36 shall be printed and published in all the communes of the respective departments, within the four decades following the publication of the law indicating the communes, cantons, or departments where the present law shall receive its application. The said lists shall, besides, be addressed within the said period to the minister of general police.

43rd. By means of the arrangements aforesaid, the law of the 10th Vendémiaire, year 4, shall cease its application, only as to the responsibility established among the communes, dating from the publication of the law which declares that the present one shall be executed in each department, canton, or commune. The laws aiming at the prevention or punishment of crimes will continue to be executed, in whatever is not contrary to the present law.

44th. Where a department, canton, or commune, is declared in a state of disturbance, the effect of this declaration ceases only by a law.

45th. The present law shall not be carried into execution until the general peace: it shall be proclaimed and published in all the communes of the republic.

NOTE 16.—*Page 283.**The Legislative Body to the French Nation.*

Frenchmen ; It is upon your dearest interests, it is upon the invaluable benefits of internal tranquillity, it is upon the means of recalling it and establishing it among you, that your representatives feel the necessity of addressing you at this time.

Frenchmen, dreadful civil dissensions seem already to revive in the departments of the west and of the south, threatening to extend their ravages upon other points of the republic.

To arrest their progress, legislators must take severe but necessary measures, against men whom a long and unhappy experience has but too greatly signalized as the plotters of our discords.

But the curb of the law must not be left apart from the voice of reason.

It is to you especially, that we address ourselves, those men, whose straightforward simplicity is a fit instrument for ill-minded people, whose views are subversive of order as established by the constitution and the laws.

Perfidious men, they pretend to pity you ; they would not incense you, they recount to you

without ceasing the evils of the revolution ; they do not tell you that by their opposition they were the first promoters of it.

In speaking of your interests they are only mindful of their own, and would seize again their former usurpations.

What ! is it then for the re-establishment of titles, of statute labour, of feudality, that they would endeavour to arm Frenchmen against Frenchmen ?

Good and honest inhabitants of the provinces, how can you regret such a *régime* ! and recall it like mad people.

Citizens of all ranks, inhabitants of cities and of villages, have you forgotten what your political regeneration had in it that was touching and sublime in the first periods of the revolution ?

No, such recollections can never be effaced, and you will not again embrace the chains that you have broken with indignation. You will not submit with impunity, you who at some epoch or other have served the revolution ; royal vengeance would know well how to reach you.

And you, insensible men, who saw the revolution without enthusiasm, but without hatred, do you think that you would not be reproached for your simple indifference by your insolent conquerors ?

Your interest towards all is to remove from the

soil of France this torrent of misfortunes which would overwhelm it, if the criminal hopes of some could be realized.

Let therefore civil dissensions cease, and leave no other care than to repel the external enemy.

Citizens, in the midst of a dreadful war which perhaps ought not so long to have existed, and at the end of a disastrous administration, you suffer, no doubt. Your representatives sigh over it, they will labour without intermission to prevent the recurrence of evils which accompanied several epochs of the revolution.

They will know how to receive, in concert with the regenerated executive Directory, when it shall be presented, a peace worthy of the French nation and its allies.

But this peace, the object of our vows and yours—this peace which ought to recall to the territory of France abundance and prosperity, do not go to compromise it, or remove it by civil discords; and if there remain sacrifices to make, let them be for your country, and not to destroy one another.

What! shall the blood of Frenchmen flow for any other cause but that of liberty! And are there men mad enough to hope for happiness in the end from a civil war! Carcasses heaped up, fields devastated, houses burnt, are they no longer objects of terror?

Far be from us the thought that such moral degradation can be found in the general system; though bands of assassins show themselves in different departments and attack republicans.

These germs of a new civil war cannot come to the knowledge of your representatives without their seeking, at the same time, the means of putting them down, by offering to republicans a guarantee against their enemies—this is what they are about to do. Patriots, preserve or resume an energetic and firm attitude; the legislative body and the Directory have determined to make the republic triumphant.

And you, who were the blind instruments for the assassination of republicans, you artisans and husbandmen who are reckoned amongst the bands of assassins, return to your workshops and your ploughs; lay down the arms you wish to turn against your country; your peaceful retreats call you home; your productive fields should not be converted into fields of blood. You, in fine, ex-nobles, relations of emigrants, and ancestors of rebels,—you who had so great an influence over the misfortunes of your country; you who could hinder crime, and who counsel it so often, consider that you are to-day responsible for the tranquillity of the interior: strive then to main-

tain it, for it is at this price alone that you will be one day admitted to all the rights of the other children of the great family. Let the departments infested with Chouanism return to order, if they wish to partake of the common rights ; let the departments which are strangers to civil troubles, continue to merit an honourable exception ; let, in a word, internal peace be established on a solid basis, and on the exterior we shall resume the attitude of victory.

NOTE 17.—*Page 288.*

*Speech delivered by Citizen Sièyes, president of the executive Directory, at the celebration of the 10th of August.*

I salute you, in the name of all Frenchmen, day of justice and of glory, which the destinies of France have at length fixed to settle the national independence on the downfall of the throne. On the 10th of August, royalty was overthrown in France : it shall never rise again ! Citizens, such was the oath which you engraved upon the walls of this palace at the moment even when you drove from it the last of our tyrants. Thus disappeared the long succession of despots, whose yoke had become insup-

portable ; who called themselves the delegates of Heaven, in order to oppress with more security the earth, which in France they beheld as their patrimony, the French people as their subjects, the laws but as the expression of their good pleasure ; while hereditary influence had so far familiarised us with this ridiculous language, that perhaps, even at this time it does not sufficiently astonish our ears.

In this last combat there remained as the defenders of royalty, the audacity and cowardice of a corrupt court, the perfidy, the insolence, and the deceitful aids of slavery ; it had for adversaries, courage, a firm will, the enthusiasm of new liberty, and the generous virtues which it inspires. The struggle could not be long, the victory could not be doubtful.

But with royalty could not be annihilated, in a day, all the interests with which it was associated, all the institutions which were too much identified with it. In republican France, royalty preserves both friends and avengers. The one does not disguise even its efforts to revive it. Founding their hope upon I know not what fraternity of thrones, and upon the more real alliance between the throne and the altar, they arm around us a part of Europe,—they relight, in the midst of us, the torches of fanaticism.



Others, more perfidious declaimers against royalty, but the secret and not less implacable enemies of those who have destroyed it, take every form of language, unite their rage, surpass in excesses, in the double hope of avenging the throne upon its real destroyers, to make it regretted by those even who had most applauded its overthrow.

Thus the republic has been constantly a mark for direct or indirect aggressions—attacks equally formidable. Citizens, it is not deviating from the spirit of this fête to tell you of the means employed by your representatives and your magistrates, in order that they might triumph over so many obstacles, and associate your patriotism with their efforts : it is still to strike at royalty,—it is to continue in some manner to complete the victory of the 10th of August.

To the open enterprises of royalty the republic opposes, without remission, the extension of all the national forces ; it opposes laws without compassion to the deserter of our country, terrible measures to all the communes agitated with royalism, indefatigable surveillance upon all intrigues, upon the manœuvres of those who dare to speak of its return. Whoever, at this moment, would deny, either these means, or the republican will of those who direct them, can

only be either a madman or a man not to be trusted.

To indirect aggressions we might reply by repressive measures ; the constitution and the laws give the right : but because your magistrates are stout republicans, because they know that in this class of aggressors are mingled Frenchmen, who are carried away by their love for the republic, and it would be with inconsolable regret that they should find themselves compelled to be severe towards those who have been able to serve the cause of liberty ;—it is rather by earnest and fraternal advice that they would reach them ; for they cannot renounce the hope of bringing back to the true interests of the republic, men whose actions may have appeared doubtful, but whose intentions have remained pure. It is then to these that we address ourselves, to make known to them this small number of false patriots, who agitate and torment them, who infuse into the mind absurd ideas and extravagant or guilty hopes. The present circumstances create a duty—I go to fulfil it.

.Citizens, whatever may be these men, whom I persist in considering a small number, foreigners or natives, kept in pay by the enemy or obeying only their passions, desiring the speedy return of royalty or preferring the return

of that terror so justly abhorred by Frenchmen ;—I will exclaim, Be on your guard, as republicans, in looking up to those who see, in the overturning of the throne, not the means of establishing a new government desired by the nation, but the right, at all times, to overturn everything which would obstruct their individual ambition ;—those who think, that to strengthen, is cowardice,—to destroy, a glory ; who, unruly enemies of everything which constitutes order, or even the appearance of order, wish to govern by crises and not by laws,—who would destroy, with their own hands, the government which they themselves had formed, because a government, even of their own making, could not always accomplish at will all the projects of their avidity, all the ravings of their madness.

No, they are not republicans, who have not yet been able to resolve to pardon friends of liberty the most ancient and the most incorruptible, who insult them for the very confidence with which the nation honours them, or for the magnitude of the services which they have rendered.

Conquerors of the 10th of August ; you to whom is addressed the homage of this day, you have not yourselves been able to escape these

calumniators, who would do so with every name, and who dim the lustre of every glory!

They are not republicans, whose servile soul cannot conceive that the founders of liberty, and of the republic, were republicans; who, repeating the raving abuse of the same court, which the 10th of August overthrew, and which they revenge, since they imitate it: they yet seek to impute to them, as the object of their secret vows, I know not what phantom of a king, paraded by turns before all those whom they wish to destroy: senseless detractors, or hypocrites, who, shutting their eyes against all evidence, persist in being ignorant that men, especially those most frequently attacked by this absurd accusation, have a thousand times, and from the beginning of the revolution, manifested their ardent desire that this man, whom I do not wish to name, might have remained, he and his own, for ever in the enemies' ranks, instead of carrying disquiet, distrust, and danger into our own.

No they are not republicans, those who, through their democratical language, allow the shameful predilection which they preserve for royal superstitions to be easily seen through, and seem every moment to tell you, that since you have attacked a king, they can, with much

greater reason, attack the magistrates of the people.

No, they are not republicans ; those who only know how to gather, to stir up, to excite discontents against established order ; those who in other times think that in order to govern, you must punish with death whoever should dare not to be content : those to whom peace would be a misfortune, who dread victory, who calculate upon our reverses for the increase of their influence ; those who hope for internal dissensions are only happy from the stirring up of hatred ; they denounce with boldness before the multitude, and tremble when they have to sign a denunciation ; who always thirsting for vengeance, are angry at the salutary slowness which the law commands, both to save the innocent and to reach with certainty the guilty : who by the madness of their provocation, bring fear upon the peaceful citizen, dry up the sources of public wealth, blast credit, annihilate commerce, paralyse all exertion, who speak without ceasing of misfortunes, and augment the number of the unfortunate ; call themselves the friends of the people, and only know how to exasperate instead of serving them, are incensed against the external enemy, but are thoroughly decided not to contend with him.

Is it, then, because they repeat with more noise the real expression of our common indignation against dilapidators and traitors, that they hope to impose upon you? But, in their daily experience, have people not learnt that it is not always the men who speak the loudest that are the most free from reproach?—that many denounce, in order that they may not be denounced? And whom will they persuade, that those who govern do not experience a national grief, much more sincere, much more profound than theirs, at the painful spectacle of evils done to our country, and at the moment especially when they are called upon to seek a remedy? Have they given more security for their morality and their patriotism? Do they enjoy a reputation more pure? Are they more austere in their manners,—more of citizens? And if their indignation be real, instead of these clamours, which are only addressed to the passions, and which rather protect the guilty, because they confound them with those who are not so, why do we not see them usefully aid the action of the law, in multiplying searches, in gathering proofs, in fact, in enlightening the magistrates? But why should I delay to mention it,—their aim is certainly not justice: it is to excite the public with suspicion; it is to carry confusion and discouragement.

ment into every mind ; it is to drive Frenchmen to despair ; it is to plunge everything into confusion ; it is, in a word, to govern at any price whatever. Frenchmen, you know how they govern ! The executive Directory knows all the enemies who conspire against the republic. In the midst of these excitors, which it has just denounced, who are few in number, but appear to multiply by report, it does not lose sight of other royalists of incurable madness, who aspire to a master who would call them back from all their vows, from all their actions, and who reckon so justly as their auxiliaries whoever menaces at the present time the constitution and government. It declares to you that it will be equally inflexible against all ; that, superior to danger, calm in the midst of the storm, it will combat them all without weakness and without intermission ; not by balancing them one against another : this impolitic and cruel game would be unworthy of the republic ; but by repressing them all equally by the aid of those energetic measures, which the constitution of the year 3 secures, which constitution the immense majority of citizens resolved to defend, and to obey only the laws, and to rally at all times round the tutelary authorities.

Long live the republic !

NOTE 18.—*Page 290.**Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Ancients, of the 17th Thermidor.*

Citizen Representatives,

The executive Directory has received your message of the 13th of this month, concerning societies occupied with political questions, and it hastens to send it to the minister of police, with orders to make a prompt report upon the subject. You will find here added the report which contains the information you have demanded.

The Directory, deeply impressed with the necessity of maintaining everything in constitutional order, and of repressing those who would disturb it, will employ those measures which circumstances require; you may, in this respect, rely upon its courage and its devotion, as it likewise places its confidence in its union with the legislative body, and in the laws and means which it will furnish to secure individual safety and public tranquillity.

*Report of the Minister of Police to the Executive Directory.*

Citizen Directors,

You have directed me to make to you a



report relative to political societies ; to relate to you the course they have pursued since their establishment, and neither to conceal from you their services nor their errors. I owe you the truth as a minister ; I will speak it as a minister, and as a citizen. There never was a more important and more delicate institution ever submitted to the consideration of legislators ; it interests essentially, (I dare to say it,) both the republic and liberty.

After the 30th Prairial, the citizens, restored to the full exercise of their rights, did not delay to unite themselves in political societies. These unions, legitimate for rights, were favoured in the hope that they would re-animate public spirit, almost extinguished from a variety of causes which are known to you, and that they would direct towards the salvation of their country all the progress of thought and all the passions of the soul. The end was glorious, the route easy, the first steps were circumspect, and courage and energy did not disdain at first the counsels and language of an enlightened prudence. Citizens gathered in crowds, and this happy concurrence proved to the enemies of liberty, that notwithstanding so many grievous losses, after such long persecutions, and such bitter disgusts, the ranks of republicans were not thinned, nor their

generous ardour exhausted—a terrible experience to our enemies, a sure token of their defeat. From these political reunions the most happy results were expected for our country. It was hoped that their burning and fruitful zeal, seconding the patriotism and the ardour of the authorities, would powerfully concur in raising public spirit, in driving the conscripts to the frontiers, and in strengthening in their hearts the passion for victory. It grieves me to say it, the breath of the stranger has dissipated all these hopes. Hatreds, beneficially weakened by time, have been suddenly revived with fresh activity; recollections, hardly effaced, recalled in the most frightful array; past proscriptions reproduced to the imagination by the announcement of new proscriptions; accusations, become all at once general and irregular, the guilty are skilfully confounded with the crowd. In fine, the constitution, in virtue of which they were united, has been evaded and openly violated at several points.

In effect, the constitution forbids presidents and secretaries. They have named a regulator and commentators. The text of the constitution says, “No separate society can hold public sittings, composed of an assembly and members of the society, distinguished from each

other." There has been constantly assemblies and members of societies. The constitution interdicts collective petitions, and everything which bears the character of legislation, or of executive authority. They have named a commission of public instruction. The particular object of this commission is the publication every decade of a report on the situation of the republic. Other commissions have also been named. These united commissions have made a report to the society upon a notification to the Council of Ancients, relative to the evacuation of the hall called the *Manège*; at the end of this report, they have decreed to obey only by an order from the council given while sitting.

The commission of public instruction has distributed and placarded another report, in which it seeks to exasperate the people, and to inspire them with distrust of the intentions of magistrates whom republicans themselves have chosen. They speak of followers of Merlin, of familiars of the protectorate, of restorers of the throne of 91, of a pentarchical royalty; they affirm that the people can only be regenerated and constituted by popular leaders. This society which ought only to be occupied with political questions, and with means proper to revive public spirit, is carried away without ceasing

beyond its design by interests, affections, or personal hatreds, on which a more sincere love of their country would no doubt have imposed a salutary silence ; it has hardly ever attached itself but to persons and things which would give to the most direful passions a new degree of intensity.

These transgressions, these irregularities, these violences, are not only seen, but they are felt. These first movements, it is true, may be considered as the consequences of that long pressure which weighed upon the republic before the 30th Prairial. Such are the effects of oppression : it leaves in the souls of men the most just, the seeds of disquietude and the relics of indignation. Nevertheless, every indulgence which ought to be granted to these first digressions, is granted ; but prudence counsels severity for the future.

The political reunions, as they exist at the present day, make the joy and hope of our enemies. It has thrown already in their bosom its most perfidious emissaries. It is they who, in exaggerating the most important truths, render them doubtful ; it is they who have established a tyranny of opinions in the midst even of political reunions ; it is they who pervert the influence of them, and who turn against liberty the securities of liberty ; it is they who weaken

the republic party and who place impediments in the path of the authorities, and surround the chariot of the constitution with animosities and vengeance.

It must not, however, be doubted that if the political reunions contain so many and such dangerous elements of dissolution and discord, it is not because they have issued from constitutional forms and limits.

The constitution has proclaimed the principle, and consecrated the existence, of political societies; but legislative measures are wanting—and it is only by such that we can hope to reap, with the advantages promised, still greater benefits. The necessity of these measures they themselves feel. Thrown upon an immense extent, and almost without limits, they have been irresistibly exposed to every species of error, seduction, and snare. Contract the circle, trace the limits, regulate the movements which are proper to them,—this is to second their vows. Then, better directed, sustained by more worthy motives, and more powerful interests, the enthusiasm which they well know how to inspire and to revive, will turn entirely to the advantage of the republic. The minister of police has not distinguished the political reunions from one another, because they have almost all followed the same errors, and those which have been successively es-

tablished, appear gradually to be formed by the influence of those which had been first formed.

I cannot, therefore, citizen Directors, too much dwell upon the necessity of taking prompt legislative measures, which may at once protect the free discussions of political reunions, and yet restrain them with all the power of the republic.

Citizen Directors, in the account which I have rendered you, I have not desired to weaken the truth ; no consideration shall hinder me from fulfilling my duties—all who have in their hearts the true love of their country, will respect my courage. I only know how to attach a value to the consciences of free men.

The minister of general police,

(Signed)

FOUCHÉ.

Paris, the 15th Thermidor, Year 7.

NOTE 19.—*Page 290.*

Citizen Representatives,

The Directory is occupied without intermission in remedying the evils of our country ; it redoubles its zeal and energy in proportion as the dangers it discovers command new efforts for its devotion, and new precautions for its prudence.

Already it has placed before you the picture of public dangers ; to dissemble them would be a crime. Yes, citizen Representatives, royalism, emboldened, conspires with audacity ; its agents take every form, put on every disguise, borrow every form of language ; everywhere we find them marching to the same end by different routes ; they labour for the destruction of the republic by the efforts of an open hatred, as well as by the perfidy of a false zeal ; by the attacks of an open war, as well as by the hypocrisy of an excess of patriotism.

The stranger keeps up war upon our frontiers, and discord in our homes ; he has in our cities his spies, and his traitors, as also his satellites, and his generals in the armies of the enemy.

The cabinets of the coalition desire to facilitate conquest without, by preparing destruction within. They desire to aggravate the embarrassments of exterior war by the dangers of civil war ; they wish to add to the power of their solemn alliance the plots of their underhanded conspirators. Unhappy successes have followed the efforts of our enemies. In the west, the monarchy has re-armed its ancient bands of assassins ; in the north, Fanaticism kindles again her bloody torch ; in the south, all the re-actions prepare for fresh disorder ; and, during this time,

our phalanxes, so long invincible, are exasperated at being forced to cede to the superiority of numbers.

The Directory employs every means in its power in order to recall victory under the banners of the republic, to bring back peace to the departments, to re-establish order in the finances, and to revive patriotism in all hearts. It hoped to have been seconded in its efforts by the revival of public spirit; it flattered itself that the reunions of citizens which the constitution authorises, keeping within the line which has been marked out to them, would be the centres of policy, and of knowledge, guarantees of union and of tranquillity. It has seen with grief, that in a commune, which contains so great a number of good citizens, a society is formed in the Rue du Bac, which is become the centre of all the passions; that they there exercise their influence to revive hatreds, and to awaken dangerous reminiscences. In vain have you encouraged good citizens by the solemn proclamation of your attachment to the constitution of the year 3. Clamours have drowned the accents of your consoling voices, and have renewed alarms; your intentions have been outraged, and your labours insulted, and the people menaced with the necessity of saving themselves.



These forms, these speeches, these cries, have recalled excesses and misfortunes, of which the whole republic is resolved to prevent the recurrence. Then fear silenced energy, shook fidelity ; hope vanished, and a general disquietude seized upon all minds.

Republicans believed themselves menaced at the same time by the armies of kings, by the horrors of monarchy, and by the violence of a new overthrow.

The Directory must say to you, citizen Representatives, that the legislative body, the executive power of a great republic, ought to be upheld by public opinion, encouraged by devotedness, and rewarded by the esteem of patriots ; they cannot deceive themselves as to the ascendancy always increasing in a state of an unlimited reunion of individuals. This ascendancy becomes dangerous to social order, when this mass of men, ignorant, for the most part, of their strength, and of the uses to which it is destined, receive, without knowing it, their ideas, their projects, and even a name, from the hands of our enemies. The French nation must not fear the return of a monstrous power which it has seen as a rash rival, or as an audacious regulator of the legitimate and constitutional powers.

It must not be, that in the bosom of the republic, the Colossus of a reunion may be raised, by which our enemies design to mislead, and where is every day developed the perfidious conduct of their emissaries.

The Directory, in order to remedy these evils and prevent these dangers, has thought it right to repress the continuance of the society of the Rue du Bac, in its infringing conduct upon the constitution ; it has ordered the closing of it.

Resolved to follow with firmness the line of its duties, the Directory will protect all reunions which shall respect the law which the French people have sworn to maintain ; it will expose the efforts of all those who would disturb them in the exercise of their rights, and it will arrest unceasingly in their secret plans all those who would menace liberty, of which the rigorous observance of this compact is the first guarantee. The law which you will prepare, citizen Representatives, the executive Directory demands of you with solicitude. Hasten the conclusion of it as much as your wisdom and the importance and the mature reflection of it will permit. It will recall citizens to their duties in consecrating anew their rights ; it will prevent abuses by marking their limits.

Then reunions which occupy themselves with

political questions, will fulfil the design of their institution ; then they will be ~~the~~ hope of republicans instead of becoming an object of inquietude.

The Directory will be no longer compelled to divide its attention between the evils with which royalism and assassination menace us ; and evils, not less terrible forerunners of the successes of tyranny, which would follow the abasement or the destruction of the constitutional authorities.

Then societies of republicans, instead of weakening the action of the laws by the example of their violation, would add to the social security. They would inflame the courage of the conscripts ; they would hasten the collection of all the taxes, which would be the price of peace within, the pledge of victory without, and would no more become the prey of dilapidators. Then the societies would rekindle patriotism, silence all alarms ; the constitution would be spoken of with respect, the law with submission, legislators and magistrates with decorum, armies with gratitude and pride, liberty with enthusiasm, our country with love, and the republic would be once more saved and triumphant.

NOTE 20.—*Page 316.*

It is known that a Jourdan acquired, in the massacres of the south, a celebrity as dreadful, as that of the conqueror of Fleurus was brilliant and pure. The terrible Jourdan, chief of the assassins of the south, was surnamed *Coupe-têtes*.

NOTE 21.—*Page 317.*

*Executive Directory.—Message to the Council of Five Hundred, of the 17th Fructidor, Year 7.*

Citizen Representatives,

The Council of Ancients has addressed to the executive Directory a message, to demand of it an account of the execution of the laws made against authors, printers, venders, bill-stickers, proclamation~~s~~, addresses provoking the re-establishment of royalty, and the overthrow of the republic and of the constitution of the year 3.

The Directory are animated with the same sentiments as the Council, and occupied with the same solitudes; and when your message arrived, the necessity of repressing the boldness, and of punishing the criminality, of revolutionary writings, was the object of its most serious deliberations.

The alarm manifested by the representatives of the people at the moment when the executive power had felt it on its own part, is the guarantee of the happy harmony, the salutary intelligence, which prevails amongst the first authorities of the republic—this agreement of powers may teach our enemies what they ought to dread from the active vigilance and ~~the~~ inflexible severity of all republican magistrates. †

But, at the same time, this conformity of views, this identity of thoughts, this coincidence of disquietude, has prescribed to the Directory an examination more weighty, a meditation more profound on the state of the republic, a resolution more energetic with regard to those who have conspired against it.

The Directory has seen the external efforts of the coalition, it has judged of the power of them, it has calculated its means of resistance, and it has not been terrified. It has said,—The republic ought to conquer, because it feels, in a manner worthy of the people of France, the immensity of its means, the extent of its resources, the ascendancy of its forces.

But when it has desired to unite these means, to collect these resources, to make these forces act, it has found them attenuated, weakened, divided by the fatal action of a power, of which

it is found necessary to seek the levers, the points of support, and the agents.

At first sight, all these instruments of crime and misfortune are unperceived; the insurrections break out far from Paris; the ministers, the commissioners of the Directory, seek the source of it, and its authors—they can only find the effects.

A senseless, blind crowd follows the impulse which is given to it,—the conspiring hand which has impressed it escapes observation. We see fall, struck by republican thunder, the misled citizen to whom it has given arms; whilst the chiefs who have corrupted his ideas, his sentiments, and have directed his blows, are not reached by the public vengeance.

The effect of the evil is destroyed, or rather suspended; the cause subsists, and gives presage of new misfortunes. The Directory still finds it in the corruption of public opinion; and this fatal perverting, this mortal corruption, is from the abuse of the liberty of the press; it is to the perfidious distribution of writings infected with maxims subversive of liberty, of order, and of the government protecting them; it is to the propagation of counter-revolutionary ideas, to the predictions of the apostles of royalism, that it ought to be attributed. It is not pos-

sible to dissemble it—a vast and atrocious conspiracy exists against the republic; it breaks out at all points, it strikes every eye, it attacks all authorities, threatens all true republicans.

What if the conspirators have not yet the insolent boldness to demand witnesses, to require proofs, to challenge the production of matters for conviction? No doubt they wish their projects accomplished, before allowing that they are formed; they wish that their crime should be unquestioned until its accomplishment.

But at this moment everything betrays and accuses them. The witnesses are the corpses of republicans, slaughtered in the south, massacred in the west, threatened on all sides. The proofs are the insurrections which break out in one department, when they are hardly stifled in another. The matters for conviction are the lying writings, the incendiary journals, the execrable libels, with which the republic is inundated.

What must be done at this moment to insure the common safety, the triumphs of our armies, and peace, of which victory is the token? There only requires a prompt union of forces and wills, a solemn concert between the people, its representatives, its magistrates. Let there be the active execution of military laws organising our

battalions, and effective laws to fill the public treasury.

Well, citizen representatives, the periodical press, the daily papers, the pamphlets out of number, with which the republic is covered, sow division amongst the citizens, inspire suspicion and hatred against the representatives and the magistrates of the people, remove the conscripts from their colours, and stop the sources of the public revenue.

The audacious writers always divide themselves into two bands, whose suggestions and inspirations produce the same effects. They march separately, but they unite at one given point: they follow two opposite routes, but the tomb of the constitution is the place of their common rendezvous. The death of the government is the rallying word of their impious cohorts.

The one preaches, openly, contempt to republican law, and the return to royalty.

The others, in speaking of the republic, in proclaiming themselves its privileged apostles, its exclusive defenders, attack it in its elements, and wish to arrive at its destruction by the annihilation of the powers which maintain it, of the laws which preserve it, and of the constitution which establishes it. Some, as the *Quotidienne*, the *Miroir*, and other journals, denounced



by the law of the 21st Fructidor, lavish upon legislators, directors, generals, members of civil and military administrations, insults, and outrages: they reproach the republic with the crimes of tyranny; republicans, with the atrocities which kings have committed; they have commanded crimes, they have paid for them, and they have then accused those who have been their victims.

Others, like the journal which free men are exasperated to see bear their name, calumniate, denounce, abuse the oldest soldiers, the warmest friends, the most devoted admirers, of liberty and of the republic. With them, no legislator is virtuous, no magistrate is patriotic, no administrator is pure—the general who has just rallied an army is a traitor.

In their eyes no law is good, no determination is useful, no measure is salutary. According to their judgment, the legislature is without energy, without knowledge; the Directory without courage, the citizens without devotedness, the country without children. To believe them, the public safety could only be hoped for from a regeneration after their manner, which is but destruction: they appeal, by their vows and their regrets, to the times which preceded the constitutional *régime*.

Citizen representatives, the executive Directory cannot deceive itself: the true and immediate agents of the conspiracy which occasions these common alarms, are this double band of parricidal writers; the causes of our internal troubles are in the odious vocabulary of their venomous writings. Transport yourselves in thought into those departments where distance renders the truth slower in progress, where the want of information renders it more difficult to lay hold of.

Royalism, on one side, accuses the republican *régime* of all the sacrifices, of all the privations, which kings impose upon us, by the dangers with which they surround us.

Those who deck themselves in the colours of patriotism, present in other terms the same thoughts, cause the same clamours to be heard; they reproach the government with the continuance of the evils and of the perils which they have prevented it from redressing.

This concert of accusation against legitimate authority scatters fear and discouragement, destroys patriotism, and leads the abused and dejected citizens into error from calumny, and into crime from despair. What can the feeble dyke which the laws and the tribunals oppose do against this devastating torrent?

The laws are insufficient, and thence the tribunals are without action. What does it matter to these conspirators of all shades, a denunciation which only strikes their names, and leaves their writings still to subsist and envenom; or an accusation before a tribunal whose authority they insult by their boldness, whose blow they avoid by absence, whose condemnation they brave by flight? It is necessary to take such a part as, in preparing the punishment of the crime, shall suspend the action and the consequences.

In this difficult position the Directory has sought what resolutions were demanded by the state of the country, what resolutions were permitted by the law. It considers that it has found the rule of its duties, and the limits of its authority, in the 145th article of the constitution, which says,—

“ If the Directory is informed that some conspiracy is being hatched against the internal and external safety of the state, it may ordain mandates to bring in, and mandates of arrest, against those who are presumed to be the authors and accomplices.”

Convinced that the conspiracy exists, that its most dangerous agents are those who desire, prepare, and provoke the destruction of the esta-

blished government, who sow division amongst all the citizens, establish it by taking it for granted, who defame all reputations, calumniate all intentions, stir up all parties, animate all factions, rekindle all hatreds, threaten all powers, discredit all measures, discourage all agents, disparage the national representation, enervate the executive authority, and insult the whole nation, the Directory has ordained mandates of arrest against the authors and printers of the official bulletin of the armies of the coalition, of the *Parisiennc*, of the *Quotidienne*, of the *Courier de Paris*, of the *Democrat*, of the *Miroir*, of the *Feuille du Jour*, of the *Necessaire*, of the *Free Men*, of the *Grondeur*, of the *Defender of the Country*, being a continuation of the *Friend of the People*. It has ordered that seals shall be placed upon the presses and the cabinets of the authors and printers of these journals.

Citizen representatives, the law authorizes, the circumstances require the preservative act which the Directory announces to you ; it is a duty to arrest from the hands of a few parricidal, corrupt, and bold conspirators, the fatal weapons to destroy their country ; without this determination, the people would impute their sufferings to their representatives, to their magistrates, instead of accusing circumstances over which they have no control.

The armies would attribute to dilapidation, or to malevolence, privations which a penury, about to cease, has but too much prolonged.

Citizens of all conditions would regard the republican *régime* as the source of evils which arise only from the attacks by which they strive to destroy it.

In conclusion, error propagated would have multiplied error, falsehood would have continued to sow hatred, calumny would not have ceased to prepare crime, revolt would have brought civil war, the overthrow would have raised royalty again.

The constitution foresaw the danger, it prepared the remedy; the Directory has made use of it. The accused are in the hands of the law; it will pronounce upon them.

Still, a law on the abuses of the press would have prevented the return of evils of which the Directory is about to arrest the progress.

In the mean time, until this law is produced, public opinion will no longer be daily perverted. The arrest of the journalists, the silence of the passions which they stir up, will permit the truth to be heard. The Directory should say to the people, that it is about, in an address, to enlighten them with respect to their interests, to encourage them with respect to their dangers without concealing them, to develop their resources without

exaggerating them, and to revive hopes in giving them the measure of their strength.

Thus the coalition, baffled, conquered in the interior, will soon be conquered upon the frontiers ; thus justice and power will insure the return of order, and prepare for the return of peace.

The Directory invites you to take into your most prompt consideration the object of this message, which it has addressed to you on the crimes of the press.

(Signed) SIEYES, President.

(Signed) LAGARDE, Secretary-General.

NOTE 22.—*Page 317.*

*The Executive Directory to the French Nation, of the 17th Fructidor, Year 7 of the French Republic.*

Frenchmen,

It is in the name of the common safety, in the name of the interests of the country, that the Directory addresses itself to you, that it seeks to rally you round the standard of the republic.

In vain factions disturb, in vain crime conspires, in vain the bribes of the enemy excite all the angry passions.

People of France, the voice of your magistrates will borrow from yourselves a force, a power capable of making itself heard, of making the truth resound from one extremity of the republic to the other.

Republicans, hear the depositories of authority, it is of you they wish to speak, it is for your advantage they wish to persuade you, it is for your interests that they need to convince you.

Learn from the Directory what is the nature of the dangers of your country ; it is convinced that the majority of Frenchmen are resolved to remove from the republic all the misfortunes which threaten it ; personal interest demands this resolution even from those with whom the love of liberty and their country is not sufficient to awaken it. But this disposition of mind will be sterile and without fruit, if we do not submit to those sacrifices which the law commands, if we do not silence the factious, if we do not know how to protect ourselves from egotism, if we do not place our faces together in order to dissipate fears and realise hopes.

Learn that no league of tyrants has ever triumphed over a great people, if a part of that people have not become an accomplice in the tyranny, by neglecting to develop the means of defence, beforehand weakened by its divisions.

Learn that the resentment of your enemies threatens you all, that you would all be struck by their vengeance.

Learn that the return of royalty would increase tenfold the evils and the sacrifices of which you complain, and that the only way of shortening the duration of them and of diminishing their extent, is the resolution to bear them with energy, and to devote yourselves with courage.

Learn, in fact, that you are placed between the shame of yielding and the glory of conquering; that if you are conquered, infamy will not save you from misfortune; if you are victorious, happiness and repose will make you forget the days of suffering and alarm: peace and abundance will repair all losses, and will be the reward of all sacrifices.

No doubt there is in the bosom of the republic a considerable mass of citizens who are disinterested admirers and generous lovers of liberty.

No doubt there are a great number of minds in which burns the fire of a pure patriotism; in which reign the most lively and profound sentiments of French honour and of national dignity. These are exasperated at the thought of seeing the territory of our allies defiled and stained with blood, from the presence and the arms



of despots. They do not calculate whether liberty has need of them for its defence; they feel that they have need of liberty in order to their existence: they love the laws of the republic; they cherish its principles, and hate in an equal degree the maxims of despots, the debasing forms of their courts, the shameful bondage of their courtiers and their slaves.

These have nothing which they are not ready to sacrifice for their country. Their fortune and their lives are devoted to the defence of liberty.

To these ardent republicans is united a crowd of those who, having given a pledge to the revolution, having been marked, having been seen only in the ranks of the friends of equality, having been reckoned amongst the number of its defenders, know that their names are proscribed by tyrants. How many citizens there are who forget, or who dissemble, their title to the hatred, their rights to the resentment, to the vengeance of the friends of the throne, if it should ever raise itself again!

Let them abjure so unhappy an illusion, for themselves as for their country. Let them know that amongst all Frenchmen, a very small number excepted, there exists a common responsibility for all the events of the revolution.

These shades of opinion, these disastrous de-

nominations, which have sent to the scaffold or devoted to the poniard the patriotism and the courage, the talents and the virtue which still, at the present time, divide republican France in the eyes of those who look within—do not exist for strangers and emigrants, the disciples of royalty. The coalition would make the tri-color flag the funeral flag of all those who have hoisted it, as of all those who have followed it—of those who planted it upon the walls of the Bastille on the 14th of July, as of those who raised it upon the Tuileries the 10th of August. The constituents, the legislators of 1791, and the conventionalists of 1792, are a bond, in the eyes of the coalition, for the overthrow of despotism and the overthrow of the throne. The oath taken at the Tennis-court to Liberty, is to them a crime equal to all those which have been committed since the republic.

You do not know how the royalists, under the power of whom the coalesced powers wish to make you return, are rigorous in the examination of conduct and in the judgment of opinions—how few amongst you are innocent and pure in their eyes. You do not know how they have treated, even amongst the emigrants, those who had not professed their religious respect,

their profound submission to the senseless dogma of absolute despotism.

You are ignorant, perhaps, that several of these monarchical Protestants have been obliged to conquer by single combat the shameful honour of obtaining a place in the ranks of the army of Condé.

You would not suspect with what fury the hired writers of England, and of the council of the Pretender, inspired by aristocratic and priestly hatred, proclaim resentment and call for vengeance.

If the bloody pages of the history of England, of the reign of Charles and of James the Second do not suffice to depict to you the fate which is destined to France by those who would raise up again the throne—if the scaffold of Sydney is not sufficiently eloquent,—profit by the example which is offered you at Milan and at Naples by the tyrants who have for a moment seized again upon power: even infancy and old age have not been respected. See what fate is reserved for all those who have loved and served liberty, those who have spoken, as well as those who have fought, for it: some receive death, others wait for it in chains.

If you are not conquerors. Frenchmen, behold your future!

And do not flatter yourselves to escape, by the obscurity of your condition, by the smallness of your services, and the little of publicity in your opinions, from the active animosity of a royal and sanguinary reaction.

No doubt, the first blows would fall upon men the most known, and would cause the heads of the most ardent republicans to fall. But after these first sacrifices which royal vengeance will require, there would be some more obscure which the monarch would give, to serve inferior passions ; in a slower degree the progressive action would overrun all ranks, reach all conditions, embrace all epochs.

Then the military would be reached, who would not shoot the excitors of the States General, the members of the States of Dauphiny, and of Brittany, in 1788, he who did not imitated Lambese in 1789 ; with him who promised to serve the nation at the flight of the king in 1791, as well as those who have since sworn fidelity to the republic.

Then would be pursued the signers of those numerous addresses of adhesion, which arrived from all parts of France to the States General, become the national assembly, and which would be extracted from the archives in order to become titles of proscription, as well as those who ap-

plauded other epochs of the revolution. Then would be attacked all the generous plebeians who organised, armed, and commanded the national guard, with which the soil of regenerated France was covered in a moment.

Then would be sacrificed those honourable deserters of the privileged caste, who came to range themselves in the battalions of free men, to render homage to equality. Then would be delivered up to the sacerdotal anathema the priests who shook off the yoke of Rome in 1790, with those who abjured their religion in 1793; those who preserved their functions and swore fidelity to the laws of the republic, with those who changed their condition and submitted to the rites of wedlock. Then would be persecuted all those magistrates who have been honoured by the choice of the people, who, after sitting upon the *fleurs-de-lis*, have judged in the popular tribunals. Their probity would not justify them in the eyes of their enemies, irritated at not being able to give a false motive for their cruelty.

Then would be sought out all the administrators of districts and of departments; all municipal officers, however they may be distinguished for their patriotism or their devotedness, whether they only had the title without the functions, whether they desired the constitution

of '91, or that of '93, or that of the year 3; all are equally odious and culpable for having borne the colours of liberty.

Then would be submitted to ecclesiastical censure, as well as to civil degradation, the husband whom a divorce has freed from an unhappy connexion, from the danger of offending morals; and the legitimate and cherished fruits of a happy union, without a name, without condition, without parents, would be repulsed from society in the name of God and of the monarchy.

Then private hatreds would redouble in activity, then the royal agents would receive all denunciations, would help each intemperate rage; republicanism would be the crime of every one who might have an enemy, or one who was envious or jealous; even the royalist would be laid hold of by calumny, and personal safety would no longer exist for any citizen. Property would be no longer respected; the overthrow of fortunes would be universal, and the return of royalty the necessary consequence.

First, the ecclesiastical tithes would be claimed by the priests, the Bible in the hand, as the territorial rights, the field-rent, and the quit-rent would be by the nobles; right divine, feudal right, the throne, and the altar, would renew their

ancient alliance, would levy tribute again of the territorial productions of France, the fruit of the advances of proprietors, the product of the toil of the cultivator ; and, to recover this heavy and iniquitous tax, the soil of the republic would offer again to humiliated Frenchmen the hideous spectacle of prisons, of the gallows, of chains, and of the iron collar. Frenchmen ! picture to yourselves the convulsions, the rending, the overturning, which would follow such events ; and if you doubt their reality, cast your eyes upon the territory of the allied republics !

The first act of conquerors has been to despoil the purchasers of national domains. A proclamation of the general enemy has sufficed to spoliage and condemn to mendicity, to despair, thousands of citizens, who expected that victory would reinstate them in their possessions. And Frenchmen would be destined to such evils,—they would undergo such shame ! Ferocious strangers, barbarous hordes would give the insolent orders of their chiefs in place of the sovereign will of the nation ! They would dispose of the lives and fortunes of the citizens ! They would give, as in the time of the conquest of the Gauls, the estates to their soldiers,—would carry off their moveable wealth, would despoil our museums of their ancient monu-

ments, and those which we have added at the price of the blood of our warriors !

Frenchmen, these misfortunes will never be realized ; your courage will know how to prevent them ; but the picture of them serves, at least, to revive the patriotism of lukewarm spirits, to enlighten improvident minds, to rally all hearts to one sentiment, to a common desire, —that of conquering our enemies, and making the republic triumphant. Citizens of all conditions, believe that the Directory, whose members lived lately in the midst of you, has seen near at hand your evils and your wants, and calculated with grief the extent of the privations and sacrifices which an imminent peril has forced the laws to demand of you. It knows what the husbandman feels, deprived at once of the arm which aided him in his labours ;—the widow regretting the loss of her son who soothed her sorrows ; the soldier who has asked, often in vain, for arms, subsistence, and clothing ; the artisan, for whom work is scarce ; the manufacturer, whose productions languish ; the artist, whose talent is without encouragement ; the proprietor, whose property is depreciated. Believe that the pains, the sufferings, the misfortunes, the furthest from its sight, are not the less present to its solicitude.



Indulge the hope, with the Directory, that the endeavours which it is charged to make in the name of the law, which it claims in the name of the country, which it invokes in the name of your dearest interests, will be the certain pledges of success, of glory, of pacification, and of happiness.

These efforts the armies expect, in order to secure victory under our banners ; the brigands of the west and of the south expect them, to hide far off their infamy and their crime ; the allied republics expect them, in order to revive liberty ; the friendly powers, in order to persevere in their fidelity ; the whole republic, in order to be without alarms.

These efforts, which will be the last, because they will insure us triumphs, national pride should suffice to inspire ; the interest of all compels them. They must be placed between the people of France and the misfortunes with which the return of royalty threatens us.

Frenchmen, think upon the incontestable facts, upon the certain details, the important reflections which the Directory have placed before you ! If your minds are struck, if your hearts are affected at the dangers of your country, if you wish to make them cease, carry into effect the laws with exactness, with eagerness ;

rally round the republican standard, sacrifice your resentment, abjure your hatreds, drive away every irritating remembrance, pardon errors and weaknesses, make war only against crime, attack only the enemies of the republic. Let probity, patriotism, and courage, understand each other, draw near, and unite together. The forces concentrated are immense. Nothing can resist your all-prevailing power. The Directory will obtain from without the peace which will insure victory ; and within, the peace which will guarantee justice.

The executive Directory decrees that the aforesaid proclamation shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws, and that it shall be printed, published, and posted in all the communes of the republic in the accustomed places, and sent to the armies.

The ministers of justice, of the interior, of war, and of general police, are charged each in that which concerns them with the execution of the present decree.

Long live the republic !

## NOTE 23.—Page 317.

*Discourse pronounced by the citizen Sièyes, President of the executive Directory, at the commemoration fête of the 18th Fructidor.*

Citizens,

We owe to the day of the 18th Fructidor, (whose return we celebrate for the second time,) the having destroyed, of all the conspiracies formed against the republic, that, perhaps, which was the most powerfully concerted, in order to effect its ruin.

The republic without, continued to astonish with its glory all who had not continued strangers to human revolutions. Agitated for a long time within, it began at length to repose upon a constitution, when royalism, always indefatigable, sought to lay hold of this first repose, and to turn it entirely to its own triumph. It had obtained an increase of its forces, from that unreflecting multitude who believed they could not too much hate times which yet weighed on our remembrance, and did not see that those who pretended to avenge them were only fit to reproduce them. From that time it conceived and executed, almost upon all points of the republic, a vast plan of organisation, by which it might engage every means of action,

every means of resistance. Its agents were everywhere : some marching openly, others concealed. They knew to what point they dared go. Become masters, or rather tyrants, of opinion, by journals, by pamphlets, by all foreign means of influence, they commanded a party at the elections, and introduced treason amongst all the authorities. Everything bore the stamp of their evil intervention. Inflexible against the slightest wrongs of the sincere friends of liberty, they only knew of indulgence for the crimes of its enemies.

In the name even of humanity, they excited hatreds, stirred up rage, promoted vengeance, and when, from the number of assassinations, their own work, they carried everywhere amongst republican families mourning and fear, they wondered that any one should dare to be disquieted at it. Soon they had no longer need to disguise themselves. The name of republican became a reproach, the emigrants returned with security, and, in the midst of those who had called them, they wiped out the reproach of being too timid counter-revolutionists. It was not they who were guilty ; it was those who, having dared to attack their privileges, had constrained them, they said, to desert France. At length, the glory of the French armies was itself

a wrong, of which they reserved the expiation for another day. And already they were provoked at the cries of liberty, which were heard in the midst of the songs of victory.

How certain the fall of the republic, then, appeared to men impatient to make us return under the yoke! But all this scaffolding was doomed to fall in one day. It was only necessary to republicans, in order to escape danger, to rally together; to return to their ranks, feeling the need of a government, and of order, which necessarily make them at length find force and direction in the first authorities.

This happy change was effected on the 18th Fructidor, under the inspiration of liberty. No effusion of blood saddened the victory; and the French nation owes to it, the not having been universally plunged in a civil war. The day of the 9th of Thermidor put an end to the action, so cruelly prolonged, of a dreadful tyranny. Day of the 18th Fructidor! thou hast put an end, in thy turn, to a reaction not less insupportable, which threatened to annihilate the republic and every hope of liberty.

These two days have been the reparation of many evils. Why have they not dried up the source of them? Both were indispensable;

both, however, cost tears to republicans. Citizens, you all wish, without doubt, at once to prevent the return as to guarantee us hereafter from the times which they would recall to us. March, then, constantly united, in the route which is so plainly marked out to you ! The two first authorities of the republic have made you to hear in the name of liberty, this consolatory cry, No more terror, no more reaction in France, justice and liberty for all ! Frenchmen, we know that it is also the most ardent of your vows ! In this union of sentiment is a certain pledge that, notwithstanding all our enemies, a vow truly national will be accomplished.

The hopes, I know, which have been engraven in our hearts by the most solemn declarations, have not all yet been fulfilled. No, they have not, without doubt. But see with how many obstacles the zeal of the government has been retarded. These obstacles will yield to the perseverance of its efforts, if you lend it the invincible support of your union. Whatever may be the ambition of those who shake around it the brands of discord which they desire to throw amongst us, and the incomprehensible suspicions which they spread throughout the republic,—you know that it exists but for you, that all its glory is in your glory, all its happiness in your

happiness ; that it has not, that it cannot, have any other interest but yours ; it will, therefore, not cease then to tell you with confidence ; rally round the constitutional authorities, for a safeguard cannot be found beyond them for your repose and your liberty. And at what time will you more feel this imperious need ? The course of our triumphs has been interrupted for some moments, and we mourn the irreparable loss of the young hero whose magnanimous virtues and talents promised us so many victories. Every day we receive the horrible details of a counter-revolution, which has just burst like a clap of thunder in a country but lately renewed by liberty ; and we behold in ourselves the contemporaries of royal vengeance exercised upon people who desire to be free. A foreign influence has arrived to relight a civil war in several departments, and the blood of Frenchmen has again flowed under the hands of Frenchmen. The coalesced powers have dared to say that they are sure to tear up the republic either by their sword or our own ! Citizens, this picture might change at once. The resources of the people of France are without limits : everything yields to the energy of their will, when united : how criminal, then, would those be who would bring in discord ! I say but another word : Citizens, think that if in

myself, therefore, to what appeared to be the natural effect of a position that I had chosen for myself, or which had been imposed upon me ; and I have left the field open to those worthy gentry who delight in oppressing the proscribed.

I have found in my conscience, and in the domestic happiness with which Providence has blessed me, sufficient to console me for every injustice. It is not, therefore, with a personal aim that I have resolved to publish these Memoirs : I do it because they appear to offer materials of some value to a history so fruitful in great events, the serious study of which may be useful in future to my country. Public opinion will inform me if I have deceived myself ; and in that case, this first part of my Memoirs will be all that I shall allow myself to publish.



## INTRODUCTION.

SINCE the consular republic, under all the governments, the pamphleteers have too often made me their subject. Revelations, secret memoirs, collections of anecdotes, fruits of imagination without shame or decency, have not spared me. I have read all of them in my retirement, and I was at first surprised how I could have drawn upon myself so many calumnies, never having offended any person. But my astonishment ceased when I better appreciated my position : removed from public affairs, without influence, and almost always in silent or open opposition to power, though sufficiently near to keep them constantly in fear of my return to favour, how was it possible for the malice of courtiers to leave me in repose ?—and since the downfall of my family, they have thought, without doubt, that it would not be displeasing to the ruling power to continue their *noble work* of calumny. I resigned

the honourable struggle which you have maintained for these ten years, your divisions should make you yield, you would become the fable of the world, and it only belongs to you to be the example of it.

Long live the republic !

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