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## FRANCE. NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The following is a full and accurate translation of the report made by Henri Larivière, August 6; it gives an excellent description of the

### PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

He said, "I come in the name of the united committees of public safety, of general welfare, and of legislation, to propose a law which the assertion of principles, and the general interest, objects which should ever be inseparable, inforce it on us as a duty, to submit to your examination; but previous to our reading that law, your committees are of opinion, that it is expedient to preface it by a few reflections to which the discussion has given rise.

"Representatives of the people, you are well aware, that if the revolution has destroyed a variety of abuses, it has also given birth to many others.

"The benefits we derive from it, are far from being unmixed and sincere.—With uprightness and courageous men, thieves and cowards are united; and while the former vigorously attacked the old system of things, in order to substitute in its place, a more perfect one, the latter endeavoured to annihilate it, only that they might create a worse, under the cover and protection of which, they might invade every property, and seize on every office.

"But notwithstanding the enormous difference that existed between the one and the other, all seemed to be united and confounded under the same point of view; all were equally clamorous against the government, which they were eager to destroy: on all sides, the safety of the country was the cause, or the pretext of the engines put in motion; and to complete was the blindness of the people, under the influence of this strange confusion, that they took for their best friend, not the true patriot who suggested to them the wisest measures, but the hypocrite republican who hurried them into the most extravagant excesses.

"Aristocrats, properly so called, soon availed themselves of this error of the people. They wielded it as a weapon, to calumniate their most zealous defenders; and the latter who first supposed themselves to have but one kind of enemy, had soon to struggle against two factions with whom were united the ignorant visionary, and extravagant patriots, who little imagined they abetted such a cause.

"This Chaos and confusion thickened every day, from the accession of private resentment, and petty interests of individuals; denunciatory vengeance publicly attacked, as enemies of the revolution, every person from whom it is wished to be delivered; with frontless audacity, it usurped the sacred name of love of the people. And horrible to tell, the people have more than once immolated as its sacrifice, their most sincere and generous supporters!

"It was thus, that the people, deserted by some, and deceived by others; pillaged on one side, and misguided on the other; perplexed by what features to discover their true friends (but few alas, in number) and too faithful to gain their confidence; the people I say, gave full reins to their natural impatience, and resolved to act only from their own impulse.

"Such was the disposition of the public mind, when a society (the Jacobins) composed of stirring, turbulent, and for the greater part profligate men, assumed a power, and impressed an awe by its long continuance, and by the kind agreement that seemed to exist between its principles and its members.

"The leaders of this faction did not fail to perceive, that the moment was arrived, largely and widely to infuse the poison of their doctrine. The public was soon deluded

with the most abominable libels; apostles of plunder and assassination spread their inter-nationals even into the peaceful dwellings of the country. The Tocsin of villany rung on all sides. The voice of the National Representatives was soon stifled and suppressed, and the springs of public morality were every where polluted. Oh! accomplished villains, 'twas this achieved your blackest triumph; this was the deepest wound you inflicted; this is the wound the most difficult to heal.

"By so rapid and gigantic a progress did this system of profligacy accomplish its purpose. The rod of tyranny dropped into their hands, and with it they struck down all that could oppose them; but the national Convention was more particular the object of their attack. They knew it to be a body at the same time both powerful and weak, composed of wicked and of virtuous citizens: for some time it opposed an effectual resistance to its enemies, in this respect the more formidable, as the most of them were sitting members of that assembly. It was, therefore, no mighty task to infringe an authority of which they constituted a part, and which they had besides reduced to nought, by subjecting it to the yoke of a tyrannical municipality, over which they exercised an absolute dominion. But in this did not consist the great secret of their strength; for while they laboured to dissolve the National Representation, they were sure to find auxiliaries in the enemies of liberty. Let us slander, said they, the most spotless characters of the Convention, let us prescribe them; and soon we shall collect against them every species of counter-revolutionary agents.

"Oh! 31st of May, O day forever fatal! Thou wert the execrable fruit of these infernal conspiracies! What pencil can paint that gulph of evils into which thou hast plunged my country. More than a hundred representatives of the people thrown into prisons, proscribed, or murdered, without so much as being heard; an immense multitude of atrocious villains erected into supreme Judges of the lives of citizens; the whole face of France covered with scaffolds and battles. Thousands of victims, without distinction of age or sex, deluging with their innocent blood the pavement of the public squares; entire communes delivered a prey to destructive flames; our rivers choked, and labouring in their course, from the heaps of corpses, which almost prevented them from flowing; numerous armies led to be butchered by ignorant or murderous generals; our frontiers invaded; the enemy at our gates. Such, such was the lamentable, the horrid spectacle exhibited by a nation, once the most tenured, the most humane, in the civilized world.

"By what means was it then possible thus to change and to deprave its nature? Representatives of the people, I have already told you, it was by a flagitious attack on principles and morals; it was by publishing the Journals of the Marats and the Heberts; it was by raising altars to villains; and placing profligacy in the Pantheon; but above all it was by precluding men, from the most sacred and the most delightful of their duties, the offering up their homage to the author of nature.

"Nay, what do I say, was not the Author of Nature himself disavowed? For doubtless, the tyrants deeply felt, they could not reconcile their profligacy with a Providence. But the 9th Thermidor dawned upon us, and providence was vindicated.

"Let my lips hail thee, O day! for ever memorable, on which was broken the chain of so many disastrous events! May the recollection of thee for ever obliterate the black, the melancholy days that preceded thee, and gladden every heart with the soothing prospect of a brighter future.

"But in proportion as the National Con-

vention regained its empire and its dignity, the public misery was gradually mitigated; the prisons were soon opened, and the chains that shackled innocence, were broken; and of all the scaffolds that gloomed over the face of the Republic; there remained none but for justly convicted guilt. Terror began to disappear, and confidence to revive: justice was now the order of the day; and its presence gave to every thing the aspect of security.—From that moment we have uninterruptedly moved on from prosperity to prosperity.—Have not our intrepid soldiers re-taken, under the empire of laws, the fortresses they had lost under the lash of tyranny? Has not a single campaign been more than sufficient to exterminate the enemy from our territories, and even to enable us to invade theirs; Powers, that before had sworn our destruction, do not they now solicit our alliance! And have we not ratified with these walls the honourable treaties that unite us to Prussia, to Holland, and to Spain? So true is it that justice and virtue are the surest arms which a nation can employ for its glory and its happiness.

"Whence does it come to pass, that we already seem weary of following these unerring guides, for what purpose do certain men urge every endeavour, in order to make you deviate from this glorious path? Their motives are no secret; it is because they see themselves baffled in their fell attempts to re-establish their horrid Tyranny, that they labour to eclipse the sun of Justice, in order to secure congenial darkness for themselves and their accomplices, at the moment when peace and the constitution, shall at length enable the people to appreciate the true merits of those who have served them.

"Yes there are men who dread the revival of order, and of the laws, and who tremble at the names of peace and Constitution. These are the very men who have pilloined, pillaged, and ruined the fortunes of the public. These are the very men, who, as members of the Revolutionary Committees, have exercised the most horrible inquisition among their fellow citizens, and dragged on loads of victims to the scaffolds of Robespierre—These are the very men, whose hands are still reeking with the blood, and loaded with the spoils of the unhappy victims whom they slaughtered in their butcheries of September.

"Such are the monsters, who, nevertheless, find persons to defend them; for is it not defending them, to make their cause, and that of true patriots the same. But what is a patriot? And what strange idea do you attach to this appellation, oh! False and hypocritical men? He is a patriot, who follows an useful profession; a man who is a good father, a good husband, a good son, a good friend, a man who respects, who loves the laws, and is ready to obey them. But what relation is there between a citizen of this stamp, and the Villains I have just pointed out?—None. Why then do you confound them?

"I know well, that among the arrested, in consequence of the deplorable transaction of Prairial, there are many men who have been misled; but you who remonstrate so strongly against that error inseparable from circumstances, tell me, are they in reality misguided patriots, who have been the first objects of your solicitude? No; and far from having been afflicted at their imprisonment, you ought to disregard it; well persuaded, that opportunities may always be taken to calumniate the most salutary measure, and by that means to rescue from the tribunals, those who are really guilty.

"But I ask of you further, what are then the reasons so powerful which create your uneasiness and your fears? Do you fear that an arrest may be, as in other times, the certain forerunner of death? If that alarms you, shew men that one innocent person has suffered since the National Convention has