

erected in the hall of the tribunal, still remained there, in spite of the orders that had been given to remove it, again ordered the public accuser to pull it down, and he announced to us that it was for us to request that the convention will direct a report to be made of the orders of the committee.

I defy any person to find in the name of the members now accused, as Lecointre has dared to assert. I recall to the convention that Fougquier was brought to the bar, and that he came every day to the committee of public safety; he never spoke but to Robespierre. I again demand that you order the registers of the committee to be brought that you may know the nature of the decrees, and who were the authors.

Goupilleau de Fontenay.—"It is for him who accuses to prove."

Danton of Calvados.—"In the first paper Fougquier said, that having learnt the plan of reducing the number of the Jury, he went to the Committee of Public Safety, where he found Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and others, who told him that it was Robespierre's business; it was owned by Fougquier himself that it was Robespierre who conducted the Tribunal; Fougquier did not add, that he afterwards addressed himself to the Committee, from which it is clear, that it was he who arranged every thing with Robespierre."

Vadier.—"Fougquier gave account of this to the Tribunal, but having seen in the journals, an immense list of workmen and artisans, who had been ill-used, I was shocked at the fact, and I demanded of him if he intended to bring about a counter-revolution, by murdering the people, the patriots; while he suffered Marseilles of France, emigrants, and ci-devant nobles, who had conspired against their country, to live."

The next article was called for.

XXII. Of having suffered the same witnesses, entertained, nourished in the prisons, and known under the name of Sheep, to depose against the accused for money; among these witnesses we distinguish Ferriès-laure-Bouff, ex-noble, and Leymerie, the private Secretary of Amar.

Many voices.—"The Proofs!"

Lecointre.—"This fact is attested by witnesses."

XX. Of having formally falsified the denunciation made to the Convention against Joseph-le-Bon; made an unfaithful report on his conduct, and disguised his cruelties under the denomination of bitter forms.

Barre.—"Citizen, a denunciation was made against Joseph-le-Bon, and it was not till five or six days afterwards that the Committee of Public Safety took up the affair. Robespierre the younger, spoke against the Representatives of the People. Robespierre the elder, and St. Just, spoke in his favour; in the mean time, several citizens from Arras, were sent to accuse Le-Bon anew, and were supported by Guffroy; we were anxious to prevent strife among the Representatives of the People. I was charged to make a report upon the subject, and as I did not know his conduct, I would not make a judicial but a political report, in order to prevent the consequence of the discord that manifested itself; but at the same time that we made this report, which did not pronounce on the facts with which he was charged, we said in this Representative of the People, 'you are strict of your functions; you shall be permitted to go to Cambrai only, to search the papers that are necessary for your justification.' This is what I have to say as to Joseph-le-Bon."

Barre.—"The truth is, that the two Committees were not willing to suffer any Representative of the People to be attacked, because we did not wish to deliver any one man over to Robespierre;—(Murmurs)—besides, if any one member, or my friend, had committed the crimes imputed to Joseph-le-Bon, without doubt, you would not have thought him cleared by such a report as was made upon this Citizen."

XXI. Of not having made known to the Convention, the absence of Robespierre from the Committee, notwithstanding his absence, to sign acts; concealed the measures that this conspirator had employed, with a view to disseminate every thing, to make himself partizan, and to ruin the public cause.

Lecointre.—"It was not until the moment that Robespierre was beaten, that we knew that he had been for four decades absent from the Committee; and in the sitting of the 9th, 26th July, Billaud Varennes told you that he had any approach to make himself; it was, that he had kept silence on the crimes of Robespierre, and that he had not unmasked him sooner."

Cambon.—"Citizens, here we see a combination of wickedness more refined than that of Robespierre himself; it is made a crime to our colleagues both that they have spoken, and that they have been silent. I demand that the committee shall fix a term within which a member of a committee shall be bound to denounce his colleague on account of absence."

Billaud Varennes.—"The absence of Robespierre from the committee was useful to the country, for it gave us time to combine the means of his destruction. You know that if he had been constantly there he would have very much interrupted us. St. Just and Gouthon, who were always present, were very inconvenient spies upon our conduct. I ask if it was ever made a reproach to Brutus, that for six years he counted himself idiotic, in order to strike down the tyranny of Torquatus? And why did not Lecointre himself, who had an act of accusation against Robespierre in his pocket, speak out sooner."

Lecointre-Puyraveau.—"It was by the absence of Robespierre from the committee that he was demolished. It is admirable to observe how well, during his absence, the men whom he was desirous to ruin laboured for the success of the republic! It was during his absence that our armies gained the grandest victories. Thus, Robespierre felt that, in order to attack the members of the committee, he must turn these success against them; and this he actually did, by alleging that our armies were in the same state as in the time of the traitor Dumourier, wishing thereby to make us believe that our generals were assassinated. Robespierre attacked Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, and Barre, because they interrupted his projects. Who are attacked to-day: Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, Barre? Have I not a right to think that it is the same motive which has directed the accusation against the same representatives?"

XXII. Of having permitted general Lavoisier, Dufrenoy, and so many other traitors, or conspirators; long denounced to the committee, or struck by decrees of the convention, to remain at Paris, where they obtained employments, and were put into a situation to commit new crimes.

Lecointre.—"The proofs are the condemnation of Lavoisier, and your registers."

A member.—"I call on Duhem to declare, whether, last year, being named commissioner to the army of the north, and being in a situation to judge of the conduct of Lavoisier, I did not go to the convention to denounce him, and whether Robespierre did not take up his defence?"

Duhem.—"The object of this accusation, he assured, citizens, is to re-establish the memory of Danton. Danton had no dispute with Robespierre, but as to his tyranny, I suffered him on his knees before the tyrant, soliciting a report to the advantage of Lavoisier."

Foretier.—"I attest the fact; Danton said to Robespierre, 'in my report I prove that Lavoisier is innocent; you shall support me.' I said to them, 'what! you both intend to support a ci-devant noble, justly suspected in the eyes of our colleagues? I do not understand you: I begin to doubt of your patriotism.'"

Boardan, of Oise.—"In the sitting of the 9th, one of the crimes which I imputed to Robespierre, was having placed Lavoisier in the national guard of Paris. He could not do so the fact. It is notorious, on this day, after a condemned person has avowed a fact, to accuse other citizens, who have led him on account of it to the scaffold. The denunciation of Lecointre is a mere rhapsody; it is the hope of the intrigues who have but him for aim. If he had the smallest particle of good sense, he would have followed the advice which many of his colleagues have given him."

Lecointre-Puyraveau.—"Lavoisier was the creature of Robespierre, and the instrument of his will. Who were those that Robespierre obliged to ruin? Billaud, Collot, &c. How can they accuse these men of protecting the man who sought to assassinate them?"

Duhem.—"One proof that Lavoisier was the creature of Robespierre, is, that when we went to the committee of public safety, to search for the papers that were necessary to try the accomplices of Lavoisier, we were told that Robespierre had carried them away."

XXIII. Of not having taken, on the night of the 8th, and in the day of the 9th Thermidor, any measures to restore public tranquillity, and secure the safety of the convention, especially endangered by the speech of the tyrant, pronounced by him on the 8th, at the tribunal of the convention, and in the evening at that of the Jacobins, who had promised him success, force, and protection.

Cambon.—"The conduct of the committee of public and general safety on the 8th, 9th, and 13th Thermidor, will be judged of by posterity. For myself I declare that these two committees saved their country."

Monestier.—"I owe it to truth to say that in the night of the 9th, the members of these committees were on the march from place to place, to give us the watchword, and to make us adopt the necessary measures."

Many voices.—"It was the national convention entire."

Monestier.—"I am far from wishing to take from the national convention the glory they acquired on that day, but it is the precise truth, that Billaud, Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barre, Elie Lacoste, Vadier, and others, came to give us a particular account of what was passing in Paris, and of the measures they had taken to secure the triumph of liberty."

Goupilleau.—"The member who proposed to outlaw the criminals in Foulard, organ of the committee of public and general safety."

XXIV. Of not having arrested in the night between the 8th and 9th, general Henriot, the mayor, and the national agent of Paris, Lavoisier, and so many other principal accomplices of Robespierre, who had been all denounced by so many of their accomplices.

Many voices.—"The proofs!"

Lecointre.—"In the printed paper that has been distributed to you, I have said, that in the night between the 8th and 9th, I went to find Lavoisier at the Committee of General Safety, where I pressed him to cause Henriot, the mayor, and the National Agent, to be arrested; at one o'clock in the morning, I repeated the same request to the Committee. I told them that my brother, a notary, and captain in the National Guard, had received an order at seven o'clock, to hold himself in readiness with his company; I demanded that my brother should be sent for to give an account of the fact; the committee sent for him accordingly, and demanded if he had received the order from Henriot; he said, he had received it from the general of the quarter. Herein can attest this fact."

Frey.—"I presented myself to the Committee of Public Safety at half past one o'clock to demand the arrest of Henriot, but I could not get admission. Meeting Cambon I communicated to him my alarms; he promised to deliver my wishes to the committee."

Cambon confirmed this fact, but said he was not able to admit himself of his commission; the committee being in deliberation: "It was witness to a warm dispute between St. Just and Collot d'Herbois."

Billaud Varennes.—"There was no doubt, after the sitting of the Jacobins, that a counter-revolution was the order of the day. You must learn a fact, which you will find in the speech of St. Just, that the committee deliberated if they should arrest Henriot, the mayor, the national agent, and other conspirators: the discussion was very warm between Collot d'Herbois and St. Just; it was easy to see that the commune, the commander of the national guard, and even the Jacobins themselves, were for the conspirators: their plan was to hinder the Convention from meeting the next day; it was necessary, therefore, to take measures to prevent this libidinous plot; we thought it wise to call before the committee of public safety, the mayor and the national agent, as by holding them with us, we thought we should prevent their correspondence with the other conspirators; if there was any guilt in this, I confess that we are criminal. [Plaudits.] The committee felt, that the National Convention alone could stop the movement that was preparing; they came into the hall, and proposed the arrest of the mayor, Dumas, and of several other conspirators; Gouthon, who knew that we were going to make this proposal, tried to stop us by a tiresome discussion, but we left him to the committee."

Barre.—"We are accused of having taken no measures in the night between the 8th and 9th, and yet all France is acquainted with those which we proposed to you: it is right to give an account here of all that passed in the committee. St. Just, who had promised to denounce us, held us constantly in observation; he told us that he was to make a report to the convention, in which he would denounce us; he came to the committee on the 8th, at the moment in which Robespierre triumphed in the Jacobin club; we were employed in objects of administration; he sat down, but took no part in the deliberation; at eleven o'clock we said to him, 'As you do nothing, read to us your report;' he answered, that he had sent the first sheets to one of his friends; 'in that case, read to us your conclusion;' he would not. During this conversation Collot d'Herbois arrived; on entering he darted a look at St. Just; St. Just asked him, 'What had passed at the Jacobins?' 'What! you ask us,' replied Collot d'Herbois to him, 'you ask us what has passed at the Jacobins? are you not the accomplices of Robespierre? have you not combined your projects? I see it; you have organized an infamous triumvirate; your project is to assassinate us, and with us the Republic; but I tell you, that even when you have succeeded in destroying us, you will not long enjoy the fruit of your crimes; and the people, who will soon be enlightened, will cut you in pieces.' St. Just grew pale, and was disconcerted. 'You have in your pocket,' continued Collot d'Herbois, 'notes against us; show us them!' St. Just emptied his pockets, and assured us he had none. At five o'clock in the morning St. Just left us, and promised to return at eleven, to show us the report he intended to read to the convention; and we retired to digest the measure we had agreed upon. At noon we received a letter conceived in these terms:

"You have stigmatized my heart; I go to lay it open to the National Convention."

(Signed) St. Just.

Gouthon got possession of this letter; we then said, that we were betrayed; we instantly took our departure for the convention; you know what passed in that memorable sitting and the measures that we proposed against the traitors:—After the suspension of the sitting at five o'clock, they brought to us at the committee of public safety, an order, signed Henriot, enjoining the sections to repair in arms to the commune. Instantly we printed an order, which we sent to the sections, forbidding them, under the

most rigorous penalties; to obey the traitor Henriot. We then came to the convention to propose a civic crown to him who should bring the head of Henriot, and to outlaw Robespierre and his accomplices. This is what we have done; it is for you to judge of it." [Warm applause.]

XXV. Of not adding on the 9th, any measure of rigour for the execution of the decree for the arrest of Robespierre and his accomplices; of having exposed, by this criminal negligence, the national representatives to be murdered, as the satellites of the conspirators were able, on the same day, to rescue, even under the eyes of the convention and its committees, and without the least resistance, the traitor Henriot, who had been detained in the committee of general safety.

Foulard.—"It is said that the committee of general safety took no measure for putting into execution the decree of arrest against Robespierre, Dumas, and others. I beg leave to inform the convention, that there is a process verbal at St. Pelagie, stating, that Dumas was conducted to that prison at four o'clock in the afternoon; afterwards he was rescued; the weakness of the house alone, is the cause that he got out. As soon as we knew this fact, we arrested the keeper of St. Pelagie."

Amar stated a variety of measures taken by the committee to enforce the decree of arrest against the traitors.

XXVI. Of having employed men known to the counter-revolutionists, of ruined characters, debauched in their manners, corrupt, and even under accusation, such as Beaumarchais, Epagnier, Haller, and others, and of having confided to them immense treasures belonging to the Republic, with which they emigrated.

Many members.—"To the mad-house!"

Cambon.—"It is important that the National Convention should know the documents upon which Lecointre founds his accusation, after which I shall reply to them by facts."

Lecointre said he had no proofs.

Cambon.—"As he has no proofs, we are not bound to answer; at the same time I ought to state to the assembly, that of the two facts which Lecointre charges on our colleagues, if the first is a crime, we ought to be harsh enough, Robespierre, Linder, Guffroy-Morvan, Delmas, and myself, to declare that it applies only to us. The republic wanted markets, we thought it our duty, in order to procure them, to make use of a man, whom we knew well, but who made it impossible for himself to deceive us, by putting all his fortune into the hands of the nation as a security. I speak of Beaumarchais, as to d'Epagnier, it was the ancient minister who employed him, and not the member, whom Lecointre would criminate. I ought to say on the third head, relative to Haller, that as often as the committee of finances denounced him, the committee of public safety interfered; it was the representative with the army in Italy who supported him, and you all know that this was Robespierre the younger."

Merlin of Douai stated a fact within his own knowledge, that two months ago, Foulard proved him the guilt of Haller, but said he was protected by a man whom he could not name, but who evidently was Robespierre.

Garnet of Marseilles said that six months ago they had accused Haller before the committee, and that Robespierre alone defended him.

Barre.—"If this last head of accusation had been drawn up in London, I should have daily known the authors, for the English are interested to know the operations of the committee with Beaumarchais. Already several Englishmen and other strangers, have come to sound the committee on this subject; for some months ago the committee of public safety refused to take a vigorous measure against Haller, who transported the oils of the republic to Geneva. Robespierre said to us, 'I see your intention, you wish to ruin the army of Italy, because I have my brother there; Haller is an aristocrat, but he serves the republic well.' Robespierre the younger returned and spoke strongly in favour of Haller; notwithstanding which, we signed the arrest sent us by Robert Linder against the traitor, and who stopped his projects. As to Beaumarchais, I forbear to speak of his operations, because they are relative to transactions with foreigners; it would serve Pitt if we were longer to talk on this subject."

Bessroy.—"I am astonished that we should prolong the discussion of this article; we are demanding a more detailed account from the representatives of the people charged with the administration, than was ever called for from ancient ministers."

Elie Lacoste.—"It is right that the convention should know a fact; it is, that Beaumarchais was denounced in November, 1792, and in January, 1793, the decree of accusation was repeated on the motion of Lecointre himself."

Lecointre.—"It is true: I first moved the accusation against Beaumarchais; he was at that time absent; as his return he printed seven or eight numbers in answer to my charges. I then demanded that the decree of accusation should be turned into a simple order of putting him under arrest at his own house, and this was adopted."

Goupilleau de Fontenay.—"Citizens, I never desired leave to speak in this place, either to accuse or defend any of my colleagues. At the time that the people called on me to fill the august function of a legislator, I said to myself—'a man is exempted from passion. I do not care here, there, to support the passions of this or of that individual: I come to consolidate the republican government. Penetrated with this truth, I have constantly endeavoured to lift that which could serve the passions by that which is useful to the public weal. I am convinced, after what passed in the sitting of yesterday, that the object of the denunciation which has been presented to you, was in some sort to bring a process against the majority of the nation: in the same manner, in the constituent assembly, there was an attempt to begin a trial on the 10th of October, just as they are now striving to do on the 20th Thermidor. You ought to see whether this denunciation can be useful to the public cause. Putting individuals aside, I entrust my colleagues to go back with me to the speech, when the committee of public safety assumed the reins of government. Four principal places in the speech were in the hand of our enemies. Foulard was delivered to the English; La Vendee, the prey of ruffians and rebels, caused us the greatest alarms; we had neither powder nor ammunition, and famine was at our gates. Who is it that has delivered us from all these horrors? Your two committees of public and general safety; and surely when it is a question to judge of the political life of individuals, you ought to put in the balance the services they have rendered, with the faults they may have committed."

Many voices.—"They have not committed faults!"

Goupilleau.—"I repeat it, you should put into the same balance the services and faults of an individual; none of us are exempt; I carry my eye to the past: I see that faults and acts of injustice have been committed: I seek to discover their origin: I find it in the events inseparable from a great revolution. In the twenty-six heads of accusation which have been presented to you against several of our colleagues, I think I perceive the personal faults of Robespierre, as well as reproaching these members for having taken such and such a measure, as for the measures which they did take. What was the duty of the committee of public safety? Its duty was to attack the tyrant in the manner most useful to the public weal. It was not so much Robespierre that they had to overthrow, at the tyranny which he had imposed upon the French people, and which might have continued after his death. It was said with emphasis in this tribune, that nine individuals had formed the daring project to assassinate the tyrant. Citizens, three weeks after the death of Caesar, ten thousand Romans might have said that they had formed the project which Brutus executed. It was said with reason that Robespierre intended the dissolution of the national convention; that he demanded thirty heads of the people; that he demanded from this that the heads that were demanded then, are the same heads that are demanded to-day." [Warm applause.]

Some days ago they spoke from this tribune with indignation of the system of terror that had been spread over you and the French people; and yet today they strive to establish it anew; they strive to excite divisions among you, by suspecting the conduct of the men who have

organized the victories of your arms; and even to spread the public cause. Citizens, after a long evening of such a kind of accusation separately, you ought to be convinced that it was not the trial of the seven members, but that of the revolution they wished to make. You ought to be convinced that this accusation was intended also to sow division among the members of the convention. I move then, for the 10th of the people, and in the name of that union which ought to rise among the representatives, that the national convention maintain the decree passed yesterday."

Elie la Colle.—"The intention of Lecointre is making this ridiculous accusation, was without doubt to make the white flag fly over the pavilion of unity. I demand, therefore, a decree of arrest against Lecointre." [Warm applause.]

Many members.—"The order of the day!"

Legendre.—"The convention has proved to the French people, that it respects the liberty of opinion. An accusation against some of their members has been gravely and freely discussed, and their innocence has been demonstrated by the total want of proofs. You have heard Lecointre. I found his speech even before he made it; but I declare, at the same time, that I do not regard him as a counter-revolutionist, but as a member who has suspicions of some of his colleagues; or else some particular enmity; or, perhaps as a man who has lost his reason. Citizens, I shall prove what I say. Some days ago, I went to Lecointre to prevent him, if possible, from making this speech, and from throwing this style of discord into the convention. He asked me if the committee of public safety were met? I answered him, yes; 'in that case, stand he! go with me, and I will read to them my work, with the documents upon which it is founded, and invite them to prevent their defence.' In fact we went thither, but the members were separated. I then engaged him strongly not to pronounce his discourse; he gave me his word of honour that he would not read it. I am ignorant of the motives that have induced him to change his resolution. Citizens, they demand a decree of arrest against Lecointre (No! no! was exclaimed from all sides). As it is not fitted upon, I confine myself to say, that we ought never to forget this sitting, which has so essentially saved the republic. I move that the decree of yesterday be confirmed."

Many Members.—"Question! question!"

Collot d'Herbois.—"Citizen, every person is convinced of the necessity of the discussion that has taken place. It was said that the decree of yesterday was the effect of sentiment; on this ground the discussion was necessary, for it has been said that your sentiments are conformable to justice, with whatever promise they may burst forth. [Warm Applause.] It was necessary that the citizens should be enlightened; the previous journals of which there are two many, carried accusations into the Department, by simply announcing that you had passed to the Order of the Day upon 27 heads of charge against former Members of the Convention. This manner of giving an account of facts, might have given rise to unpleasant reflections, but you have established a lesson; you have planted conviction in every citizen's mind; a single friend of his country but will thank you for having given so much publicity and so many to this discussion; the enemies of the Revolution only will despair; and when they despair, the country will rejoice. [The Hall rang with Applauds.] After this discussion I believe every individual defence unnecessary; I believe there is not a single fact that is not perfectly clear; but this sitting will produce one great advantage, it will bring denunciations from being renewed; it is the denunciations that we must put in a state of arrest. [Applauds.] This you have done today; henceforth every resolution, determination, fabricated in secret for the purpose of favouring projects destructive of liberty, will stop at this Tribune; he who presents it, whether imprudent or deceived, will wait there a long time before he makes himself the echo of the enemies of the Republic. Those Citizens are the happy effects which will result from this day's business. I am persuaded, that if the accusation you have heard but forgotten, it must have comprehended more individuals than were mentioned; and therefore so many of our generous colleagues claimed their share in these pretended offences; therefore did the Convention take so much interest in this discussion; for otherwise, what would have been the transaction with which the aristocracy flattered itself, if it had foreseen that its first wound, it would quickly have poured upon the whole Convention these reproaches which in the beginning it hurled against some of the Members. This first day was proper to mislead those who do not listen to a serious attention upon subjects, nor penetrate far enough into consequences. We should soon have been all accused; I ask what Member of the Convention could have remained in tranquillity, if such a kind of operations might be demanded of him? Who could afford any good if it were permitted to make an individual search into past facts? Citizens, you have learned to weigh in your mind the consequences which such an accusation might have produced; you have illustrated and analysed it; you have held it in the microscope of human justice; there is not one citizen who is not equally convinced with you; it is right to proclaim this conviction. Henceforth, aristocracy prepared itself a triumph; it believed it would make a breach in the body of the Convention through which to attack the Republic; but the Republic shall remain entire, great and sublime in the midst of the commotion supported by aristocracy. All the attempts of the satellites of Robespierre, which tend to destroy the confidence of the citizens in the Convention, shall be without effect; and when the citizens repose themselves on you, the safety of the Republic is certain. [Loud plaudite.] The politicians of the day say that the Revolution has run its circle: Let me for a moment borrow their image! The point from which it set out is Royalty. If it has run through the circle, it has arrived at the opposite extremity, and between the two extremes, we must raise a brass wall to separate them. [Loud Applause.] This wall, it is your business to construct. I shall not prolong the discussion, let us give more place to reflection! Let our minds be open to sentiments of concord and union! Let us prove to our colleagues that we have done ourselves by doing yours, every day more and more, and thereby increasing in his mind respect for having denounced us. [The warmest applauses crowned this speech.]

A Member.—"It was easy to see that this discussion would turn to the advantage of the Revolution. It resembles that of the Riflotines on the 10th of August. But Lecointre is no counter-revolutionist. A traitor would not have been stupid enough to undertake such a denunciation. All the world knows that there are men who conceal themselves behind the curtain, and who put forward persons of borrowed heads as their own carriers. I demand the close of the discussion, and that the Decree of yesterday be confirmed."

Cambon.—"None of the sittings of the Convention ought to be useless to Liberty. Yesterday you rejected with indignation, and without hearing our colleague, the denunciation made against them; and aristocracy, which still concealed itself, strove to fit up the People against your Decree. Today, when every thing is cleared up, when an document worthy of credit has been presented to you; when you are convinced of the falsity of the accusation brought against several of our Members, you ought to declare it calumnious by a solemn Decree."

This proposition being put to the vote, was unanimously decreed, amidst the most warm acclamations. The sitting was closed at nine o'clock at night.

We have given the whole of this business without interruption, although various articles of importance intervened.

At the commencement of the sitting Carnot reported, that the 26th regiment of cavalry, composed chiefly of foreigners, had given proofs of incivism and want of discipline.

The Convention decreed, that the regiment should be disbanded, that the representatives of the people, Mallarme, should embody such of the melt as had behaved well; that the foreigners, deserters, and others, composing this regiment, should be detained, if necessary, and subjected to the measures of general safety decreed by the Convention.