

# Fayetteville Gazette.

A TOWN AND COUNTRY PAPER; PRINTED every TUESDAY, BY ALEXANDER MARTIN, FOR JOHN SIBLEY.

(VOL. I.)—[NON ACTI PARTE,]

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1793.

[JUSTITIAM SPECULAMUR.]—(No. 41.)

## MISCELLANY.

### PAINE'S REASONS FOR PRESERVING THE LIFE OF LOUIS CAPET; AS DELIVERED TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

#### CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

MY hatred and abhorrence of monarchy are sufficiently known, they originate in principles of reason and conviction, nor, except with life, can they ever be extirpated; but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere.

I voted that Louis should be tried, because it was necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption, abomination of the monarchical system. The infinity of evidence that has been produced, exposes them in the most glaring and heinous colors. Thence it results, that monarchy, whatever form it may assume arbitrary or otherwise, becomes necessarily a centre, round which are united every species of corruption, and the *kingly trade* is no less destructive of all honor in the human breast, than the trade of an executioner is destructive of its sensibility.

I remember, during my residence in another country, that I was exceedingly struck with a sentence of M. AUBURNIS, at the Jacobins, which corresponds with my own idea. "Make me a King to-day," said he, "and I shall be a robber to-morrow."

Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe, that if LOUIS CAPET had been born in an obscure condition, had he lived within a circle of an amiable and respectable neighborhood, at liberty to practise the duties of domestic life, had he been thus situated, I cannot believe that he would have shewn himself destitute of social virtues; we are, in a moment of fermentation like this, naturally little indulgent to his vices, or rather to those of monarchical governments, we regard them with additional horror and indignation; not that they are more heinous than those of his predecessors, but because our eyes are now open and the veil of delusion is at length withdrawn, yet the lamentable, degraded state to which he is actually reduced, is surely far less imputable to him, than to the constituent assembly, which of its own authority, without consent or advice of the people restored him to the throne.

I was in Paris at the time of the flight or abdication of Louis XVI. and when he was brought back. The proposal of restoring to him the supreme power struck me with amazement; and although at that time, I was not a French citizen, yet as a citizen of the world, I employed all the efforts that depended on me to prevent it.

A small society, composed only of five persons, two of whom are now members of the convention, took, at that time, the name of Republican Club, (Societe Republicaine.) This society opposed the restoration of Louis, not so much on account of his own personal offences, as in order to overthrow the monarchy, and to erect on its ruins the Republican System, and an equal representation.

With this design, I traced out in the English language certain propositions, which were translated, with some trifling alterations, and signed by ACHILLES DUCHATEL, actually lieutenant general in the army of the French Republic, and at that time one of the five members which composed our little party; the law required the signature of a citizen at the bottom of each printed paper.

The paper was indignantly torn by MALONET, and brought forth in this very room as an article of accusation against the person who had signed it, the author, and their adherents; but such is the revolution of events, that this paper is now revived, and brought forth for a very opposite purpose;—To remind the nation of the error of that unfortunate day, that fatal error of having then banished Louis XVI. from its bosom, and not to plead this day in favor of his exile, preferably to his death. The paper

in question was conceived in the following terms:

"Brethren and fellow citizens, The serene tranquility, the mutual confidence which prevailed among us, during the time of the late king's escape, the indifference with which we beheld him return, are unequivocal proofs that the absence of a king's more desirable than his presence; and that he is not only a political superfluity, but a grievous burthen pressing hard on the whole nation.

Let us not be imposed on by sophisms; all that concerns this man is reduced to four points.

He has abdicated the throne in having fled from his post. Abdication and desertion are not characterized by the length of absence; but by the single act of flight. In the present instance, the act is every thing, and the time nothing.

The nation can never give back its confidence in a man, who false to his trust, perjured to his oath, conspires a candlestick flight, obtains a fraudulent passport, conceals a king of France under the disguise of a valet, directs his course towards a frontier covered with traitors and deserters, and evidently meditates a return into our country with a force capable of imposing his own despotic laws.

Whether ought his flight to be considered as his own act, or the act of those who fled with him.—Was it a spontaneous resolution of his own, or was it inspired into him by others? The alternative is immaterial. Whether fool or hypocrite, idiot or traitor, he has proved himself unequally unworthy of the vast important functions that had been delegated to him.

In every sense that the question can be considered, the reciprocal obligation which subsisted between us is dissolved. He holds no longer authority. We owe him no longer obedience. We see in him now no more than an indifferent person; we can regard him only as Louis Capet.

The history of France presents little else than a long series of public calamity, which takes its source from the vices of her kings: We have been the wretched victims that have never ceased to suffer either for them or by them. The catalogue of their oppressions was complete, but to complete the sum of their crimes, treason yet was wanting.—Now, the only vacancy is filled up, the dreadful list is full: The system is exhausted: There are no remaining errors for them to commit, their reign is consequently at an end.

What kind of office must that be in a government, which requires neither experience or ability to execute? that may be abandoned to the desperate chance of birth, that may be filled with an idiot, a madman, a tyrant, with equal effect, as by the good, the virtuous and the wife. An office of this nature, is a mere non-entity; it is a place of show, not of use. Let France then, arrived at the age of reason, no longer be deluded by the sound of words, and let her deliberately examine, if a king however insignificant and contemptible in himself, may not at the same time be extremely dangerous.

The thirty millions which it cost to support a King in the eclat of stupid brutal luxury, present us with an easy method of reducing taxes, which reduction would at once release the people, and stop the progress of political corruption. The grandeur of nations consists not, as Kings pretend, in the splendor of thrones, but in a conspicuous sense of their own dignity, and in just disdain of those barbarous follies and crimes, which under the sanction of royalty, have hitherto desolated Europe.

As to the personal safety of Mr Louis Capet, it is so much the more confirmed, as France will not stoop to degrade herself by a spirit of revenge against a wretch who has dishonored himself. In defending a just and glorious cause it is not possible to degrade it, and the universal tranquility which prevails, is an undeniable proof, that a free people know how to respect themselves.

Having thus explained the principles

and the exertions of the republicans at that fatal period when Louis was reinstated in full possession of the executive power, which by his flight had been suspended, I return to the subject, and to the deplorable situation in which the man is now actually involved.

What was neglected at the time of which I have been speaking, has been since brought about by the force of necessity? the wilful treacherous defects of the former constitution have been brought to light, the continual alarm of treason and conspiracy roused the nation and produced eventually a second revolution. The people have beat down royalty, never, never to rise again; they have brought Louis Capet to the bar, and demonstrated in the face of the whole world, the intrigues, the cabal, the falsehood, corruption, and rooted depravity, the inevitable effects of monarchical governments. There remains then only one question to be considered, what is to be done with this man?

For myself, I seriously confess, that when I reflect on the unaccountable folly that restored the executive power to his hand, all covered as he was with perjury and treason, I am far more ready to condemn the constituent assembly than the unfortunate prisoner LOUIS CAPET.

But abstracted from every other consideration, there is one circumstance in his life which ought to cover, or at least to palliate a greater number of his transgression, and this very circumstance affords the French Nation, blessed occasion of extricating itself from the yoke of Kings, without defiling itself in the impurities of their blood.

It is to France alone, I know that the United States of America, owe that support which enabled them to shake off the unjust and tyrannical yoke of Britain.—The ardor and zeal which she displayed to provide both men and money were the natural consequences of a thirst for liberty. But as the nation at that time refrained by the shackles of her own government, could only act by means of a monarchical organ, this organ—whatever in other respects the object might be—certainly performed a good a great action.—Let then these United States be the safeguard and a system of LOUIS CAPET. There, hereafter, far removed from the miseries and crimes of Royalty, he may learn, from the constant aspect of public prosper; that the true system of government consists, not in Kings, but in fair equal and honorable representation.

In relating this circumstance, and in submitting this proposition, I consider myself as a citizen of both countries. I submit it as a citizen of America, who feels the debt of gratitude which he owes to every Frenchman. I submit it also as a man, who although the enemy of Kings, cannot forget that they are subject to human frailties.

I support my proposition as a citizen of the French Republic, because it appears to me the best, the most politic measure, that can be adopted.

As far as my experience in public life extends, I have ever observed, that the great mass of the people are invariably just, both in their intentions and in their object; but the true method of accomplishing that effect, does not always show itself in the first instance.

For example, the English nation had groaned under the despotism of the Stuarts. Hence Charles the first lost his life; yet Charles the second was restored to all the plenitude of power, which his father had lost.

Forty years had not expired, when the same family strove to re-establish their ancient oppressions; for the nation then banished from its territories the wholerace.—The remedy was effectual. The Stuart family sunk into obscurity, confounded itself with the multitude, and is at length extinct.

The French nation, more enlightened than England was at that time, has carried her measures of government to a greater length. France is not satisfied with expelling the guilt of the monarch, she has penetrated into the vice and horrors of the monarchy. She has

shewn them clear as day light, and forever crushed that internal system: And he, whoever he may be, that should ever dare to reclaim those rights, would be regarded not as a pretender, but punished as a traitor.

Two brothers of LOUIS CAPET have banished themselves from the country; but they are obliged to comply with the spirit and etiquette of the courts where they reside. They can advance no pretensions on their own account, so long as Louis shall live.

The history of monarchy, in France, was a system pregnant with crimes and miseries, constituting all manner of ills, even those by which brothers are united. We know how often they have assassinated each other, to pave away to Power. As those hopes which the emigrants had reposed in Louis XVI. are fled; the last which remains rests upon his death, and their situation inclines them to desire this catastrophe, that they may once again rally round a more active chief, and try one further effort under fortune of the *ex-dévant* Monsieur and d'Artois.

That such an enterprise would precipitate them into a new abyss of calamity and disgrace, it is not difficult to foresee; but yet it might be attended with mutual loss, and it is our duty as legislators, not to spill a drop of blood, when our purpose may be effectually accomplished without it.

It has already been proposed to abolish the punishment of death; and it is with infinite satisfaction, that I recollect the humane and excellent oration, pronounced by ROBERTSPIERRE, on that subject in the Constituent Assembly. This cause must find its advocates in every corner, where enlightened politicians, and lovers of humanity exist; and it ought, above all, to find them in this Assembly.

Monarchical governments have trained the human race, and inured it to the sanguinary arts and refinements of punishment; and it is exactly the same punishment, which has so long shocked the fight, and tormented the patience of the people, that now, in their turn, they practise in revenge on their oppressors. But it becomes us to be strictly on our guard against the abomination and perversity of Monarchical examples; As France has been the first of European nations to abolish Royalty, let her also be the first to abolish the punishment of death, and to find out a milder and more effectual substitute.

In the particular case now under consideration, I submit the following propositions:—1st. That the National Convention shall pronounce sentence of banishment on Louis and his family. 2d. That LOUIS CAPET shall be detained in the prison until the end of the war; and at that epoch for the sentence of banishment to be executed.

## LONDON.

[FROM A MINISTERIAL PAPER.]

Invective against Mr. PAINE.

WHILE the renegade *stay-maker* has been stigmatized as a rebel in our courts of justice by an honest jury of his countrymen; while he is burnt in effigy in consequence of a general indignation among the people, arising from his vile attempts to overturn their happy and glorious Constitution; while he is in a sort of exile even from America, where he is supposed to have been of some service, and can only find a refuge among the bloody usurpers of France, Mr. Fox would have Great-Britain crouch for an alliance with an Assembly of which this detestable Outlaw is a member, and who would be the first to advise a contemptuous rejection of a negotiation so base and degrading.

## M. EGALITE.

The French, in giving the command of their fleet to PHILIP EGALITE, seem to have taken the most certain method of destroying their marine. His naval conduct off *Ushant* will be long remembered. When the English and French fleets met, this hero took himself below decks, and enquired which was the place of the most security.