THESIS

CARNOT

HERAULT

P. L. PRIEUR

To Henry Morse Stephens
in appreciation of his
kindly assistance and
guidance

W. M. Kurtz

THE WORK OF LAZARE-NICOLAS-MARGUERITE CARNOT AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY IN FRANCE, 1793-1794

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirement for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS at the University of California

by

William Maurice Culp

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CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF CARNOT TO THE SUMMER OF 1793

Lazare-Nicolas-Marguerite-Carnot was born on May 13,1753 in the town of Nolay in Burgundy.His father,Claude Carnot,was a prosperous advocate and notary in that town.There were seven children in the family-six boys and one girl.The future "organizer of victory" was the second boy.Carnot received his earliest instruction at the college of Nolay.In college he was of a studious and reflective nature.He enjoyed exercise and boyish play.An instance is given of his early military instinct.When ten years old his mother had taken him to the theatre at Dijon.In the play a scene occurred which represented the storming of a castle.Carnot saw that the guns were placed in an unprotected position.The story goes that he immediately arose and proceeded to instruct the actors as to the proper placing of the guns.

Next,Carnot went to the college of Autun with the purpose of following the study of the classics.Here he showed a hardy and original intelligence.He sought new routes in the working out of his own problems.He had great faith in his own power.He mastered the philosophy course in a brilliant manner. On the day of Theses he upheld his own argument to the discomfort of his opponents.

Carnot was sixteen when he was sent to Paris to

study at the School of Mathematics.He was placed in the school of M. de Longpré at Marais - a school for those destined for service in the engineers,artillery or marine.Carnot showed himself very capable and was even praised by the great geometer d'Alembert.

Carnot during this period was passing through a formative stage of his existence.He read philosophy with avidity.He had preserved from his first education in his own home a fervent piety which had been increased at the seminary and college of Autun.He was now in different surroundings and he decided to examine his ideas.He made theology an affair of the conscience.He gave to theology the same care as to the studies of the exact sciences.He employed a spirit of investigation. After eighteen months of lectures and meditations on theology he formulated his own conclusions and put aside the theological works.He had reached the place where "une déisme pur,degagé de toute pratique extérieure,avait pris la place de ses premieres habitudes de jeunesse".[1]

The period of examination arrived.Carnot was third in line in the examination for appointment to the corps of military engineers.He was now eighteen years of age.He entered the engineering school at Mezierès with the rank of 2nd lieutenant. On June 1,1773 he left Mezières as 1st lieutenant to join the

(1) H.Car.Mem.L.Car. Vol.I.p.90.

garrison of Calais.This town was a new school in practical engineering,as large military and hydraulic works were being undertaken.While at Calais he showed his efficiency as a successful engineer.At this time Carnot belonged to a literary society,the "Rosati",of Arras and dabbled somewhat in verse. It was here that he made the acquaintance of his future colleague on the Committee of Public Safety,Maximilien Robespierre.[1] He,also,prepared his first work on mechanics and sent some "memoires" to the minister of war.

Carnot won his first recognition as a writer,when he received the first prize in an essay on Vauban.In his treatment of Vauban Carnot exhibited a filial attachment for the great fortification builder.He characterized Vauban as "militaire,savant,homme d'État,ami du peuple surtout".

The essay on Vauban was a turning point in Carnot's development.Quoting from the biography by his son,H.Carnot. "L'Éloge de Vauban doit occuper un place considérable dans la biographie de Carnot.Le travail fut certainement pour lui la source d'une grand developpement moral,et pour ainsi dire le point de depart de sa vie politique,en même temps que de sa carrière d'ingenieur.La première production d'une intelligence originale est presque toujours curieuse à étudier.C'est d'un

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1.See Hamel.Hist.Life Robes.Vol.1.p.26.

1.See Hamel.Hist.Life Robes.Vol.I.p.26.

militaire qui parle d'un militaire et le sentiment du citoyen domine chez lui tous les autres".[1] Carnot expresses his ideas on warfare.He says the art of war is not to conquer an enemy, but to protect a menaced civilization.He agrees with Vauban that the greatest work in war is the preservation of men.He desires fortified places on the frontiers for the repelling of invaders and as a source of strength for the country.

André de Montalembert at this time was advocating "La fortification perpendiculaire".[2] He was violently attacked. Carnot jumped into the controversy and defended "La fortification perpendiculaire".Older and higher officers in the engineer corps had attacked the plan.Consequently,Carnot was in disfavor among the engineer officers.Shortly after this he was imprisoned.Some say because he took furlough without leave to go to visit his betrothed,who had been given to a richer man by her wise father.Another reason for his imprisonment has been given in the fact that Carnot had attempted to justify the revolt of the Regiment of Champagne (the first movement of the Revolution).

Carnot first exhibits his desire for reform in 1789.He then sent a "Petition à l'Assemblée Nationale",a

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1.Vie de Carnot,par H.Carnot.p.105.Vol.I.

2.See Loyd,Vauban,Montalembert,Carnot.

"Reclamation contre le régime oppressive sous lequel est gouverné le corps du genie".He proposes that a committee of officers be chosen from their equals to discuss freely all the new ideas relative to the art of fortification.He favored "Le système de Montalembert-un grand avantage des batteries couvertes proposée par cet ingénieur".[1]

Carnot had been promoted captain in 1783.He was still a captain in 1791 when he entered the Legislative Assembly as a deputy elected for the Pas-de Calais.

As to his political ideas M.Carnot says-[2]"ce jeune homme animé par la passion du bien public.franchement ennemi des abus et des privilèges,ardent pour les innovations qui promettaient un heureux avenir au peuple,nul ne s'étonnera de le voir s'elancer dans la lice ouverte au patriotisme et vouer a la politique la même energie qu'il avait deployée dans les recherches et dans les luttes de la science;ses opinions étaient des lors tellement formées,que dans deux occasions où une destitution menacait de briser sa carriere,il n'hesita pas à les manifester.Le jugement de Carnot sur la Révolution était precisement celui que le bon sens dictait aux manes;il se resumait en un mot;Emancipation.De sa entrée dans la vie publique,

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1.Mem.L.Car.,par M.Car.Vol.1.p.142

2. " " " " " " " " " 161

ce but lui semble necessaire,légitime,saint".

Carnot believed first in the possibility of a pacific progress,but when revolutionary opinions rendered it inevitable he advocated the employ of force.He was with "Les Montagnards;Nor did he abstain from acts which wounded his sentiments of Humanity".[1] The work of destruction accomplished order became in his eyes the first need for the consolidation of the Republic.He believed that an immense majority of the French people favored the Revolution.He sums up his belief thus "Il ne s'agit pas de savoir se ce qu'on a vous semble bien ou mal,mais si le peuple le voulait".But also in 1791 "Carnot au début de sa vie politique était esclave du devoir et plein de respect pour la legalité.Carnot ne s'inspirait pas seulement, comme beaucoup d'autres,du sentiment révolutionaire:il était aussi determine par une conviction reflechie".[2] This is shown by his stand against the soldiers who had mutinied at Nancy in April 1790.Also,when the news of the flight of the king to Varennes in June 1791 was announced to him he declared publicly that the National Assembly should consider it as an abdication,and that the easiness with which they had governed in his absence showed the possibility of turning France into a Republic.

1.Mem.L.Car.par H.Car.Vol.1.p 204.

2. " " " " " " " " " 162.

Carnot's first mission as a member of the Legislative Assembly was with a group of commissioners to the Army of the Rhine,which was commanded by Biron.Their orders were to call upon the officers to swear allegiance to the government of the Legislative Assembly.The general acquiesced,but two officers were removed for refusing to comply with the commissioners' demands.Carnot made the reports for the commissioners to this army.They were of such excellence,Prieur of the Cote-d'Or states, that they were sent by special couriers to the 83 departments in order to serve as models and objects of emulation.

The conduct of Carnot at the headquarters of the Army of the Rhine had doubled his political importance.At the end of August 1792 he was again returned to the New Convention from Pas-de Calais.When he returned to Paris he was seriously sick and coughed blood.Immediately he was added to a commission of 80 members,who had to notify the sections of Paris of the decree which placed the safety of people and property under the responsibility of the Council-general of the Commune.

In his second mission Carnot was one of six members of the National Convention,who went to the South of France to organize the forces of the French Republic against Spain[1].Immed-

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1.See Wallon,Rep.peuple en Miss.Vol.II.Ch.XIV

iately after their appointment on September 23,1792 by the National Convention the six set out for the southern frontier. The Spaniards were becoming exceedingly troublesome and were preparing to invade France.The disorder among the French was great.There was no cohesion,no arms,no troops,nothing in abundance except confusion.The deputies on mission proceeded to calm the inhabitants by assuring them protection.They prepared the fortresses,organized the national guard,raised new battalions,brought military supplies,and formed an admirable light infantry.

From Carnot's correspondence at this time we learn that his favorite idea was the organization of a national force founded upon the education of the people.He desired a military education for all the people,so that in time of war an immense force could be raised in a short time.He mentions the new tactics,which circumstances are soon going to call him to develop. He wished to suppress the ministers or Executive Council and have them replaced by committees of the Convention.He wanted the executive powers to be concentrated in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety.

Carnot on returning from the south was sent to the Army of the North.Dumouriez was intriguing with the émigrés.The National Convention ordered that Dumouriez be arrested.Carnot was one of the five men given the task.Dumouriez escaped arrest

by deserting the Revolutionary cause,but found he could not swing his soldiers with him in his treason.Carnot found the army in great disorder and proceeded to again enforce discipline.

On April 4 Carnot was appointed representative of the Convention to the army of the North.His first act was to put Dunkirk in a position of defense.He was present on 31 May when Furnes fell and Nieuport was attacked.After the expedition to Furnes Carnot made a tour of inspection of the towns of the North and saw that the fortifications of the menaced towns were strengthened.He commanded Custine to go to the relief of Valenciennes.Custine refused on account of his small force. The fall of Valenciennes was a surprise to Carnot,as he had expected the town to hold out six months longer.Meanwhile,in Paris the Girondins had been overthrown.The Committee of Public Safety had been started.On April 6 it had been reduced to nine members.On July 10 were elected the men who were to form the nucleus of the Great Committee of Public Safety.On August 14,1793 Carnot was appointed by the National Convention to the Committee.

CHAPTER II

CONDITIONS AND STATE OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY AT THE TIME OF THE ENTRANCE OF CARNOT

"The defeat of the diplomatic plans of the first Committee of Public Safety, the failure of its temporising policy with regard to the Federalist insurgents, and the breakdown of its military operations against the Vendeans, led to its fall".[1] On July 10, 1793, the Convention reduced the committee, which then consisted of sixteen members, to nine. Jeanbon Saint-André, Barère, Gasparin, Robert Lindet, Couthon, Hérault de Séchelles, Thuriot, Prieur of the Marne, and Saint Just were chosen to this second committee, which was to be the Great Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin resigned on account of ill-health on July 24. On July 27 he was replaced by Robespierre.

The first Committee had divided up their work into "(I) General Correspondence (2) Foreign Affairs (3) War (4) Marine (5) Public Taxes, The Interior, Justice (6) A Complaint Department".[2] The new Committee was given increased authority almost immediately. On July 28 it obtained the right[3] "to issue writs of arrest and warrants against persons suspect or accused, and to order seals to be affixed". The authority of the Committee came in conflict with the other instruments of government.

Aul. Pol. Hist. Vol. II.-1. p.242; 2. p.240; 3. p.243.

On July 1,1793,Danton proposed to remedy these inconveniences by putting an end to the fiction of the separation of powers,to make the Committee of Public Safety a provisional committee of Execution,of which the Ministers would be the chief subordinates,and to place fifty million francs at its disposal. The Convention rejected the first part,but granted the money. As time passed the first part gradually became a reality.As Aulard aptly says,"The Great Committee of Public Safety had at the outset to reap the late but fruitful harvest of the preceding Committee's policy".

What were the conditions with which this Committee had to deal? The country was in a fever.The people were at war with their neighbors."Il n'y a plus,en effet,que deux partis en Europe:L'un ayant le comité de salut public pour général et la France pour armée;l'autre ayant pour chefs les monarques confédérés,et pour armée d'alliance tous les contre-révolutionaires".[2] The war situation was clothed in confusion.The froth of fiery words about the greatness of the French people was still froth,the enemy were still coming on.The people realized that something must be done.The French had the men,but they were untrained,unequipped, and without leaders.The Minister of War Bouchotte came in for a reasonable amount of healthy abuse.

1.Buchez et Roux,Hist.Parl.Vol.28.p.143.

On the 12th of August 1793,Gossuin,a deputy sums up the war situation in a speech to the Convention."Six powerful members of the coalition have already invaded France in one department in the North.Condé and Valenciennes are in their power,Cambrai is surrounded,they are marching upon Péronne;our forces are still superior to theirs in numbers,but they are not commanded.The minister of war is a mannikin.He does nothing himself,and he does not get anyone else to do anything.The enemy is advancing while the minister of war does nothing".[1] Gossuin demanded that the Committee of Public Safety give its opinion as to whether the minister of war could save France. If not - The Committee of Public Safety is to nominate men who will be able to do it.

On 14 August Barere makes the report for the Committee of Public Safety.Marseilles,Lyons,and Toulon are in revolt.The Vendeans have arisen.The officers of the navy have deserted.The fleets of Spain and England control the two seas. There is an invasion of Spaniards at Perpignan.The Piedmontese are attacking the Alps.The "brigands" of Austria and Prussia are pillaging in the North.England is sowing gold and treason everywhere.The fanatics and nobles are redoubling their efforts. The hated Austrians threaten to penetrate into the heart of

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1.Buchez et Roux.Hist.Parl.Vol.28.p.146.

France.France has 500,000 men on foot.There are 80 deputies on mission with the armies.Barère grows prophetic.France only needs a general of genius.Under such a general the enemy will be defeated within two or three months.

There was no member of the Committee of Public Safety, who was an expert in military matters.The committee deemed it necessary that such members should be secured.Barère in his report on August 14 names two men to be appointed to the Committee of Public Safety for the carrying on of the war.Action is taken."La Convention nationale apres avoir entendu la rapport du Comite de salut public lui adjoint les citoyens Carnot et Prieur,de la Cote-d'Or".[1]

1.Arch.Parl.Vol.72.p.162.

CHAPTER III

THE MILITARY SITUATION AS TREATED BY CARNOT

Carnot has been called the Organizer of Victory. Carnot has been praised as the master hand,who whipped the thirteen armies of the Republic into an efficient fighting machine after the disastrous campaign of the summer of 1793. Carnot has been hailed as the inventor of the new tactics "en masse".Carnot has been thought of as a quiet worker,who silently and tenaciously directed the armies of France in the face of almost overwhelming forces.He has been thought of as a man, who paid little attention to the turbulent excitement of the Terror.Carnot has been pictured as blind to anything but military measures and problems.It has been the aim of writers to treat Carnot merely as a war administrator.It is the purpose of this paper to picture Carnot as he appears from the decrees he signed in the Great Committee of Public Safety.

The Convention appointed Carnot and Prieur of the Cote-d'Or to the Committee of Public Safety for the purpose of managing the war.Carnot and Prieur made a good team.Carnot took as his especial task the overseeing of the personnel of the armies and the direction of the various campaigns;while

C.A.Prieur occupied himself with securing equipment for the armies,and with overlooking the government gun factories.

As was previously stated the purpose of this chapter is to draw conclusions from the decrees signed by Carnot in the minutes of the Committee of Public Safety as to how the war situation was treated by him.It must be asserted that a true perspective of the war situation can not be gained from the decrees themselves from the mere fact that the war correspondence of Carnot with the various generals and deputies is not included in the minutes,we have the basis for this correspondence in the decrees signed by Carnot.The decrees simply order a bare act.How this act is carried out by Carnot we do not know.What interpretation we make of Carnot's work is from these decrees.From them we build the framework of the policy pursued by Carnot.It is not held that the decrees give us an exact perspective of Carnot's military work,but it is held that they must show the character of the work undertaken by Carnot.

For many years Carnot was looked upon as the indefatigable worker,who with his own hand directed and ordered the movements of the armies.Henry Morse Stephens in his "French Revolution" has attacked those historians who lay such emphasis on Carnot's work,He argues that it is absurd to suppose that one man could accomplish such an intricate task without outside

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advisors and helpers.He lays great weight upon the assistance rendered Carnot in his direction of the armies by the Topographical Committee.He cites the fact that Napoleon Bonaparte made use of a similar committee.Aulard in his "Révolution Francaise" has not deemed it necessary to emphasize the importance of this committee in the carrying on of the war.Nor has Charavay in the preface to the third volume of his collection of Carnot's correspondence spoken of the Topographical Committee.This volume contains the war correspondence during the time Carnot was on the Committee of Public Safety.Charavay shows how Carnot was at the head of a great co-operating machine and that every measure did not come from his hand.

J.Gros in his "Le Comite de salut public de la Nationale Convention" gives the following information on the subject."Il avait constitué auprès de lui une sorte de bureau topographique,composé de savants et d'ingénieurs;d'Arçon,Lacuée, Meunier,Favart.C'est avec leur concours qu'il faisait les nominations et les destitutions,dictait les ordres,tracait les plans de campagne,correspondant le plus souvent de sa main avec les généraux".

Three decrees occur in the minutes signed by Carnot on June 8,1794;May 2,1794;May 18,1794 respectively,which have to do with the Topographical Committee.On June 8,1794 "Le reg-

istre ne relate,à cette date,aucun arrêté".The roll call represents no one present.A decree,however,from(Arch.nat.,AFii, 202-Non enregistré) is placed in the minutes after this date. It is signed by Carnot and Couthon.It is in no known handwriting.The decree deals with the creation of a Topographical Committee.The important sections in regard to the military are copied in full.

"Le Comité de salut public,voulant faciliter tous les moyens d'organiser promptement la levée et la formation des cartes,arrête (I) La Commission des travaux publics établira sans delai une agence particulière destinée à la formation et à la conservation des cartes et plans de tous genres (2) La meme commission presentera incessamment au Comité de salut public la liste des citoyens qu'elle distinera à composer l'agence generale des cartes et plans.(3) Pour seconder les operations de cette agence,la Commission des travaux publics est chargée de former au plus tôt un depôt général de toutes les cartes,plans,et mémoires et ouvrages relatifs à la geographie,topographie et hydrographie consideres sous tous les points de vue d'utilité publique (4) Il sera etable à ce depôt des bureaux d'artistes chargés de toutes les operations relatives a la confection des cartes,plans et mémoires (5) Ces bureaux seront repartes en sections correspondant aun divisions suivantes.

I DIVISION

GÉOGRAPHIE ASTRONOMIQUE

Position géographique de tous les lieus fixés par longitude et latitude ou par leur distance à la meridienne--etc.

II DIVISION

GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE ET POLITIQUE

Description des divisions et subdivisions politiques de la surface de la terre,correspondance aux différents époques de l'histoire--etc.

III DIVISION

GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET ECONOMIQUE

Configuration,nature et productions du sol.

IV DIVISION

GÉOGRAPHIE ITINERAIRE

Communication par terre et par mer

V DIVISION

GÉOGRAPHIQUE MILITAIRE

Positions et movements des armées-Campagnes de terre et de mer.

Cette division donnera la description des positions et lieux considerés dans leurs rapports avec des armées de terre et de mer et de tout ce qui est relatif aux opérations de la guerre ancienne et moderne.

Positions fortifiées,obstacles et ouvrages defensifs

des frontières et côtes maritimes.

Elle comprendra aussi la partie des cartes et plans des frontières et côtes maritimes relatives aux fortifications, les plans en relief des places fortes et tous les mémoires et ouvrages manuscrits ou imprimés qui composent les archives des fortifications.

(6) Il sera,en outre,établi un depôt particulier extrait du depôt général,où seront reunis touts les cartes, plans et memoires jugés utiles pour le courant des operations des armées de terre et de mer.Ce depôt,qui comprendra des archives de la guerre,portera le nom de depot de la guerre et sera dirigé par le directeur actuel de l'établissament qui a porté ce nom jusqu'à ce jour,sous la surveillance immediate et particulière du Comité de salut public,auquel il rendra compte.La Commission des Travaux publics,de concert avec ce directeur particulier,s'occupera sans delai du triage des pieces, signé par un des commissaires et par le directeur,restées a la Commission et le directeur du depôt se concertent egalement pour le nombre et le traitement des personnes qui doivent être employés à ce depôt,et la Commission en soumettra l'état au Comité de salut public.Le directeur du depôt de la guerre correspondera avec les généraux et les chefs des états-majors des armées de terre et de mer sur tous les objets qui ont rap-

port à ce depôt,et il leur enverra,sous l'autorisation du Comité de salut public,tous les renseignements qui leur seront necessaires.Il delivrer,comme par le passé,aux militaires de tous grades les artificats de leurs services d'après les états qui sont deposée aux archives de la guerre.La maison nationale Place des Piques,no.17,servira à l'emplacement du depôt de la guerre.(7) Les cartes,plans,mémoires et autres pieces quelcon - ques,comprises dans la cinquieme division ou au depôt de la guerre ne pourront être communiqués aux personnees étrangères à la surveillance de ces depôts sans une autorisation speciale du Comité de salut public.(8) Toutes les cartes,plans et ou- vrages qui y sont relatifs et qui se trouvent dans les divers depôts nationaux sont à la disposition de la Commission des travaux publics;en consequence,elle est autorisée à faire les recherches necessaires à leur reunion;elle fera placer au de- pôt de la guerre les pièces relatives à son objet et rendra compte de ses recherches au Comité de salut public.(9) La Com- mission des travaux publics est chargée d'envoyer,sans recip- isse, aux Commissions et autres autorités constituées les cartes, plans et mémoires dont la livraison aura été approuvée par le Comité de salut public,a charge de remplacement desdites pièces dans le depôt général,lorsque l'usage en aura ete fait.(10) La Commission temporaire des arts mettra à la disposition de la

Commission des travaux publics les cartes et plans de toute espèce,ainsi que les ouvrages manuscrits ou imprimés relatifs à la géographie,la topographie et l'hydrographie qui se trouveront dans les cabinets et depôts soumis à sa surveillance. Les agents nationaux pres les districts et communes sont chargés, sous leur responsabilité,de procurer toute facilité pour la prompte réunion de ces objets dans le local qui leur sera destine (II) La Commission des travaux publics fera disposer sur-la-champ toute la partie du batiment qu'elle occupe,située entre le pont de la Révolution et la place,et prenant des vues sur la grande cour,pour y établir l'agence et le depôt général des cartes et plans de la République (I2) En attendant que le local pour recevoir le depôt général des cartes et plans sont disposé,l'agent national près le départment de Paris,sous les ordres du Comité d'alienation et domaines réunis,prendra les mesures necessaires pour qu'il soit mis sans delai à la disposition de la Commission des travaux publics un batiment suffisant et à portée de celui qu'elle occupe pour recevoir provisoirement tous les objets qui doivent faire partie de ce depôt.

Carnot Couthon [1]

1.Aul.Acts.Vol.XIV.p.213-216.

The Topographical Department was formed June 8,1794. Carnot had been conducting the war since August 15,1793.Did Carnot make use of a Topographical committee previous to June 8?This decree begins - "La Comité de salut public,voulant faciliter tous les moyens d'organiser promptement la levée et la formation des cartes,arrete",.On the 12th of Germinal the 12 Executive Commissions replaced the ministry.It is possible that this Topographical committee is simply a reorganization or enlargement of the work of a committee or department of the government.Consequently,it may be regarded as a continuation of the work of re-organization of the 12th of Germinal.This seems to be the fact for quoting from the previous decree - V Division-Geographie Militaire - "Ce depôt,qui comprendra des archives de la guerre,portera le nom de depôt de la guerre et sera dirigé par le directeur actuel de l'etablissement qui a porté ce nom jusqu'à ce jour,sous la surveillance immediate et particulière du Comité de salut public,auquel il rendra compte The officials in the department of "archives de la guerre", previous to June 8,1794,then must have been active in aiding Carnot in matters of a topographical nature.This fact seems doubly assured since the directeur of the archives de la guerre is named as the head of this bureaux or "agence".His appointment indicates the fact that he was thoroughly cognizant with

the manner of co-ordinating work of a topographical nature with Carnot in the direction of the war.

If there was a Topographical Committee previous to June 8,1794,the only evidence found in the present investigation to substantiate this fact is that the two other decrees relative to the Topographical committee occur on May 2 and May 18 - the preceding month.On the 2nd of May 1794,Châlons sous-lieutenant of the 78th regiment is ordered to be attached to the Topographical Bureau and to remain in Paris.[1] On May 18, the Topographical Bureau is to send by order of the Committee of Public Safety the map of the district of Vitre to general of brigade Humbert.[2] In regard to maps we have decrees numbering about eight,which are orders that maps shall be sent to the Committee of Public Safety from various sources.The "Storm and Stress" period of the war during the Terror had passed.It seems that the only logical explanation to the question of the Topographical committee is that it had been in actual existance in the war department though not established by any decree.The war situation was progressing favorably in June 1794,and the strenuness of the preceding months had abated.It is natural then that a decree should be issued concerning the more complete

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Aul.Acts.1.Vol.XIII.p.209;2.Vol.p 591.

establishment of the Topographical bureau.Carnot deals with the Topographical committee in these three decrees.These decrees do not show that Carnot made excessive use of the Topographical committee.This is an excellent instance of how one judging the co-operative work of Carnot can verge away from a true perspective by taking the decrees as the prime authority.

We find from the decrees three principal avenues through which Carnot carried out his plans.The first was the Minister of war (later in April - The Bureau of the organization and movement of armies).The second was the issuing of orders to the deputies on mission,and the third was the direct order with no provision as to who should see to their execution.

An examination of the decrees makes us realize that Carnot was an administrator of no mean order.He had the happy faculty of getting things done.His dealings with the Minister of War show that that official was required to hand in reports about once a month on the war situation.The Minister of War is ordered to see that an extraordinary number of things are accomplished.On November 8,1793,the Minister of War is ordered to give the list of names of the officers of the armies,to report on the formation of the armies,and to give their campaign movements.On December 4,1793,the Minister of War is to give a report as to the actual status of the forces attacking Toulon.[1]

1.Aul.Acts.Vol.IX.p.149.

On the 6th of January 1794,The minister of War is to propose to the Committee of Public Safety the names of men for positions on the staff for the armies of the North,Ardennes,Moselle, and Rhine.[2] January 8 the Minister of War is to propose the names for inspectors of wagons.[3] January 19,1794,the Minister of War is to give to the Committee of Public Safety in three days a report on the equipment,men,position,and movement of each army.In addition he is to give notes on the character and ability of all officers in the armies.[4] On the 2nd of April all ministers of Bureaus are to send in within two days data as to the composition of their bureaus,functions,etc.[5] On the 15th of April Carnot drew and signed the decree as to the housing of the 12 Executive Commissions.The Minister of War was replaced by the Commission of the Organization and Movement of Armies.On the 16th of April the Commission allied to war is ordered to select rooms within the department of war.[6] On the 17th of April it is decreed that any matter sent by the Committee of Public Safety section war to the 12 Executive Commissions has to be acted upon within 24 hours.[7] These decrees show that Carnot ordered and made use of the department of the Minister of War for the securing of information upon which he might pass judgment and act.These decrees show that the

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Aul.Acts.Vol.X.,2.p.83;3.p.114;4.p.316:Vol.XII.,5.p.342; 6.p.617;7.p.641.

Minister of War apparently acted as a mere clerk of the War committee of the Committee of Public Safety.It is noticeable that the Minister of War is ordered to select and appoint men for many positions.The Minister of War apparently had a great deal of discretionary power in appointments of a minor character.

The decrees Carnot signed cover phases that would naturally come from war headquarters.He deals with the organization,equipment,and ordering of the movements of troops.He gives campaign orders to armies.The appointment of officers is his special duty,which increases greatly during the last months of the Committee.He gives many orders to officers.He sees to the payment of troops,officers,and soldiers.He signs decrees concerning ammunition and provisions.He grants furloughs,exempts men from the levies.He orders the arrest of generals,officers, soldiers.He orders the release of arrested officers.

Carnot's direction of the war may be divided into three parts (1) the work against the coalition (2) the conquering of Toulon,Lyons,Marseilles,and Bordeaux,and (3) the crushing of the Vendeans.Carnot's work against the Coalition will be principally considered in the chapter on his mission to the army of the North in October 1793.The Vendean rebellion will be treated by itself.A cursory review follows of the remaining decrees that indicate what the treatment of the war situation by Carnot was.

REVIEW OF THE WAR DECREES

France in the summer of 1793 was without a trained army. The first few months of Carnot's work in the Great Committee of Public Safety consisted in preparations for the development of a body of efficient,well-trained,well-equipped,and well-organized troops.Old generals of the line were replaced,the tactics of the mass were introduced,the troops were divided into working units,and definite campaigns were outlined.Carnot himself went in October as a deputy on Mission to the Army of the North,relieved Dunkirk,drove the English,Dutch,and Hanoverians back from north eastern France,and fought and won the battle of Wattignies against the Austrians.

It is not till December 1793 after his return from the Army of the North that from the decrees Carnot signed any definite policy as to the movement of troops directed by him can be perceived.In December there is particular emphasis laid on the attack against Toulon and on the progress of the forces moving against the Vendeans.

DECEMBER 1793

In regard to the war situation in the south the attacking forces against Toulon are ordered to be augmented by all but 15,000 men of the Army of the Pyrenees.[1]

1.Aul.Acts.Vol.IX.p.145.

Later on the 16th of December this order is cancelled on account of the activity of the Spaniards.[1] In order to gain a clear comprehension of the war situation before Toulon the Minister of War is given three days in which to give the actual facts as to the forces attacking Toulon.[2] Meanwhile, orders are given as to the troops at Toulon and those destined for Toulon. The 9th battalion of the district of Lille is ordered to proceed to that place.

JANUARY 1794

No definite policy is pursued by Carnot in the month of January. The entire field of military operations is attended to with a decree here and there. Orders are given that 2,000 troops at Toulon shall go on an expedition into Corsica.[3] In the north the operations of the armies of the North and Moselle are laid down.[4] The Army of the North is to operate in Alsace, the Army of the Moselle in the Palatinate.

Troops are organized. Louis-Basile and C.A. Prieur are empowered to organize new battalions in the department of the Charente.[5] Gernier in the organization of cavalry troops is commanded to incorporate them into old bodies of troops.[6] Orders are signed calling for the perfecting of artillery corps.

Aul. Acts. Vol. IX. 1. p. 438; 2. p. 694; Vol. X. 3. J. 13. p. 222; J. 14. p239-240; J. 4. p. 60-61; 6. J. 15. p. 257.

In order to get the necessary efficiency two officers are commanded to instruct artillery companies.[1] General Vezu is ordered replaced by general Belair,so that he can come and give to the Committee of Public Safety his views on the improvement of artillery.[2] In the composition of armies it is decreed that no Batavians (Dutch),or Belgians be employed in the armies of the Rhine,Moselle,and Ardennes.[3] Further,the army of the North is to be increased by new levies from the departments of Morbihan,Finistere,d'Ille-et-Vilaine,Cotes-du-Nord.[4]

Troops are used to protect the coal mines at Philippeville,Louvain,and Marenburg,and the factories between the Sambre and Meuse.[5]

Two important generals are appointed to positions. Pichegru is appointed General of the Army of the North,and Hoche is appointed general in chief of the Army of the Moselle.[6]

That Carnot kept a tabulation on the officers in the armies is shown by the fact that the Minister of War is ordered to collect all data on all of the officers in the armies.[7]

FEBUARY 1794

The equipment of the troops is the prominent feature of Carnot's work in Febuary.Bollet is commanded to

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Aul.Acts.Vol.X-1.J.4.p.62;2.J.4.p.62;3.J.8.p.116;J.23.p. 394-5;5.J.3.p.47;6.J.3.p.47;7.J.6.p.83.

draw from Rouen all the horses necessary for the cavalry regiments of the Army of the North.[1] 18,000 guns are to be sent to the same army.4,000 of which are to be drawn from the factories.[2] The Army of the West is to be strengthened by the acquisition of all horses not destined for the armies of the North,Ardennes, and Pyrenees.[3] The Minister of War is ordered to send 10,000 guns of Armes-Commune to Toulouse to be distributed to the Western and Eastern armies of the Pyrenees.[4] Further,the Army of the North is to receive 15,000 guns,while the Army of Ardennes is to get only 5,000.[5] An appropriation of 2,000,000 livres is made for the equipment of a new battalion levied in Seine-et-Oise.[6] Shoes are ordered - 150,000 pairs for the armies of the North and Ardennes,and 150,000 pairs for the other armies.[7]

As to the movement of troops the 6th battalion is to go from the Aube to the troops on account of distinguished service.[8] The battalion of tirailleurs at Amiens is ordered to leave for Cassel.[9] The Army of the West is to be increased by 2,500 cavalry.[10] An attack on Guernsey is planned and 12,000 men are provided for the expedition.

MARCH 1794

The armies in the north receive Carnot's particular

Aul.Acts.Vol.XI-1.F.11.p.41;2.F.13.p.111;3.F.14.p.139; 4.F.27.p.434;5.F.11.p.63-4;7,F.27.p.432;8.F.9.p.4;10. F.12.p.83: Vol.X-8.F.I.p.586.

Aml.Acts.Vol.XI-I.F.II.p.41;2.F.12.p.111;3.F.14.p.139;
4.F.27.p.434;5.F.11.p.65-4;7,F.27.p.432;8.F.9.p.4;10.
F.12.p.83: Vol.X-8.F.1.p.386.

attention during the month of March.Their operations and the sending of new troops north are attended to.The Minister of War is commanded to see that the 1st regiment of carabiniers and the 3rd regiment of hussards are sent to Cambrai,the 2nd regiment of carabiniers is sent to Lille,and that all three regiments be placed under the command of the Army of the North.[1] The general of the Army of the North is to send 12 or 15,000 troops to the Army of the Ardennes.[2] The Army of Moselle before Longwvy is given the task of intercepting the communication of Treves and Luxembourg with Liege and Namur.[3] Besides,the Minister of War is to increase the Army of the Mosello by 6,000 men from the Army of the Rhine.[4]

Troops are organized.Deserters and men born in the country occupied by the enemy belonging to the cavalry of Belgian and Liege birth destined for the 17th regiment of chasseurs a cheval are ordered to be discharged,and those left are to form a nucleus for a new regiment.[5] Also,the Legion of the North is ordered to be incorporated into old troops of infantry and horse and be sent to the various armies.Officers of noble birth are to be discharged.[6]

In the South 6,000 men destined for Corsica are

Aul.Acts.Vol.XI.- 1.M.6.p.567;2.M.11.p.637;3.M.9.p.603; 4.M.1.p.475;6.M.5.p.549:Vol.XII - 5.M.29.p.260.

commanded to return to the Army of Italy.[1] Moreover, 20,000 troops are provided for an attack on Oneille.[2]

To give information about officers lists of all officers are sent to the armies.[3]

April 1794

In the month of April the decrees signed by Carnot show that active measures against the Spaniards by the armies of the Pyrenees were ordered. Other decrees show Carnot as transferring generals from one army to another in order to gain effective generalship.

The generals of the Army of the West and of the Army of the Western Pyrenees are commanded to co-operate in a campaign in the Western Pyrenees.[4] A detachment of troops is to be sent from the army of the West for this campaign. The 1st battalion of Deux-Sevres in quarters at Angers is also detailed to the Army of the Western Pyrenees.[5] In addition, on the proposition of the Minister of War the 1st battalion of Alpes Maritimes, at Châlons-sur-Saône is sent to the Army of the Western Pyrenees.[6]

The general of the army of the West is to place at La Rochelle a permanent garrison of 2,000 men.[7] The gendarmes

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Aul.Acts.Vol.XI-1.M.9.p.604;2.M.9.p.603;3.M.7.p.580;
Vol.XII-4.Ap.12.p.533;5.Ap.30.p.130;6.Ap.13.p.551;7.Ap.8.p.454;

of the 35th division employed in the army of the West are to return to Paris.[1] The Army of the Ardennes is to have its force increased by volunteers of the first levy from the departments of Finistère,Côtes-du-Nord,Morbihan,and d'Ile-et-Vilaine.[2] The general in chief of the Army of the Moselle is to march against Liége and Namur,leaving in the department of the Moselle only such forces as are needed to guard the frontiers.He is to let the report be spread that he is going to attack Trèves or the Palatinate.[3]

There are three decrees regarding generals.Moreau appears in the minutes as a general of brigade at Cassel,who is promoted to be general of division of the Army of the North. Poisson (former adjudant-general in the Army of the West) is to be employed in the same rank in the Army of the Ardennes. Likewise,Damia,former general of the Army of the West,is to be employed in the Army of the Cotes de Brest.Numerous other decrees are signed treating with the promotions of captains and lieutenants.

MAY 1794

The military situation so far as the decrees Carnot signed show was quiet during the month of May.Carnot seems

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Aul.Acts.Vol.XIII-1.Ap.28.p.115;3.Ap.30.p.149:
Vol.XII-2.Ap.14.p.579.

to have busied himself mainly with signing decrees of appointment and orders to officers together with a number of troop orders.

A regiment of hussars called the Hussars of Liberty with the Army of the Rhine is to be kept provisionally but no new squadrons are to be filled out.[1] A regiment of dragoons before Angoulême with the Army of the Rhine is to be transferred to the Army of the Moselle.[2] The plan of Vidalin for incorporating the 18th regiment of chasseurs à cheval into troops of horse with the Army of the Moselle is approved.[3] The 13th regiment of chasseurs à cheval at Tours is sent to the Army of the North.[4] All troops of horse of the armies of the North and the Ardennes are to be collected at Réunion-sur-Oise and the Commission of Arms and Powder is to send them 3,000 pistols,and 1,000 sabres,etc.Further,a company of mountain artillery at Meulan is detailed for service with the Army of the North.

Orders to generals are few.There are many orders regarding lower officers.Vachot,General in chief in command of the troops against the Chouans is ordered to propose to the Committee of Public Safety the name of the chief of the staff at Brest.[6]

Aul.Acts.Vol.XIII-1.M.1.p.184;2.M.11.p.445;3.M.5.p.291;
4.M.13.p.486;5.M.25.p.735;6.M.13.p.493.

Some decrees reveal the life of the times.For instance, Le France is promoted to general of division but on account of lack of means he prefers to stay as chief of the 40th demi-brigade of the army of the Western Pyrenees.[1] On Pichegru's request,Reed,general of brigade at Strasburg is sent to the army of the North.[2] Buquet,adjudant general is to be employed in this capacity in the Army of the North.[3] General of brigade Cambrai of the Army of the West is commanded to be employed in the Army of the Western Pyrenees in order to regain his health.[4]

There are some amusing decrees concerning soldiers.André-Maurice Buras de Limoges has to serve in the first levy as he is old enough.[5] On the other hand David Lyon need not be subject to service in the first levy as he is a merchant at Meaux and has just been happily married.[6] Paris has a fascination for the soldiers and we have several decrees by Carnot permitting them to visit that city.

Aul.Acts.Vol.XIII-1.M.16.p.548;2.M.4.p.267;3.M.8.p.361;
4.M.25.p.738;5.M.13.p.494;6.M.13.p.494;

THE VENDEAN REBELLION

The decrees Carnot signed relating to the Vendean rebels occur in the months of October,November,December,and Febuary,and number 3,10,8,and 1 respectively.

October 1,1793,Hentz and C.A.Prieur are ordered to go to the Army of the West and to concentrate the attack on the Vendeans.[1] On the 23rd we find that the Vendeans are being beaten.[2] On the 29th the Minister of War orders the general of the Army of Cherbourg to send troops against the Vendeans at Leval, while the Army of the West is to attack the same rebels from the other side.[3]

On 3 November the representative with the Army of the West is to see that the brigands across the Loire do not reenter the Vendee.[4] On the 5th the Army of the West is commanded to manouvre so as to crush the Vendean fugitives.[5] On the 7th measures are designated for the extermination of the Vendeans.[6] 20,000 troops from the Army of the North are ordered to join the Army of the West.On the 8th it is decreed that all those incapable of fighting against the Vendeans (youths and old men) return to their homes.[7] On the 11th instead of 20,000 troops from

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Aul.Acts.Vol.-VII- 1.C.p.164;2.p.585;3.p.91;4.p.199;5.p. 243-4;6.p.289.
Vol.VIII.6.p.289;7.p.335-6;-

the Army of the North - 5,000 troops are to be sent from the Army of the North,and 5,000 troops from the Army of the Ardennes. The 13th-General Duquesnoy is to take provisional control and command of the Army of the West against the insurgents.The complete control of the right bank of the Loire against the Vendeans is given to General Rossignol,The Vendean brigands endeavoring to cross the Loire are to be stopped by having the crossings blocked.[2] On the 29th-new orders for moves against the Vendeans are given.[3]

December 3rd-orders are given to the Army of the North at Brest and to the Army of the West as to their actions against the Vendeans.[4] On the 12th - the 2nd detachment of the Army of the North is to unite at Dreux and to proceed against the Vendeans.The 2nd battalion from the district St.Vol of the 1st levy is to go to Chartres and is to join the army of the North in its attack on the Vendeans.The Minister of War is to see that the Vendeans near Le Man are attended to by the Army of the North.[5] On the 19th - 900 cavalry from the Army of the North is to join the Army of the West and is to pursue the rebels.[5] The troops from the Army of the Pyrenees are to march to the Vendee and to Toulon.On the 28th the Minister of War is to

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Aul.Acts.Vol.VIII - 1.p.266-8;2,p.391.
Vol.IX - 3.p.38;4,p.120-1;5.p.343.

4,p.120-1;5.p.343.

send cavalry to run down the Vendeans.

Febuary 6,1794,measures are promulgated against the Vendeans.Death is declared to those who will not give up their arms.Carrier is to be replaced.[1]

The policy of Carnot against the Vendeans is clear cut. It is merely the pouring of enough troops into the Vendee to overwhelm the peasants.The Army of the West during the months of October and November attacks the problem alone.In December, the Army of the North is brought into play.The two armies succeed in crushing the rebels.We gain this information from the fact that cavalry is sent to run down the Vendeans,and from the fact that life is offered to those that lay down their arms.

Carnot's treatment of the Vendean rebellion is from a military standpoint.He signs only military orders.He is explicit in his details for the movements of the armies.He saw to it that the two armies of the North and West crushed the insurgents in the Vendee.It was when the cause of the Vendeans was most flourishing that the decrees were signed.The three months October,November,and December were the critical times in the Vendée.When the situation was well in hand we find Carnot signing no further decrees.

Aul.Acts.Vol.X - 1.p.724-5.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

Carnot was not the guardian of the "Sans-culotte" or Revolutionary Army of Paris.This is clearly shown from the fewness of the decrees he signs concerning it;and further,from the fact that the decrees he signed stretch over intervening months.He signed 4 decrees in November 1793;2 in January 1794; 4 in March 1794;4 in April 1794.

Carnot signs the first important decree relative to the Revolutionary Army.On November 3rd Carnot signs the decree drafted by C.A.Prieur,which gives the details of the organization of the Revolutionary Army.The fact that Carnot signs this first decree shows that he was perhaps in sympathy with the movement.It shows that the military men of the Committee of Public Safety were called upon to give the movement a military organization.The decree follows -

"Le Comité de salut public,en vertu de la loi qui le charge de statuer definitivement sur les details de l'organisation de l'armée révolutionnaire,arrête à qui suit:1 - Les canonniers seront tous partie de l'armée révolutionnaire;leur nombre sera fixe à deux mille quatre cents;douze cents seulement seront en activite de service dans cette armée,et il sera tiré au sort entre les quarante-huit compagnies de canonniers pour savoir celles qui feront ce service pendant les trois premiers mois,et ainsi de suite,et la paye de tous sera le

même;2 - les citoyens composant l'armée révolutionnaire ne peuvent être commandés dans Paris que par leurs officers ou sous-officiers,et non par ceux de la garde nationale parisienne, mais ils seront dans Paris subordonnés au général commandant les forces de la Republic à Paris;3 - les généraux et officiers de l'armée révolutionnaire recevront la gratification de campagne proportionnellement à leur grade,comme dans les autres armées;4 - il sera accordé des secours aux femmes et enfants des citoyens composant l'armée révolutionnaire,conformement aux lois faites pour les autres armeés;5 - les aides de camp et adjoints à l'état-major de cette armée recevront la même paye que les aides de camp employés à l'état-major de l'armée parisienne;6 - il sera accordé trois aides de camp au général en chef de l'armée révolutionnaire et deux adjoints à l'état-major, independamment des adjoints sux adjudants generaux;7 - le ministre de la guerre sera autorisé à admettre parmi les aides de camp et adjoints de l'état-major les citoyens qui n'auraient point de grade d'officiers,lorsqu'ils seront reconnus pour avoir servi la Révolution;8 - le ministre de la guerre sera egalement autorisé à prendre,soit dans les depôts,soit parmi les chevaux de luxe,ceux qui sont necessaire pour monter les six escadrons de l'armée révolutionnaire;9 - il y aura par battaillon quatre sapeurs,auxquels il sera delivré bonnets,haches,tab-

liers et pistolets;10 - l'organisation de l'armée révolutionnaire sera la même que celle des bataillons de volontaires nationaux,et,la paye étant la même que celle de la gendarmerie, les sous-lieutenants seront payés en proportion .[1]

Carnot,C.A.Prieur,Billaud-Varenne,B.Barere,

Robespierre

On November 4,1793,300,000 livres is ordered for the equipment of the Revolutionary Army that is in preparation for its movement against Lyons.[2]

On January 24,1794,the 1200 artillerymen in the Revolutionary Army are ordered to alternate with the 1200 of Paris.[3] January 31,the general of the Revolutionary Army of Paris is to receive 500 livres a month.[4]

On March 27,the Minister of War is to take measures for the disbanding of the Revolutionary Army.He is to retire old men and to draw new recruits for the Revolutionary Army from the neighbors.[5] March 27,the general of the army of the Alps is to incorporate into old squadrons as many of the Revolutionary Army men as desire to enlist in the regular army.He is to send to Ville-Affranchie (Lyons) two old cadres for such a purpose.[6] March 9,the Minister of War is to replace two squadrons of the

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Aul.Acts.Vol.VIII - 1.p.197-8;2.p.220-1;
" X - 3.p.216;4.p.561;
" XII - 5.p.414;6.p.215-6.

Revolutionary Army at Versailles,who are on the way to disperse rebels,by the 4th squadron of the same army at Beauvais and by the 2nd squadron of the same army at Coulommiers.[1] On the 10th, 47 men of the Revolutionary Army at Château-Thierry are to go to Chantilly to work with the Revolutionary Army in that place.[2]

April 2,the Minister of War is to send 500 men to replace the detachment of the Revolutionary Army at Coulommiers. The detachment at that place is to go to the Army of the North.[3] April 8,the company of artillerymen of Paris of the Revolutionary Army at Laon are to be recalled and replaced by that of Le Peletier.The company is to be placed at the disposal of the general in chief of the Army of the North.[4] April 25,the Commission of Organisation and Movement of Armies is to relieve at once the artillerymen of the sections of Paris attached to the Revolutionary Army.They are to be either sent to the armies or placed at the service of the Police of the Interior.Lacoste, the doctor in chief of the Revolutionary Army under the new arrangement is to continue his services for the relief of the sick Revolutionary Army soldiers.[5]

Carnot's relation to the Revolutionary Army seen

Aul.Acts.Vol.XI - 1.p.603;2,p.628;
" XII - 3.p.341;4.p.453.
" XIII - 5.p.46.

through these few decrees is distinctive.The first decrees are on the details of organization.In March and April the decrees deal with the assimilation of the Revolutionary Army into the regular army.The work of the Revolutionary Army at that time was almost completed.What was to be done with the soldiers?Carnot ,as director of the war department,saw to it that they were permitted to join the regular army.

CHAPTER IV

CARNOT ON MISSION

Carnot was absent on one mission during his membership of the Committee of Public Safety.On the 6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13, 14,15,16,17,18,and 19th of October 1793,the register of the Committee does not mark Carnot present.Carnot was on Mission to the Army of the North.The ensuing treatment of Carnot's mission to the Army of the North bases its information upon the correspondence of Carnot and Duquesnoy with the Committee of Public Safety,upon the correspondence of Jourdan with that same Committee,and upon the decrees issued by Carnot and Duquesnoy on that Mission.Charavay's "Correspondence générale de Carnot" has been used as the authority.

General Jourdan was in command of the Army of the North. He was ordered to move against the Austrians under the command of the Prince of Coburg.The Coalition had the advantage all along the line.Valenciennes and Conde were in their hands.The way was open to Paris,but the English demanded that Dunkirk should be taken first and commenced a siege of that town.The troops of the Prince of Coburg were divided into two parts.One detachment was besieging Maubeuge,while the greater number

40 or 50,000 men were stongly entrenched at Wattignies.Jourdan was ordered to relieve Maubeuge.35,000 troops from the armies of the Moselle and the Ardennes were put at his disposal.During the first days of October he was occupied in bringing up his troops.

On the 7th of October we find Carnot and Duquesnoy at Peronne in conference with general Jourdan.In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety it is stated that the greater part of the army is present and is going towards Avesnes by Guise.The troops are in good spirits,but lack clothing and shoes. The artillery-horses are without proper harness and sufficient grain.The second letter on October 9 reveals the delapidated condition of the soldiers.Arms are needed.15,000 bayonets are demanded.It is stated that three-fourths of the men are without shoes.Carnot has undertaken the task of seeing that the army is suitably equipped."L'ennemi fait de grands movements;l'affaire sera chaude,mais nous vaincrons,et la Patrie sera sauvée.Envoyez-nous en toute diligence des souliers,des habits,et surtout des baionnettes et des fusils,s'il est possible".[1]

Carnot and his companion - deputy on mission Duquesnoy sign 16 decrees on this mission.Carnot issues one decree himself.Of the 16 decrees 5 are orders for arrests and 5 are orders for promotion or appointment of officers.The work of

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1.Char.Corres.Car.Vol.III.p.271.

Carnot on mission,aside from his advisory capacity to Jourdan, may be characterized as the arrest of those who were not doing their duty,and the promotion and encouragement of those who were.

On the 9th Jourdan writes to the Committee of Public Safety that all of his men have arrived.The troops have been greatly fatigued by their forced marches.Jourdan plans to attack the enemy on the 12th.

The first decree of Carnot and Duquesnoy is to order the arrest of Le Baume,formerly a noble,captain of the 1st bataillon de campagne of the 47th regiment.Carnot sees to the execution of the law that deprives all nobles of positions in the army.On the 10th four decrees are signed.The first is an order for the arrest of deputy Belin in the department of Pas-de-Calais for neglecting the performance of his duties.Carnot has stepped away from merely military matters and has taken a hand in the affairs of the department.General de division Merenveue,commanding the artillery,is ordered to be arrested. Merenveue had permitted a shortage in the supply of ammunition. This was doubly reprehensible as the army was destined for an agressive campaign.Le chef de bataillon Eblé,in Camp at Madeleine-sous-Lille,is to immediately come to the Army of the North and take the place vacated by Merenveue.The last decree

names the officers for the 2nd bataillon of the Vosges.This same day a letter is sent to the Committee of Public Safety telling of the decrees and the measures taken for remedying the lack of ammunition.To obtain ammunition an extraordinary convoy is to leave for Dunkirk and Saint-Omer.The Minister of War is asked to send 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition.

On October 11 Carnot and Duquesnoy are at their busiest in attending to affairs of the army.They sign eight decrees.To remedy the lack of guns and ammunition the chief of the staff is to bring to the army at Avesnes the pikes that have been manufactured in the neighboring towns.He is to secure as many axes,scythes,and sickles as possible together with picks and other instruments used in making trenches.Officers are appointed to the unfilled positions in the 36th regiment. Discipline is provided for the officers and soldiers,who have resisted the decrees of the representatives on mission.Mangay, chef de bataillon,attached to the artillery park is ordered arrested for refusing to execute the law concerning the promotion of officers.Lefay,former quarter-master of the 19th regiment of cavalry is promoted to the grade and pay of a cavalry lieutenant.The chief of the staff Ernouf is to estimate the value of two horses of Bonnot,a dismissed captain,and is to reimburse the owner.Masse is appointed commissary.The last de-

cree permits Rondel surgeon-major to visit Tarrian,who is in prison and needs a physician's services.These decrees run the whole gamut of the work of a deputy on mission.Arms are secured, discipline is enforced,unfit officers are removed,fit officers are promoted,the financial welfare of a captain is attende to, and from a humanitarian standpoint the deputies allow a sick man to be relieved. None of these decrees are exceptionally important,but they show how Carnot acted on this mission - at times concerned with trifles as well as with important details.

Jourdan in a letter on the 11th announces that he had ordered the advance that morning.General Fromentin in command of the advance guard is to move against Avesnes,to entrench his troops in the woods,and not to evacuate the posts of the forest of Nouvion.On the 13th Jourdan reports the advancing of his lines.He believes the enemy to consist of about 64,000 infantry and 25,000 cavalry.On the same day Carnot and Duquesnoy promote Soland lieutenant-colonel of the 6th regiment of cavalry to be general of brigade in command of the cavalry.Carnot issues his one decree on the 14th,when he orders that General Ernouf shall form immediately a company of artillerymen of the 7th bataillon of Jura.On this day Carnot and Duquesnoy report to the Committee of Public Safety."They have inspected the lines.On the morrow they are to attempt to occupy the forest

which is called "la haie d'Avesnes";to-morrow they hope to be half way towards Maubeuge."Notre position est plus avantageuse que la sienne et,dans deux ou trois jours au plus,nous ésperons avoir de grandes et heureuses nouvellees à vous annoncr.Le général Jourdan a sa confiance et la nôtre".[1]

The engagement took place on the 15th and 16th of October.Jourdan advanced in four columns.The first day's battle was not very successful for the French.Carnot and Duquesnoy reporting to the Committee of Public Safety announce that the right wing under Duquesnoy has occupied a field near Wattignies. The left wing and center though successful at first had met with reverses.Jourdan in his report blames Carnot for advising him to make an attack on the center where he was repulsed with considerable loss.That night Carnot and Jourdan ordered that troops from the left and center should be concentrated on the right against Wattignies.The night was extremely foggy.The manoeuvre was executed without discovery.The next day fierce fighting took place at Wattignies.Carnot was at the head of the troops.He did much to inspire the soldiers with courage. Wattignies was captured and recaptured five times,thrice by the French and twice by the Austrians.The reverses that the Prince of Coburg suffered this day forced him to withdraw.The troops

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1.Char.Corres.Car.Vol.III.p.299.

rotreated in order devastating the country as they went.

On the 16th Carnot and Duquesnoy ordered the arrest of Gratin general of brigade,who refused to pursue the enemy upon the order of General Duquesnoy.

On the 17th Carnot and Duquesnoy announce to the Committee the news of their success.Jourdan and the other generals are commended.In another letter signed by Carnot,Duquesnoy,and Bar fuller details are given.The republican army has conquered the despotic coalition.We are gong to enter Maubeuge. Jourdan is to be praised for defeating Coburg.The enemy have committed terrible devastations in their retreat.It is imperative that the victims be succored.200,000 livres of the department of Avesnes is to be put at the disposal of the sufferers. On the 17th Carnot writes a letter himself in which he states the fact of the victory and complains about the coldness of the people of Maubeuge.He asserts that if the troops of Maubeuge had aided,the victory might have assumed tremendous proportions.

On the 18th Carnot and Duquesnoy order that 200,000 livres of the department of Avesnes shall be put to the use of aiding the victims of the enemies' cruelty.

On the 18th Carnot and Duquesnoy issue a proclamation to the Army of the North praising them for their victory. "Les despotes sont terrassés,la tyrannie est vaincue,la patrie

est sauvée et vous avez bien merite d'elle.Les répresentants du peuple s'honorent d'avoir partage vos travaux et vos dangers; vous les verrez toujours à vôtre tête dans le chemin de l'honneur.La Convention nationale va être instruite de ce que vous avez fait pour le salut de la Republique,comptez sur sa reconnaissance".[1]

The battle of Wattignies was the turning point for the French arms.From this time forward success was theirs. Carnot threw himself into the field at the critical moment.The success of the battle has been considered the result of his ingenuity and genius.Napoleon Bonaparte considered this battle one of the cleverest recorded in history.Carnot had demonstrated the advantage of the Tactics "en masse".His concentration of the attack on Wattignies won the day for the French.Carnot's work at the army may be considered from two standpoints.The first was the thorough performance of the routine work of the deputy on mission.The second was the counsel Carnot gave to Jourdan.If we are to trust H.Carnot-his father was the fountain head from whom flowed the plans for the battle,and to him is due the credit of successful management of the campaign.

Carnot entered Maubeuge with the Republican Army. Witnesses of the event comment on the quietness of his dress

1.Char.Corres.Car.Vol.III.p.336.

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and demeanor.Immediately,afterwards,Carnot left for Paris.He had been absent on mission for fourteen days.During that time he had seen the success of the French army change.He returned to Paris with the credit of the victory of Wattignies.From that time on he directed the war policy from the war office of the Committee.

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF CARNOT OTHER THAN MILITARY IN THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

The work of Carnot in the Committee of Public Safety was predominately of a military character,but in examining the decrees of the Committee it appears that he signed decrees that deal with almost every phase undertaken by the Revolutionary Government.Different months bring certain phases to the foreground.In the following treatment the military decrees will not be considered at all.Comment will be made only upon those decrees that point to a definite line of activity.

During the months of August,September,October,and November 1793,nothing in Carnot's work except military matters is of any definiteness.Measures for provisioning the towns and armies and orders to deputies are perhaps the most significant.Deputies on mission incur Carnot's attention in decrees throughout the entire period of his presence on the Committee. These orders to deputies deal with various problems,some are about the securing of provisions or ammunition,some about the government of the departments,some about the crushing of brigandage.They are orders for the execution of matters in which

Carnot is interested. In October we have the order to the deputies Hentz and C.A. Prieur (on mission to the Army of the West) giving them power to draw all necessary money for the furtherance of their plans. In the same month Hérault de Séchelles is ordered to go to the department of the Haut-Rhin to carry out measures of general security. Further, all ministers are ordered to give an account of deputies sent on mission to the provinces.

Carnot during these months signs many decrees by himself concerning the provisioning of troops and towns. The Commissary department appears to be somewhat under his direction.

Inventions receive the consideration of Carnot. In August he orders the establishment of a telegraph line (semaphore) to the Army of the North. In October he orders Henry, an inventor of a new fire-arm, to demonstrate its usefulness to the Minister of War.

There are several other interesting decrees - such as the one ordering the arrest of Rouget de Lisle (the author of the words of the Marseillaise) who is commanded to retire to Saint-Germain; and on November 2nd occurs his first decree in regard to the Law of the Maximum. Other decrees treat of the manufacture of arms, the making and repairing of roads, measures against rebels, deserters, etc.

In December Carnot is found taking distinct interest in two types of decrees.These decrees deal with factories and military equipment.December was the month when the organization of France into a great war workshop was at its height.The factory decrees concern the government armament factories.These decrees relate to the establishment of factories,the control of factories,the reports on factories,and orders for the manufacture of arms in the factories.In regard to military equipment Carnot signs 31 decrees.They consist of orders for food and ammunition,orders upon the price and purchase of arms,the formation of magazines,and matters relative to the gun shops.

There are numerous other decrees of one or two in number on such subjects as education,carriers,navigation,inventions,postage,maps,statues,the arousing of public feeling,etc.

The month of January is marked by the fact that Carnot signs 14 Marine decrees.The orders may be divided into two classes,one the orders for the movement of ships,the other the orders for the construction of ships.In all - the decrees consist in orders for the securing of materials for ships,the construction of ships,the armament of ships ,the provision for ship patrol,deputies to the Marine,and orders to the Minister of Marine.These Marine decrees are not in Carnot's handwriting and are generally signed by other members of the Committee as

C.A.Prieur and Barère.Carnot signs few decrees about factories this month,but what decrees he signs are those in regard to the organization of the gun shops.Carnot signs these decrees alone.It seems that he has taken upon himself the task of the organization of the factories that supply war material.C.A.Prieur does not sign any of these decrees this month.There are various decrees concerning guides,public servants,horse inspectors, indemnities,salt-petre,maps,printing,sulphur,inspectors of markets-etc.

The matter of provisions stands out distinctly in the month of Febuary.Carnot next to military orders is active in matters of the commissary department.There are decrees for the purchase and movement of provisions,the approval of contracts for provisions,the providing of food for towns,the regulation of commerce,the securing of provisions from the provinces,the fixing of the price of provisions.There are five Marine decrees about the construction of ships,orders to ships,guards for fishing smacks,and the construction of fortifications at Ports. During this month Carnot signs 16 decrees that embody the idea of the Terror.They are orders about prisoners,arrests,releases, expenses for arrests,and relief to refugees.

March shows the progress of the Revolutionary Government.Carnot signs 17 decrees of a severe nature calling for the

arrest of officers,measures regarding prisoners,deserters,and refugees,instigators of revolution,police.Orders concerning provisions hold an important place.These decrees deal distinctly with the approval of contracts,the setting of the price of commodities,and the purchase of provisions.There are miscellaneous decrees about vacations for civil officers,taxes,artists, finance,libraries,schools,lodging for clerks,newpapers.The new phases appear in 7 decrees about Revolutionary Tribunals and 7 joint orders of the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security.

The Revolutionary Tribunal decrees,though a new phase,are mere general decrees for the carrying on of the work of that Tribunal.The decrees deal with such matters as the putting down of the internal dissenters by the Revolutionary Tribunal,the appointment of more commissaires for the Revolutionary Tribunal,the allowing of the public prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal to employ assistants,the ordering of Leilever (director of jury of the department of Paris) to go to Brest and start a Revolutionary Tribunal there.

Carnot took part in the harsh repressive measures in March.The seven decrees he signs show that he was not unawares of what was passing on around him.These decrees are signed the 15th,17th,and 30th of March.On the 15th - Hérault de

Séchelles is ordered under arrest.Deserns and Gatley,librarians, and Véry,restauranteur in the Palais-Égalité are to be arrested.Varin and Celliwz-agents of the Executive Council with the Army of the North are to be arrested and brought to Paris . Chaumette,- national agent of the Commune of Paris,is to be also arrested.The administrator of police and prisons of Paris must report to the Committee ten times daily.These decrees show that Carnot was interested in arrests.It is to be observed that two of these arrests are of men who are connected with the army.

The most important decree occurs on the 30th of March.On this day culminates the action against Danton.Carnot signs the decree drafted by Amar that orders the Mayor of Paris to arrest Danton,Delacroix,Camille Desmoulins,Philippeaux (members of the National Convention) and place them apart in the Luxembourg.This decree of March 30th,is one of the most dramatic of the decrees of the Committee.Danton did not believe that they would dare move against him.One faction had to go. Billaud-Varenne,Collot-d'Herbois,St.Just,C.A.Prieur,Couthon, Bárére,Robespierre,and Carnot signed the decree from the Committee of Public Safety.That is eight out of a possible eleven. Carnot was with the Committee.He knew that it was perhaps life or death.When a blow had to be struck,he was behind it.

ization,their housing,and the appointment of the officials to run the bureaux.

The last months of June,July,and August reveal no special problem confronted by Carnot.Military orders are his special subject.He signs an immense number of decrees that deal with no specific problem.Carnot seems to have attached his signature to a conglomeration of decrees that happened to come before him.In July he signs many of the joint orders of the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security.He did not sign any decree ordering Robespierre's arrest. He signs a decree however that orders the decent care of the corpses of Couthon,Robespierre jeune and others.

In reviewing Carnot's work apart from that of direct military decrees we see that he takes the greatest interest in those things that come nearest to his phase of the war situation.Although most of the decrees deal with France in its warlike aspect Carnot takes an interest in those movements of intense moment to himself.Many decrees are merely of passing interest.Many are of a petty nature,and give us a glimpse of how men at the head of great things are not too big to attend to affairs of little consequence.Carnot worked in unison with the rest of the Committee .He aided others in their tasks.He remained thoroughly embued with loyalty to the Republic.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS BETWEEN CARNOT AND C.A.PRIEUR

CARNOT	HAND		C.A.PRIEUR	HAND
		1793		
43	18	AUGUST	30	7
80	14	SEPTEMBER	40	13
50	8	OCTOBER	24	9
124	32	NOVEMBER	71	11
215	52	DECEMBER	63	5
		1794		
130	37	JANUARY	66	14
134	50	FEBUARY	83	7
174	43	MARCH	52	3
225	53	APRIL	82	4
286	44	MAY	54	8
250	26	JUNE	31	5
293	40	JULY	39	2
146	35	AUGUST	12	0
2202	446		647	88

Conclusions will be drawn as to the relations between Carnot and C.A.Prieur from a strict review of the decrees.The attempt is made to analyze their work month by month.

In August Carnot signed 43 decrees and drafted 18 of them.Prieur signed 30 of these decrees and drafted 7.25 decrees were drafted by these two men,or over half of the decrees Carnot signed this month were drafted by himself and Prieur.It is noteworthy that Carnot signs his first decree with Prieur and Barère.This is an order instructing the Minister of Foreign Affairs to withdraw a sum of money from circulation in Mayence, which was originally intended for the use of the army.Nine of these decrees are in Carnot's hand.These decrees consist of orders for the arrest of officers,instructions and payment of deputies on mission,money for the defense of Strasbourg and Maubeuge,and orders for the purchase of grain for Cambrai and Paris.Carnot drafted the decree that demands "que les administrateurs des subsistances au Comité se presenteront par commissaires,sans delai au Comité pour lui donnor les renseignements dont la besoin."[1] The orders in Prieur's hand writing consist of decrees for the arrest of an ordonnateur civil de la marine à Brest,the arrest of a nephew of Pitt,orders to deputies in regard to the requisition of soldiers,the arousing of public feeling,and an order as to the diplomatic relations

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1.Aul.Acts.Vol.V.p.261.

with the Helvetic Republic.Prieur drafts one decree about the purchase and payment of horses.

These decrees distinctly show that Prieur and Carnot had no direct policy up to this time.Prieur is supposed to look after the equipment of the army.In these decrees we find Carnot doing this work.Prieur drafts order to deputies on mission. He signs one decree as to war equipment.So far as Carnot's relations to Prieur is the question - it can only be seen that they sign decrees of a Commissary nature in Carnot's handwriting.These first 15 days give us no distinctive line of cleavage between the activities of the two men,except that they both are interested in the same subject.

In September we find that the same condition exists as in the previous month.We have though some decrees for which Carnot and Prieur are directly responsible.One is an order for the removal of General Barbantane from the army of the Eastern Pyrenees.An order is signed for the purchase of 30,000 guns from the Republic of Mulhouse.Another decree grants money for the hunting of suspects and the raising of public feeling in the departments of Calvados and the Manche.1,000,000 livres are ordered to be given to the municipality of Paris for food. There are 11 decrees in Prieur's handwriting ordering the minister of war to cut wood for ships,pay the ordonnateur at Brest,

three deal with orders and payment of deputies,two for raising public feeling and hunting suspects,one decrees the arrest of a deputy with the Army of the North,another is an order for the purchase of 4200 sacks of flour for the city of Paris.The other decrees consist of orders for arrests,appointment to bureaus,money for publications,orders to deputies,orders about the Marine and Corsican patriots.The most important decree from the military standpoint is the order for the Minister of War to co-operate with the Minister of Marine and Internal Affairs to land 100,000 soldiers in England.This month shows that Prieur was not responsible for the equipment decrees,except in as far as he signed Carnot's measures.Military orders received the greatest interest of the two men.

In October Carnot and C.A.Prieur sign decrees of the same type.Prieur's work is definitely outlined.Prieur for the first time signs decrees ordering that materials for the war be secured.Of the joint decrees of Carnot and Prieur the greater number of orders of a military character are in Prieur's hand.Carnot drafts decrees as to the further movements of the victorious Army of the North.Both men sign decrees as to measures against the Vendeans and contre-revolutionists.The matter of factories is the key-note of the work of the two men.Orders

are issued for the purchase of horses,salt-petre,and the prices of commodities are fixed.The joint work is of a commissary type.After two months of distinction between the work of the two men at last in October we find Prieur attending to the equipment of the armies.He also drafts more military measures than Carnot.

In November the decrees against the Vendeans stand out.Prieur drafts many of these decrees.In fact Prieur appears as the instigator of moves against the Vendeans.He drafts the important measures.Decrees for the equipment and provisioning of the troops is the other main point of interest.There is a lack of military decrees in regard to the movement of troops,etc. Carnot and Prieur apparently are striving to put the armies on a war footing.

December is radically different from November.In December we find Prieur signing many of the decrees drafted by Carnot.Prieur and Carnot sign many joint decrees.The joint decrees cover such topics as skins to be used in bullet making, a sword blade for Merlin of Thionville to replace the one broken in the Vendean Rebellion,orders for reports from army equipment factories,orders for experiments in the manufacture of powder,the securing of salt-petre.The decrees in Carnot's handwriting deal with measures to be taken against the Vendeans.

In November Prieur drafted the decrees against the Vendeans, in December Carnot does the work.The other decrees are mostly about the equipment of troops.Reports of the arsenals and magazines are demanded every ten days.The work of the two men is quite similar.Prieur does not draft any decrees,but he signs with Carnot the mass of orders for army equipment.

January shows us Carnot drafting the decrees for the equipment of the troops.C.A.Prieur is occupied with the running of the government factories.It seems that Prieur saw to the manufacture of the goods and Carnot to their distribution.Robet Lindet comes in as a factor in the provisioning decrees.Carnot and Prieur sign many such decrees with Lindet.Carnot signs troop orders.In other words the two men co-operate this month.Each signs the others decrees.

Febuary shows Prieur in a passive mood.He does nothing but sign decrees.We can gain no individuality from the decrees signed this month.The usual quota of decrees about provisioning and orders to the armies occur,but no definite policy is laid open.

The decrees of March,April,May,June,July,and August have been inspected with the view of getting any characteristic differences that might arise.It must be said that these last months do not show any policy of co-operation be-

tween Carnot and Prieur.They both stop drafting decrees to any amount.They both sign a mass of decrees that have no bearing on their work.The characteristics that do arise are of the same caliber as shown in the previous months.Prieur still is interested im manufactures and equipment,while Carnot becomes more involved in the personnel of the army.

In summing up the relations between Carnot and C.A. Prieur we agee with those writers who say that Carnot ran the army and Prieur oiled the bearings.We agree that the decrees show this fact,but we assert that it is only clearly defined during the first months.In the last few months the two men simply sign a jumble of decrees,which gives no plan,no outline, or any other hint that might make us guess that Carnot and Prieur were working hand in hand.

CHAPTER VII

RELATIONS BETWEEN CARNOT AND ROBESPIERRE

Carnot and Robespierre were not friends though old acquaintances from pre-revolution days.Robespierre could not endure a cool,quiet-mannered mathematician,half-soldier,half administrator.In examining the decrees signed by Carnot and Robespierre we do not gain an idea that there was any malice between them.

CARNOT	HAND		ROBESPIERRE	HAND
		1793		
43	18	AUGUST	14	2
80	14	SEPTEMBER	13	0
50	8	OCTOBER	25	3
124	32	NOVEMBER	36	2
215	52	DECEMBER	68	4
		1794		
130	37	JANUARY	25	3
184	50	FEBUARY	15	1
174	43	MARCH	13	4
225	53	APRIL	0	0
286	44	MAY	20	1
250	26	JUNE	0	0
293	40	JULY	3	0
148	35	AUGUST	0	0
2202	446		240	19

Robespierre has the reputation of being a blood-thirsty man,The first two months Carnot co-operated with Robespierre in ordering the arrest of generals and their removal from their positions.Robespierre signs those first decrees giving money to the towns of the North for their defense.Robespierre signs those decrees that deal with the putting down of counter revolutionists.In September Robespierre signs decrees as to equipment of troops,and even some decrees for the establishment of factories for the manufacture of arms.

In October Robespierre is interested in establishing the Revolutionary government.He drafts the decrees that order the commander in chief of the Revolutionary army in Paris to meet every evening with the Committee of Public Safety to plan for the general security on the morrow.Troops are to go to towns about Paris and crush conspirators.The Committee of General Security is not to visit homes in Paris as the time is not yet ripe.Carnot drafts a decree against the Vendeans and orders that Herault go to the department of Vendee to carry out the plans of the Committee of General Security.Robespierre signs this month other decrees about deputies,balloons,arrests, orders to troops,etc.The trend of this month's work is that Robespierre is interested in putting down internal revolution.

November bears out the conclusion that Robespierre was interested in arrests,the prevention of the Vendeans from crossing the Loire,the giving of funds to needy people,and orders to deputies.Quite a number of provisioning decrees are signed by Robespierre.He takes a hand in the work of getting France ready for real war.

In December Robespierre signs those decrees against the Vendeans that are in Carnot's hand.Robespierre is interested in the progress of the war.He decrees the arrest of a couple of generals.In December Robespierre did his largest amour of work with Carnot.He signed many decrees of a general nature. In fact he signed decrees that cover the whole situation.He is interested in manufactures,the purchase of provisions,the getting of salt-petre and sulphur.This month is the only month that one can say that measures against the rebels and generals did not predominate.

In January Robespierre orders the arrest of several men,and decrees the freeing of Ransoumet.The orders in Carnot's hand that he signs are decrees replacing generals and appointing new ones to the armies.Marine decrees interest Robespierre this month.It is marked that he signs most of the decrees about the Marine.He signs those decrees appointing officers to the islands.The fact that he signs the Marine decrees is the

most significant thing accomplished this month.

Febuary sees a continuation of Robespierre's signature to Marine decrees.Robespierre orders that Fyon - general of brigade at Guillaume-Tell be freed.The Marine decrees are orders for the building and equipment of ships and orders for schools for Marine naval gunners.A few arrests are sprinkled in.

In March we have two joint decrees by Carnot and Robespierre.These are the only two of the whole year.Robespierre's decree commands Levasseur to go to the department of the Seine-et-Oise to dispense justice and crush enemies of the Republic.Carnot's decree is an order to the Executive Council that they see that refugees do not come within 20 leagues of Paris.The other decrees deal with malevolent disturbers,expenses of deputies,etc.

During April Robespierre signs no decrees.In May he sign 20 decrees with Carnot.Most of the decrees are of general matters such as Carnot was interested in,the provisioning of troops,the purchase of horses.He signs two decrees for the reinstatement of officers.There are some provisions about Revolutionary commissions and arrests.

In July the decrees signed order troops to go to the army of Italy at Nice,and also deal with the exchange of

prisoners.

Robespierre and Carnot met on equal ground when they both signed decrees of arrest,the suppression of revolution,the arousing of public feeling.These decrees are in a minority,but they stand out as the signing of the other decrees was mere committee work.The relations seem to be merely those of two men working on the same committee.Robespierre delights in repressive measures,while Carnot deals with constructive war measures.

THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Carnot was most closely affiliated with four of the twelve members of the Committee.Barère,Billaud-Varenne,C.A. Prieur,and Collot d'Herbois are the men with whom he signed over 500 decrees.

Barère,as reporter,is found at the head of the list. He signed 844 decrees with Carnot.201 of which are in his handwriting.Barère had the happy faculty of drafting decrees of every nature and of signing indiscriminately.Many decrees about orders to troops and orders for their equipment are in Barere's handwriting.Barère signed about the same number of decrees with Carnot each month,but in the month of April,1794 he

signed 123; 44 of which were in his handwriting.

Billaud-Varenne comes second with 741 signatures.One peculiarity about Billaud is that he only drafted 14 of these decrees.These 14 decrees deal with popular societies,committees of surveillance,and committee of general security,and are what might be expected from him.Billaud signs every variety of decree It appears that he was a passive force and signed merely the decrees of others.Carnot appears as merely a fellow member of the Committee.But it should be noted that Billaud-Varenne signed many decrees of a general and specific nature with Carnot.

Collot d'Herbois comes fourth with 503 decrees.Like Billaud-Varenne he drafted very few decrees-24 in number.He acts in his relations to Carnot merely as a member of the Committee.Most of the decrees Carnot signed with Collot deal with his field of activity.

Lindet deals with one phase of work and that is the work of keeping France and her armies fed.Carnot and Lindet sign a great many decrees alone.These decrees deal with the provisioning of troops and towns,and provide measures for the renewing of commercial relations with other countries.

Couthon signed decrees with Carnot at various periods. In the month of August,1793,he signed 9 decrees;but in the following three months September,October,November,he signed

none at all.During the spring of 1794 he signed 16 to 25 decrees monthly.His work with Carnot has no significance.He signed decrees at random dealing with no particular phase.

Saint-Just is in some respects like Couthon.He signed various kinds of decrees with Carnot.Only 12 of the 167 he signed are in his handwriting.Carnot signs decrees with him dealing with deputies and the public policy in the provinces.Some important decrees are in Saint-Just's handwriting.

Jean Bon Saint-André signed 71 decrees with Carnot. It is interesting to note that 41 in his own handwriting are mainly Marine measures.Almost the whole of the number of decrees that Carnot signed with Saint-André deal with Marine affairs.Later when Saint-André was on mission the Marine decrees were drafted and attended to by Carnot.Saint-André and Carnot were most active in the month of Febuary,1794.In this month Saint-André signed 41 decrees,22 of them being in his handwriting.

Hérault de Séchelles signs very few decrees with Carnot.It is only in four months that we have his signature with Carnot to decrees.In the first three months August,September, October he signed 46 decrees.Then later in December he signed one decree.The nature of the decrees he signed are those that deal in measures of public safety,about conspirators,and pro-

mulgation of republican feeling.

Prieur of the Marne ends the list of the 12 with the signing of 35 decrees with Carnot.These decrees were signed in the months of August,September,and October,1793;The three decrees in his handwriting consist in orders for the arrest of plotters,and the taking of officers into custody.

From the grand standpoint Carnot in his relations to the rest of the Committee was singularly independent in his position as director of the republican military forces.Among the first five men only C.A.Prieur worked in active co-operation with him.The others Barère,Billaud-Varenne,Collot-d'Herbois, are shown merely as members of the great Committee putting their approval upon Carnot's measures.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MILITARY WORK OF CARNOT AS A STRATEGIST

The decrees do not give us the material by which we can judge Carnot's work as a strategist.We have here and there orders to armies,but they show no strategical plans.

The necessary material is not in the minutes.It was not put in there according to Aulard who says - "La seule exception qui a été rarement au depôt et a enregistrement de quelques arrestes a été qui doit accompagner (du moins pendant quelque temps) les arretes relatifs aux plans de campagne,aux expeditions navales,etc."[1]

"Mais du moins cette serie des arrêtés semble complète,sauf les exceptions indiquées dans la Réponse des deux anciens Comites,c'ést à-dire sauf les arretés interessant la defense nationale et qu'il fallait tenir secrets".[1]

1.Aul.Acts.Vol.I-Intro.p.LXXVI.

CHAPTER IX

CARNOT THE MAN

A spider starts in the night time to spin his web of soft fineness.He works in thedark.He swings from twig to twig. He hunts out buttresses upon which to anchor his main cables. He is industrious.He knows that while it is gloomy and dull that day will come,and that he will harvest a reward for his labors.A tiny spider weaves his web - each silken filament glistening and whitish in the dark.Each little cable breakable,but together the many interwoven lines frame a buoyant net that swings to and fro in the night wind.The spider spins in the darkness.He has faith that work well done will bring its prize.He strengthens his web from every vantage point.He does not leave a side weak and unstable.The whole web becomes taunt as the strings of a harp,and if you can listen sharp enough sweet music magically faint drifts in the night shadows.

Carnot wove his web over France in its period of darkness.He laid his plans well.He drew strength from every side. He worked on his web.He wove a net of protection for France. He saw that thirteen cables were placed on the frontiers,he

saw that innumerable lines connected these cables.He saw that his web was in working order.From the center eminated his commands - they ran to the North,the South,the East,the West.The spider had laid his plans well.He worked in the period of darkness.He had faith that when his was finished that the darkness would go.The spider worked quietly,unobnoxiously,He kept within his web.He saw to the repairing of each break in his net.He saw his handi-work repell the invaders.He saw that the magic woof he had spun was too strong to be broken.The web was made of the enthusiasm of the patriotic men of France.The web drew its strength from the French people.The buttresses held fast.The lines broken were repaired.

Goethe says that the greatest tragedy in life is the suffering caused in a man's soul when he realizes that he has not the ability to accomplish what he has striven long years for.But what is grander in dramatic intensity than to see men rise from below and be master of themselves and circumstances.

Carnot was given the chance to do a magnificent work. he - a mere captain of engineers - ran thirteen armies,commandhundred of thousands of men,and brought France out of chaos and confusion into the light.Did Carnot accomplish all this by himself? Every man has to know men to do great things.Carnot's work and success was due to co-operation and sheer work,

It is the getting of things done that counts.Carnot got things done.

Carnot worked hard.For one year he put his entire energy into the military work of the Great Committee.He had able assistance in his Topographical Committee,he could understand men, he chose able generals,he saw that the generals were given properly equipped troops to fight with.

Carnot has been lauded as a man who took no part in the Terror,but was sunk in the mere work of running the armies.Carnot was much alive to the situation.He was in favor of striking hard,when the time came.He was too much of a man not to know the course of events about him.He certainly signs decrees that show that all the phases of the year are known to him.

The spider is industrious.Carnot was industrious.A spider lays his cables.Carnot laid his plans all over France.A spider is a taciturn creature.Carnot was a quiet man,who thought much and said little.A spider hides himself in the midst of his web. Carnot worked unseen in the military sub-committee of the Committee of Public Safety.A spider waits for his prey.Carnot prepared and waited for the enemy.A spider never gives up - once his web is broken a new one is made.Carnot was very awake to the situation and saw that the web remained intact.

Carnot was a man of acts.The signature of 2202 decrees proves it.Carnot ran the armies.Carnot co-operated with the other members of the Committee in the work of saving France. Carnot was a man who loved his country,believed in Liberty,and was willing to give his entire powers to gain it.A spinster-like spider,gloomy and silent,but yet filled with the purest love of country.

A P P E N D I C E S

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I.CARNOT'S RECORD OF ATTENDANCE IN THE GREAT COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

The following appendices are based on an examination of the Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut Public.Carnot is counted as present on those days when his name appears in the list of members attending the meetings,such as is given in the Recueil des Actes at the beginning of each session.He is considered as absent on those days when his name is not found anywhere on the records of the meeting,either at the beginning or among names of members who signed decrees.

Record of Attendance for August, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V							
554	15			555	15		
Volume VI							
2	16			2	16		
13	17			13	17		
19	18			19	18		
				39,40, 42,43.	20	Carnot not marked present in roll-call. Signed 7 decrees.	
						47	21
58	22			60	22		
68	23						
84	24			85,86, 88,89.	24		
96	25			98	25		
114	26			115	26		
127	27						
140	28			140 142,143.	28		
162	29			163	29		
				186	30	Carnot's name not in roll-call.	
				201	31	Carnot's name not in roll-call.	

Record of Attendance for September, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume VI						
215	1			215	1		
235	2						
249	3						
270	4			270	4		
282	5			282-4	5		
295	6			295-6	6		
323	7						
351	8			352-4	8		
373	9						
395	10			396-8	10		
415	11			415	11		
443	12			443-4	12		
459	13			459	13		
477	14			478-80	14		
487	15						
511	16			511-13	16		
533	17						
551	18			552-3	18		
565	19			567.	19		
				576-7	20	575	20
				588-90	21	Carnot's name not in roll call	
	Volume VII						
1	22			1,2.	22		

Record of Attendance for September, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VII							
13	23			14,15.	23		
				30,31.	24	Carnot's name not in roll call.	
		51	25				
		68	26				
		82	27				
				101	28	Carnot's name not in roll call.	
109	29			109,111.	29		
130	30			131,132.	30		

Record of Attendance for October, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VII									
164	1			164	1				
182	2			182,184, 185.	2				
197	3								
209	4			210,211.	4				
229	5								
		245	6						
		277	7						
		295	8						
		322	9						
		339	10						
								359	11
		373	12						
		394	13						
		407	14						
		420	15						
		439	16						
		463	17						
		480	18						
		499	19						
				513	20	Carnot's name not in roll call.			
537	21			539	21				
562	22			563,565.	22				

Record of Attendance for October, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VII									
583	23			583,584, 586.	23				
				603	24	601	24		
Volume VIII									
1	25			2,3.	25				
18	26			19,21.	26				
56	27			57	27				
74	28			75,76.	28				
90	29			91	29				
116	30			117,118,119.	30				
								143	31

Record of Attendance for November, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VIII									
159	1			160-1	1				
173	2			174-6	2				
197	3			198-9	3				
219	4			220-2,224	4				
243	5			243-4	5				
250	6			250	6				
265	7			265-6,268	7				
289	8			289-91	8				
						304	9		
				323	10			323	10
333	11			333-6	11				
356	12			358-9,362	12				
388	13			389-91,394	13				
						412	14		
429	15			430-3	15				
454	16			454	16				
484	17			484-7	17				
516	18			517-21	18				
551	19			552,554-5	19				
						571	20		
						589	21		
618	22			619-20,622	22				

Record of Attendance for November, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume VIII								
643	23			644-8	23				
689	25			689	25				
711	26			711-13	26				
	Volume IX								
1	27			2,4,5	27				
21	28			21,22	28				
37	29			37,39-41	29				
58	30			58-61,64	30				

Record of Attendance for December, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume IX							
74	1			74-6	1		
94	2			95	2		
120	3			121	3		
145	4			145-7	4		
199	5			200-1	5		
212	6			213	6		
232	7			233,236-7	7		
253	8			253-4	8		
275	9			276-7,280	9		
300	10			301-5	10		
319	11			321,323	11		
343	12			343-8	12		
365	13			367-9	13		
389	14			389,391-3	14		
412	15			414-8	15		
				435-6,438-9	16	Carnot's name not in roll call	
459	17			460	17		
481	18			482-3	18		
509	19			510,512-16	19		
537	20			538-9	20		
				560	21	560	21
580	22			580-81,583, 584	22		

Record of Attendance for December, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume IX						
599	23			600,602-3	23		
619	24			619-24	24		
				652-3	25	Carnot's name not in roll call	
669	26			669-71	26		
689	27			690,693-7	27		
719	28			719-22	28		
741	29			742,751,748	29		
763	30			764	30		
770	31			770-4	31		

Record of Attendance for January, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume X						
1	1			3,4,5,6,8,10	1		
32	2			32,34	2		
44	3			45-48	3		
60	4			61-63	4		
69	5						
82	6			83	6		
98	7			101-03	7		
114	8			114-16	8		
140	9			140-1	9		
152	10						
185	11			185,187-8	11		
196	12			196-8,200	12		
220	13			223	13		
239	14			241	14		
256	15			256-7	15		
268	16			269,271-2	16		
280	17			283,285-6	17		
300	18			301,303-6	18		
315	19			315-17	19		
330	20			330	20		
355	21			356-358	21		
373	22			373-6	22		

Record of Attendance for January, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume X						
393	23			394-5,396	23		
412	24			413-16	24		
433	25			435-7	25		
456	26			457-61	26		
474	27			475	27		
489	28			490	28		
505	29			505-07	29		
				534	30		
561	31			562-63,566	31		

Record of Attendance for Febuary, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume X						
585	1			586-7	1		
614	2			615-17,619	2		
629	3			629-31,634,636	3		
670	4			671,676,689	4		
707	5			708,709,711	5		
723	6			724-29	6		
770	8			770-1,773	8		
747	7			747,750	7		
	Volume XI						
1	9			2,3,4,5,10	9		
38	10			38-45	10		
63	11			65-6,69,70	11		
81	12			82-87	12		
110	13			110-111	13		
137	14			137-39,144	14		
155	15			156-61,164-65	15		
175	16			176-79	16		
211	17			211-12,214-15, 217-21,223	17		
242	18			242-43,248-49	18		
266	19			266-88	19		
				291-2	20	290	20
309	21			310	21		
329	22			329-32	22		

Record of Attendance for Febuary,1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XI						
347	23			349,348	23		
364	24			365,368	24		
383	25			384,386-87	25		
411	26			411,413,415, 418,420	26		
431	27			432-34,438-439,440	27		
447	28			451	28		

Record of Attendance for March, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume XI							
473	1			473-74,476 477	1		
493	2			494-96	2		
505	3			505-06	3		
521	4			522,526	4		
548	5			549-51,555	5		
565	6			566-67	6		
579	7			580-82,584	7		
588	8			589-90	8		
603	9			603-04,606	9		
626	10			627-28,631-32	10		
636	11			637,639-41	11		
				658	12	655	12
669	13			669-71	13		
690	14			690-91,693	14		
712	15			712-13,715-17	15		
Volume XII							
1	16			2,3	16		
14	17			15-19	17		
36	18			36-38	18		
53	19			54,55	19		
66	20			67,72	20		
83	21			84-86	21		

Record of Attendance for March, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees Signed		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XII								
				101-02,106	22			100	22
120	23			121-24,126	23				
142	24			142-43,145 148	24				
169	25			170	25				
181	26			181-85,187	26				
210	27			215-217	27				
232	28			232	28				
258	29			260	29				
279	30			279-80,283	30				
						300	31		

Record of Attendance for April, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume XII							
314	1			314-15,317,322	1		
341	2			341-45,349-50	2		
361	3			362,363	3		
379	4			380-83,386	4		
403	5			403,406-407	5		
421	6			422	6		
434	7			435-38	7		
453	8			453,454	8		
482	9			483	9		
498	10			498	10		
511	11			511,512.517 518	11		
532	12			532-35	12		
550	13			551-53,555	13		
578	14			579-81	14		
595	15			596,598	15		
614	16			614,617	16		
636	17			637-643	17		
659	18			659	18		
679	19			679-83	19		
703	20			704,706	20		
718	21			719-25	21		
749	22			750-53,755	22		

Record of Attendance for April, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XIII						
1	23			2,3,4,5,6,7, 10,11	23		
23	24			24-29	24		
45	25			46-49,50,55	25		
68	26			68-70,73,75,76	26		
92	27			93-97,101	27		
109	28			110-116	28		
129	29			129-132	29		
148	30			148-51	30		

Record of Attendance for May, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed No Roll Call		
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume XIII							
177	1			179-80,183-85	1		
198	2			204,207-10	2		
235	3			235-37,241-43	3		
				264-68	4		
287	5			288-91	5		
308	6			309,313,316	6		
339	7			339-41,344,346	7		
360	8			361,364,367,368	8		
387	9			388-91	9		
405	10			406-13	10		
430	11			431,434,439,440	11		
459	12			460,462	12		
483	13			485-94	13		
509	14			516-20	14		
526	15			526-28,531,533	15		
544	16			545-49,552	16		
570	17			570-77,579	17		
585	18			586-92,595	18		
601	19			602,606	19		
619	20			620-22,625-27,630	20		
645	21			645,647,648,650,652, 656	21		
664	22			664-70	22		

Record of Attendance for May, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XIII						
691	23			691-94,699,700	23		
714	24			715,717-719	24		
				735-36,738-41	25	735	25
				757-60	26	756	26
				771-72,776-77	27	770	27
789	28			789-90,792,795	28		
	Volume XIV						
				4	29	1	29
17	30			17-19,22,24,25	30		
40	31			41,43,44	31		

Record of Attendance for June, 1794.

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume XIV							
				54,55,58,59	1		
73	2			74-77,82,83	2		
95	3			96,100-1,103,105, 107-09	3		
130	4			130-132,134-6	4		
152	5			153,155-6,158-9	5		
169	6			171-3,175,177-8	6		
189	7			190-1,196,198,199, 200	7		
				216	8	212	8
225	9			226-7,230	9		
239	10			240-2,246-7	10		
255	11			259-61	11		
269	12			269-70,274-5	12		
283	13			283-6,291	13		
306	14			307-09,313-19	14		
325	15			329,331	15		
				341,342,343,344	16		
352	17			352-3,361-2	17		
375	18			376,380-1,383	18		
395	19			395-6,400,402	19		
408	20			416,410	20		
433	21			433-4,437,439	21		

Record of Attendance for June, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XIV						
444	22			445-6,449-51	22		
465	23			468-9,471	23		
482	24			482-4,486,488,491-3, 496,498	24		
511	25			514,516-18	25		
532	26			534,537-41	26		
552	27			554-6,559	27		
				573,575,577-8,583-9,	28	571	28
				592,594	29	587	29
607	30			608-09,615,619	30		

Record of Attendance for July, 1794

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XIV						
628	1			628-31,637-8	1		
				650-1,654-9	2		
684	3			684-6,688,690,692 694,695	3		
706	4			706-708,711	4		
729	5			739-41	5		
747	6			747,749,753-4,756, 759	6		
770	7			771,773,775-6,779	7		
	Volume XV						
1	8			2,8,10	8		
24	9			25,26,27,30,35	9		
49	10			49-51,58	10		
68	11			68,72,78-80,83-4	11		
				107,109,111	12	102	12
130	13			131-33,137,139-40	13		
158	14			158,161,163,165-6	14		
180	15			180,183-4,186-7	15		
211	16			211-16,219,221	16		
				246,247	17	230	17
254	18			255-7,260,267	18		
278	19			284	19		
307	20			313,315	20		
325	21			326,329-34	21		
				349,351,355,358	22	349	22

Record of Attendance for July, 1794 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Decrees	Signed	No Roll Cal	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
	Volume XV						
374	23			374-5,378	23		
396	24			397-8,400-01,403	24		
416	25			416,417,419,42,422	25		
440	26			440	26		
457	27			459,462,463,467	27		
477	28			478-9,481-6	28		
493	29			493-499	29		
524	30			524-529	30		
546	31			547,548,553	31		

Record of Attendance for August, 1794

Days Present	Days Absent	Decrees	Signed No Roll Call
	Volume XV		
576	1	577-8 ,582-3	1
598	2	598-9,602-4	2
627	3	630,632	3
646	4	646-7,649-50	4
667	5	668-70,672,674-78	5
697	6	698,702,706,709,710 711	6
722	7	722,723,725,726,731 732-7	7
753	8	754-6,758-9, 760-8	8
		784,785-7,793-5	9

TABLES OF DECREES

The following tables of decrees were made in order to give the reader at a rapid glance a thorough knowledge of the nature of the work and decrees Carnot signed each month in the Committee of Public Safety.The attempt was not made to page and date each of the 2202 decrees,as it would be of little value except to one going over the work again.

.5																					
.793	43	18	19	5	0	0	30	7	1	0	1	0	14	2	5	0	6	0	9	0	14
ept.	80	14	29	9	28	1	40	13	15	0	0	0	13	0	4	0	15	4	0	0	21
ct.	50	8	30	8	32	1			26	1	3	0	25	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	11
ov.	124	32	70	16	62	0	71	11	0	0	51	6	36	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ec.	215	52	96	32	107	1	63	5	23	1	61	6	68	4	1	0	0	0	9	1	0
an.	130	37	64	10	61	2	66	14	51	0	38	17	25	3	16	1	7	2	8	0	0
eb.	184	50	77	8	66	1	83	7	67	0	69	23	15	1	35	1	41	22	5	0	0
ar.	174	43	71	15	48	2	52	3	60	0	38	5	13	4	43	4	0	0	16	2	0
pr.	225	53	123	44	103	1	82	4	105	3	27	7	0	0	24	2	0	0	26	5	0
ay	286	44	111	24	97	2	54	8	62	1	23	1	20	1	1	0	0	0	22	4	0
une	250	26	66	13	62	0	31	5	22	1	21	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	11	3	0
uly	293	40	75	15	65	3	39	2	50	10	15	1	3	0	32	2	1	1	23	3	0
ug.9	148	35	13	2	10	0	12	0	21	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	2202	446	844	201	741	14	647	88	503	24	353	67	249	19	167	12	71	29	129	23	47

II Table
RECORD OF DECREES

CARNOT SIGNED WITH HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

DECREES

	Aug 15	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan,	Feb.	Mr.	Apr.	May.	June,	Jy
CARNOT SIGNED ALONE	5	7	1	10	22	12	5	5	13	101	120	141
Carnot's Hand Signed Alone	4	13	2	25	16	5	11	22	31	32	26	27
Carnot's Hand Signed with Others	14	1	6	7	36	32	31	24	16	15		9
												to

III TABLE OF DECREES

THE DECREES CARNOT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR

IV Military Decrees Carnot Signed

TROOPS			1		20		5	13	10	10	3	7		tot
EQUIPMENT TROOPS	3		1		5	3	11	5	7		1	1	1	
ORGANIZATION TROOPS	2			2	2	2	2	2		2		1	3	
OFFICERS ORDERS			5	8	7	10	3	5	6	27	20	15	7	
OFFICERS APPOINTMENT	1	1	2			2	3	4	16	28	43	42	26	
OFFICERS DISCHARGED		2	3					3	1	1			4	
OFFICERS PAYMENT				1			1	4	1	3	1	5		
ARMIES-ORDERS	3	7		13	3	3	1		1	1				
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY					4		2		4	4				
VENDEANS			3	10	8		1							
ARMS-AMMUNITION	1	4		13	7	5	1		1	2	2	5	1	
PROVISIONING ARMY	4			2		1		1	1	1				
ARTILLERY								4			5	1		
FURLOUGH						1				1	9	1		
OFFICERS REINSTATEMENT											2	5	5	
PAYMENT TROOPS	2												3	
RECOLTÉ								1			7	2	2	

V DECREES ABOUT DEPUTIES

	1793 A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	1794 J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	
APPOINTMENT	1		1		1							1	3	7
ORDERS	4	5	7	2	14	9	15	8	8	10	7	3	7	99
PAYMENT	3	1	1	5	1	2	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	23
INSPECTORS						3	1			1				5
DEPARTMENTS								1		1				2

VI MARINE DECREES

	1793					1794								
	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	
SHIPS (ORDERS)						3	2	2						7
SHIPS(MANUFACTURE)						3	2							5
NAVAL ORDERS		3	1			5	6	12		7	2			36
DEFENSE PORTS						3	3	3		1				10
EQUIPMENT SHIPS								2	1					3
NAME SHIP									1					1
NAVIGATION								1						1
REPORT											1			1

VII DECREES ABOUT PROVISIONS

	1793					1794							
	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
TOWNS	1			3		3	5	1	2				
PURCHASE		2			8		2	1					
APPROVE CONTRACTS						2	6	2					
MOVEMENT PROVISIONS						1	3			1			
PROVISIONING			3										
MAXIMUM					3		1	2	1				
PAYMENT						3		3	1		1		
ORDERS						2	9	2					
COMMERCE							4	13	1		1		
REPORTS								1					

VIII DECREES RELEVANT TO MANUFACTURES

	1793					1794							
	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	
ARM FACTORIES		2		1										3
POWDER WORKS					1	3	2		1					7
ARM MANUFACTURE			4		7	1	2		5	1				20
WAGES ARMORIES	1					1								2
SALT-PETRE(METALS)			2	4	7	5	2		1	3			1	25
EST.ARM FACTORY				2	2	1								5
STORE HOUSES				1	3	2								6
MACHINERY						2	1	1		1				5
FACTORY CONTROL					6									6
INSPECTION ARMS						1		7						8
FORMATION MAGAZINES						1	1							2

IX HOSPITAL DECREES

	1793					1794							
	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
ESTABLISHMENT HOSPITALS									3	2	1		
DOCTORS (APPOINTMENT)										6	3		
DOCTORS (DISCHARE)											3		
INSPECTORS HOSPITAL									1	2	2		
REPORTS HOSPITALS										1			
SALARIES INSPECTORS										1			
CARE OF SICK										3	2		
HOSPITALS									3		6		

X DECREES ABOUT COMMITTIES

	1793 A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	1794 J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
ORDERS COM.GENERAL SECURITY		2	1	1									
APPT.CIVIL OFFICIALS		2				1		5	9	1			
REPORTS COMMISSIONS			4										
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ORDERS				2									
MINISTER INTERIOR				1									
WAR & NAVY ORDERS				1	13								
PROVISIONAL COUNCIL				2									
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS				1									
WAR COMMISSION						3	1	3					
FINANCE						4	5	1		1			1
12 EXECUTIVE COMMISSIONS								13	12				
COM.PUBLIC SAFETY & GENERAL SECURITY									7	2		21	11

XI DECREES ABOUT COMMISSIONS

	1794 A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	1794 J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
EMPLOYMENT IN										9	7	5	
ORDERS										9	4		
MESSANGERS										1			
COMMISSAIRE										7			
PAYMENT										1			
APPOINTMENT										1	6		4
BUREAUS										3			
REINSTATEMENT COMMISSIONS											3		
RESIGNATION											2		
COM. OF ARMS & POWDER												1	
PAYMENT EMPLOYEES													2
MEN PLACED IN REQUISITION										4	4		

XII DECREES OF A HARSH NATURE

	1793					1794							
	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
PRISIONERS					11			1		2		4	
DESTITUTE					1								
MEASURE AGAINST CONSPIRACY					3								
FOREIGN ÉMIGRÉ					1								
INSUBORDINATION OF REGIMENT						1							
EXPELLED NOBLE OFFICERS							2	3	3				
SLAVERY									2				
NEUTRAL CITIZENS									1				
LAW 27 GERMINAL									3	2			
DESERTERS									1	1			

XIII ARRESTS

	1793 A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	1794 J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
ARRESTS		7	2			3		8	4	6	5		1
RELEASINGS		1	1			3	3		2	6		5	32
PRISONS					2				2	2			
POLICE								1	2		3		
REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL								7	7	4			
TRIBUNES (SURVEILLANCE)									3	1			
REFUGIES								1	1	2	1		
RELIEF								1		5		6	
PENSIONS										1			
INDEMNITIES		1				1				3		1	1
SPIES		1											1
MONEY DONATIONS TO BE GIVEN TO PRISONERS										4	3	1	

XIV DECREES OF A GENERAL NATURE

	1794 A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	1794 J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.
DEFENSE TOWNS	5	3			2	1	1	1			1		
NEWSPAPERS	1	1		3	2			2	4			1	
MAPS	1			1		1				3	2	2	2
PUBLIC PROPAGANDA	1		1	1	2	4			1	1			
PUBLICATIONS					1	1		1	2	3	1		
INVENTORS		2	2	1			1						
BALLOONS				4	1				1				
MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY										7			
PUBLIC INST.(SCHOOLS)		1						1	1	1			1
ENGINEERS								2	2	1			
ROADS				1			2	1					
NATIONAL FLAG							1						
COM. WEIGHTS & MEASURES							1						
TELEGRAPH	2	1											
POETS(MUSIC)									1	2			1
FETES		1						1	2				
COUNTER REVOLUTIONISTS	1		1					2					

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HERAULT DE SECHELLES AS A MEMBER OF THE GREAT COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Letters
at the University of California

by

ETHEL EVANS

Berkeley, California, April, 1914.

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CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF HERAULT DE SECHELLES BEFORE HIS ELECTION TO THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

Marie Jean Herault de Sechelles was born at Paris October 20, 1759, of aristocratic parents, the family having belonged to the nobility of France since 1390. During the last hundred years many of the Heraults had been prominent in the army and in the administrative department of the government.

Herault studied at Juilly and was admitted to the bar at Paris. He early showed a taste for letters and became an excellent Greek Scholar. He had a passion for books and in the superb library which he possessed he spent much of his time. He was also a devoted student of oratory, having studied with several of the leading exponents of this art in Paris.

Herault was presented at court by his cousin Mme. de Polignac, an intimate friend of Marie Antoinette. He immediately became very popular. In 1777 the king appointed him avocat at the Chatelet where he remained until 1785 when he was made avocat general to the Parlement of Paris.

With the outbreak of the Revolution Herault's sympathies inclined toward the popular party. On the 14th of July he was one of the first to enter the Bastile. On December 6, 1790, after having returned from a journey to Switzerland, Alsace and Italy, he was elected judge to the new tribunals of the department of Paris. By this act he definitely broke with his family and his class. A month later he was named commissioner of the king in the departments of the Haut-Rhin and of the Bas-Rhin. He was appointed May 11th, 1791 to the important position of commissioner of the king in the new Court of Appeal. In September of the same year he was elected deputy for the department of the Seine to the Legislative Assembly. He was soon enrolled with the Girondin party but later he changed his tactics and joined the Jacobin Club where he came under the influence of Danton.

Herault was elected to the Convention in September 1792 by the department of the Seine - et - Oise. When, on the 27th of November the convention voted the annexation of Savoy he was chosen among others to organize it as the new department of Mont-Blanc. He was very active in this work, displaying considerable ability as an administrator. While in Savoy he became involved in several love affairs for which he was famous.

Herault returned to Paris May 18, 1793 and on May

30th he was elected to the Committee of Public Safety as one of the five new members chosen to draw up the constitution. His work as a member of that committee will now be dealt with in detail.[1]

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(1) Based on Dard's Herault de Sechelles.

CHAPTER II

THE WORK OF HERAULT IN THE GREAT COMMITTEE

Gros
Le Comite de Salut Public
Vol p. 30

The Committèe of Public Safety was first organized April 7, 1793, in accordance with a decree of the National convention to the effect that such a committee be established. It consisted of nine members

Stephens Fr. Revol
Vol. II. p. 282

Barere, Delmas, Breard, Cambon, Danton, Guyton, Morveau, Treilhard, Lacroix, and Robert Lindet. Their meetings took place

Aulard
Fr. Revol.
Vol. II. p. 240

twice a day, at nine in the morning and again at seven in the evening in the Pavilion de l' Egalite' of the Tuiliers.

Stephens
Vol. II. p. 317.

Their business was transacted in secret and regular reports of it were made to the National convention.

Stephens
Vol. II. p. 282

From the beginning the committee received reports from the representatives on mission and took upon itself the executive functions of the government. As time went on its powers became greater and greater.

On the 30th of May the committee was augmented by the election of five new members, Herault de Sechelles,

Mathieu, Ramel, Couthon and Saint-Just, who were instructed to draw up and present to the convention a plan for a republican constitution. In June Berlier was elected to take the place of Breard, and Gasparin and Jean Bon Saint-Andre in place of Treilhard and Mathieu. The following month it was decided to reduce the number of members to nine. Those elected were Jean Bon Saint-Andre, Barere, Gasparin, Couthon, Herault de Sechelles, Thuriot, Prieur of the Marne, Saint-Just and Robert Lindet. It is worthy of note that Danton was not re-elected. Up to this time he had been the leading spirit but now Robespierre, who was elected the 27th of July to take the place of Gasparin, became the motive force of the organization.

Gros p. 33

As the powers of the committee were enlarged it became necessary to elect (Aug. 14th) two officers of the corps of engineers, Carnot and Prieur of the Cote - d' Or to take charge of affairs connected with the foreign war. On the 5th of September the government of the Terror began and Billaud - Varenne and Collot d' Herbois were elected the following day to attend to that particular part of the work. Thuriot resigned on the 17th of September and then the committee consisted of the twelve men who were to compose it until July 1794 with the exception of Herault de Sechelles, the only Dantonist among them, who was executed in April. On the 10th of October the Convention made the

Stephens Vol. II pp. 283-285

Gros p. 96

Stephens government of the committee of public safety
Vol. II. p. 282 absolute by decreeing the suspension of the constitution and the inauguration of a revolutionary regime.

The press of work was so great that as early as June
Aulard 13th, 1793, the business of the committee was
Vol. II. p. 240 divided into departments as follows: 1) General correspondence 2) War 3) Marine 4) Public taxes, the interior and justice 5) A department for hearing complaints of citizens, 6) Foreign Affairs. In charge of the last mentioned were Barere, Herault and Danton but as we shall see this plan for division of labor, so far as Herault was concerned, was not carried out.

In the discussion of decrees which is to follow it must be observed that a signature to a decree does not in every
Stephens case indicate that the owner of the signature
Vol. II. pp. 317-18 was interested in the decree in question. Sometimes the members of the committee signed documents without reading them, and frequently they forged each others signatures. They did not hesitate to do this because they recognized their unanimity of ideas and of aim and felt that their solidarity could be unshaken.

As has been stated before Herault was elected to the committee on the 30th of May but he did not attend any of its meetings until the 12th of June. He was present

Rec. des Actes occasionally during the remainder of the month and in July his attendance became quite regular, continuing so throughout August, September and until the 26th of October on which date he was sent on mission to the Haut-Rhin. He returned the 29th of December and on that day made a speech before the Convention offering his resignation from the committee and at the same time attempting to prove himself innocent of charges of disloyalty made against him. His resignation was not accepted and on the 31st of December he was again (1) present at a meeting of the committee, but for the last time. He was arrested March 15th 1794 and executed the 5th of April.

Dard

Herault de Sechelles

p. 329

Herault's activity in the committee (excepting his work on the constitution) does not really begin until the 30th of June on which date he signed his name for the first time to a decree. During July he signed only five decrees. It was not until August that his real work - in so far as the signing of decrees was concerned - began.

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(1) His name does not appear on the list of those present but his signature is attached to a decree of that date. It is highly probable that he was there for the other members of the committee could have no object in forging the name of one whom they suspected.

From that time his activity rises in a steady crescendo until the 26th of October when it was suddenly brought to an end by his mission to the Haut-Rhin.

Herault's interests seem to have covered a wide field, judging from the varied character of the decrees which he signed. However it is probable that he was more deeply concerned with those decrees to which his signature alone is attached, of which there are four . They are as follows:

Rec. des Actes
Vol. VI. p. 98
Aug. 25, 1793

The Committee authorizes citizen Garnier to deduct from the above sum (1) the expenses which he will incur in the execution of his mission and of which he is to render a report; authorizes, moreover, the minister of war to give the necessary commands in order that citizens Pierre Chappe, Ignace Chappe and Prosper Delaunay, nominated by citizen Chappe, inventor of the telegraph, may betake themselves to Paris to assist the said citizen Chappe in his operations.

Herault, Carnot.

C. - A. Prieur.

(There is also in the same archives another copy signed by Herault alone.)

Rec. des Actes
Vol. VI. p. 144
Aug. 28, 1793.

The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention in execution of its decree which enacts that the citizens Bonhommet and

(1) This refers to a previous decree.

Garnesin go to Amiens and to Peronne, decrees that the Treasury pay to them the sum of 6,000 livres, 3,000 to each, for the mission with which they are charged.

Herault.

1)
Vol. VI. p. 164 Upon the communication given by a citizen
Aug. 29, 1793. that to his knowledge there exists in several places some fine horses kept by suspected men, the committee of Public Safety of the National Convention decrees that citizen Cochard go to these places, either alone or with a sufficient force, which will be given him by the municipality nearest to the place of operation; that he require the said municipality to proceed to a general inspection of the suspected places and that the horses be required to be seized and the suspected individuals put under arrest, according to the law.

Herault.

Vol. VII. p. 274 The Committee of Public Safety decrees that
Oct. 12, 1793. the minister of war give prompt orders to have citizen Dupont, commissary of the army of the North, at present at Lille, arrested and to have him brought to one of the prisons of Paris.

Herault.

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1) All references may be considered as being to the Receuil des Actes unless otherwise stated.

The decrees written in Herault's handwriting also indicate where his particular interests were. They will therefore be given below and will then be considered in conjunction with the preceding decrees in order to determine just what Herault's particular field of activity was.

Vol. V. p. 239 The Committee decrees that the minister of war
July 12, 1793. order General Custine to go immediately to Paris in order to confer upon the situation and the movements of the armies of the Rhine, of the Moselle, and of the North.

Upon the information given by citizen Lermina, in the name of the National Treasury, that there is, at present, on the way, and about to pass by Lyons a sum of 3,617,294 livres, 3 sous and 3 deniers ------ loaded upon mail coaches, the committee, considering that it is to be feared that the city of Lyons, declared in a state of rebellion by the decree of the 11th of this month, and which has already seized upon a sum of 1,460,858 livres, will likewise get hold of the sums passing through its territory and destined for the public service, authorizes the National Treasury to send a special messenger to prevent the sums from arriving at Lyons, leaving it to the responsibility of the National Treasury to see that these sums arrive by safe means and to provide them without delay for the public service.

(Not signed)

Vol. V. pp. 505-6 Upon the observations of citizen Sollier who
Aug. 8, 1793. announces that the city of Pontoise is locking up a certain number of sacks of flour of a quality more or less good, the committee of Public Safety decrees that citizen Sollier be commissioned to make an examination of all the storehouses, of wheat, flour and other supplies existing in Pontoise and to inform the committee immediately of the conditions.

The committee decrees moreover that the administration of the district of Pontoise shall have one of its members act in conjunction with citizen Sollier in this business.

Herault, G. Couthon, B. Barere.

Vol. V. p. 506 The Committee of Public Safety, considering that
Aug. 8, 1793 it is urgent to reestablish the course of public opinion so perfidiously depraved by a multitude of counter-revolutionary journals more or less inexact and insignificant;

Adding to its decree of August 3, 1793 by which it established a republican journal,

Decrees that citizen Garat is commissioned with the editing of this journal with citizen Rousselin who is authorized to purchase for citizen Garat the submission of the journalists who are willing to offer their consent.

Herault, G. Couthon.

B. Barere, Robespierre.

Vol. V. p. 536 The Committee decrees that citizens Michot,
August 3, 1793 Vigny, and Mainaut betake themselves to the departments of the Finistere, of the Morbihan, of the Ille-et- Vilaine, of the Cotes- du Nord and of the Loire - Inferieure, for a mission important to the public tranquility.

B. Barere, Herault.

Vol. VI p. 87 The Committee of Public Safety of the National
Aug. 24, 1793. Convention decrees that Sir Harthlay, English, be placed immediately under arrest and that the official seal be put upon his papers.

Herault, G. Couthon, B. Barere, C. - A. Prieur, Thuriot, Prieur (de la Marne) Jeanbon Saint-Andre.

Vol. VI. p. 88 Upon the observation of a member who desires
Aug. 24, 1793 that the patriot Nicolas, printer, employ his presses in the printing of the journal which the committee of Public Safety has ordered to re-establish the course of public opinion, depraved for a long time by the aristocrats and the moderates, the Committee decrees that the journal that it establishes be printed by citizen Nicolas.

G. Couthon, C. - A. Prieur

Laz. Carnot, Herault.

Vol. VI. pp. 97-8 The Committee of Public Safety of the
Aug. 25, 1793. National Convention, upon the observation of one of its members that after the decree of the 23rd of

this month which recalls the commissaries sent into the departments by the Executive Council, the execution of its decree of the 4th of August relative to the establishment of the telegraphic machine might experience delays by the suspension of the overseer named in virtue of this decree by the minister of in order to oversee this establishment and the expenses that it may occasion, decrees that citizen Garnier, designed by the minister of war for this mission, will continue to fulfill it, and authorizes him to hasten by all means possible the prompt establishment of the telegraphic machine in the places indicated by the above mentioned decree, which, moreover, will be executed in all its provisions.

The Committee of Public Safety puts at the disposition of the minister of war, in addition to the fifty millions of which he is able to dispose in virtue of the law, the sum of 166,240 livres for the sixteen telegraphs necessary for the correspondant of Lille.

Laz. Carnot, C.- A. Prieur, Herault.

(The last paragraph is in the hand of Herault.)

Vol. VI. p. 144 The Committee of Public Safety of the
Aug. 28, 1793. National Convention having considered it necessary that citizen Loys go without delay into the departments of the Bouches - du - Rhone and of the Gard, decrees that the National Treasury pay to citizen Loys

the sum of 20,000 livres in order to procure for his the means of fulfilling his mission, with the charge that citizen Leys render a report to the Committee of Public Safety of the expenses that he will have incurred.

(Not signed)

Vol. VI 162-3 The Committee of Public Safety of the National
Aug. 29, 1793. Convention in execution of its decree which enacts that citizen Mellini go with a sufficient force to Bezons, Puteaux, Courbevoie, Argenteuil, in order to seize there some conspirators, decrees that the National Treasury pay to citizen Mellini the sum of 800 livres for the expense which these operations require.

Herault, Laz. Carnot, Thuriot, Robespierre.

(There is also another copy of this decree signed: Robespierre, B. Barere, Prieur (de la Marne) C.- A.Prieur, Thuriot, Herault.)

Vol. VI. p. 164 The Committee of Public Safety of the National
Aug. 29, 1793. Convention decrees that the municipality of Paris take immediately the necessary measures to prevent the drama of Pamela from being played until further decision and that the said municipality will have the manuscript of the drama sent immediately to the committee of Public Safety.

Herault, Robespierre, Thuriot, B. Barere, Laz. Carnot, Prieur (of the Marne)

Vol. VI, pp. 165-6 Upon the information given that at Laland
Aug. 29, 1793. and at Plessis Saint-Antoine, house of the former prince de Conti, there are many fine horses, hunting rifles, other arms, and the servants of the former prince de Conti who is strongly suspected, the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention decrees that citizen Burlot go to these two places with a sufficient force, which will be furnished him by the municipality of Paris, that he is to require that the municiaplities of the places proceed to a general inspection of the house designated and that they be required to seize the arms, and the horses and to put under arrest the persons suspected, according to law.

Herault, Robespierre, Thuriot, Laz. Carnot.

Vol. VI, p. 270 .The Committee of Public Safety of the National
Sept. 4, 1793. Convention decrees that the patriot, Taschereau, detained at the mayoralty through a misunderstanding, be instantly set at liberty.

Herault, Laz. Carnot, Prieur (de la Marne).

Vol. VI, p. 443 The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the
Sept. 12, 1793. deputy David be called upon to employ his talents and the means which are in his power in order to multiply the caricatures which are able to arouse public opinion and

to make it felt how atrocious and ridiculous the enemies of the Republic are.

Carnot, Herault, B. Barere,
C. - A. Prieur, Billaud - Varenne.

Vol. VI. p. 444 The Committee of Public Safety decrees that
Sept. 12, 1793 citizen Tuncq, general of the division of the army on the coast of la Rochelle, be put under arrest and that the seal be placed upon his papers. The committee charges the minister of war with the execution of the present decree.

Herault, B. Barere, Billaud- Varenne,
C. - A. Prieur.

Vol. VI. p. 479 The Committee of Public Safety of the National
Sept. 14, 1793. Convention decrees that the minister of war dismiss immediately general Barbantane, Commander of the army of the Pyrenees - Orientales, and provide for replacing him.

Herault, C. - A. Prieur, Carnot,
Robespierre, Billaud - Varenne,
Collot d' Herbois.

Vol. VI pp. 565-6 Upon the representation of citizen Chappe, who
Sept. 19, 1793. finds himself hindered in the execution of his telegraphic machine through lack of irons which are actually in requisition, the committee of Public Safety of the

National Convention authorizes citizen Chappe to purchase 3,000 irons, 30 bundles of heavy wire, and 1,200 pounds of brass wire.

B. Barere, Herault.

Vol. VI. p. 587 The Committee of Public Safety of the
Sept. 21, 1793 National Convention, considering that the mission given to Beysser, the 20th of August, 1793 for the arrest of the deputy conspirators ought to be withdrawn from him, charges with this mission citizens Herault and Guermeur, previously sent by the minister of justice in order to assist that general in the execution of the said mission and authorizes the minister of justice to have the 40,000 livres, deposited by Beysser in the chest of the paymaster of the department of the Loire- Inferieure, paid to them.

Herault, B. Barere.

Vol. VII. pp. 164-5 The Committee of Public Safety of the
Oct. 1, 1793. National Convention decrees the following measures concerning Lyons:

1) To remove Dubois - Crance, Chateauneuf - Randon, Gauthier;
2) To write to Maignet and to Laporte who are to remain commissaries there;
3) To attack with great force;
4) To change the staff of the army;
5) To send more ammunition;
6) To send a messenger;
7) To write to Couthon.

C. - A. Prieur, Collot d' Herbois,

Herault, Billaud - Varenne.

Vol. VII. p. 278 The Committee of Public Safety decrees that
Oct. 7, 1793 the requisitions made for the supplying of the armies shall not cause any delay to those which are made for the supplying of Paris, and that the administrators of districts will be held responsible for causing to arrive each week the number of sacks of flour prescribed by the preceding requisition of the Minister of the Interior.

Collot - d' Herbois, Herault,
B. Barere, Billaud - Varenne.

In addition to these there are two other decrees in Herault's handwriting both of which have already been cited as being signed by Herault alone. They must of course be considered as dealing with something in which Herault had an unusual interest.[1] One of them, dated the 28th of August, ordered the paying of a certain sum of money to Bonhommet and Garnesin who were sent on mission, the[2] other of the 29th of August was concerned with the confiscation of some horses and the arrest of suspected individuals.

The following table in which the preceding decrees are classified, is an attempt to show more clearly what the

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1) See page 13

2) See page 14.

particular interests of Herault were. The number of decrees dealing with each subject is indicated.

Arrests of Individuals	5
Public Opinion	4
Telegraph	3
Financial	3
Lyons	2
Missions	2
Subsistences	1
Paris	1
Setting individuals at liberty	1
Dismissals	1

This shows Herault to have been especially concerned with the arrests of certain individuals, with the direction of the course of public opinion, with the new invention, the telegraph, with financial matters, with affairs connected with the city of Lyons, with missions and with various other matters. Therefore it is obvious that his fields of interest was very broad. He did not confine himself to any particular kind of work but took part in the various business activities. of the committee.

Taking into account all of the decrees which Herault signed the matters with which he was concerned, appear still more varied. In the first place his interest in financial

affairs is very evident from the fact that he signed more decrees relating to this subject than to any other. His signature appears under eighteen financial decrees. Summarized briefly they are as follows:

Vol. V. p. 508. Aug. 8, 1793.	20,000 livres are to be paid to the Committee of General Security.
Vol. V. p. 535 Aug. 13, 1793.	10,000 livres are to be paid to Guillaume Adam in order to buy horses from foreign countries.
Vol. VI. p. 144 Aug. 28, 1793.	6,000 livres are to be paid to Bonhommet and Garnesin for their mission.
Vol. VI. p. 144 Aug. 28, 1793	20,000 livres are to be paid to Loys for his mission.
Vol. VI. p. 162-3 Aug. 29, 1793.	800 livres are to be paid to Mellini for his mission.
Vol. VI. p. 163 Aug. 29, 1793.	500,000 livres are to be set aside for the relief of Strasbourg.
Vol. VI. pp. 163-4 Aug. 29, 1793.	60,000 livres are to be set aside for the relief of Maubeuge.
Vol. VI. p. 397 Sept. 10, 1793.	12,000 livres are to be paid to Marc-Antoine Jullien.

Vol. VI. p. 417 Sept. 11, 1793.	Marc - Antoine Jullien is given the authority to raise additional money wherever he happens to be.
Vol. VI. p. 553 Sept. 18, 1793.	300,000 livres are to be paid to Breard and Trehouart.
Vol. VII. p. 69 Sept. 26, 1793.	3,000 livres are to be set aside to cover the office expenses of the committee for the overseeing of the sections of Paris.
Vol. VII. p. 84 Sept. 27, 1793.	8,000 livres are to be paid to Simond and Dumaz, delegates in the department of Mont-Blanc.
Vol. VII. p. 183 Oct. 2, 1793.	Assistance is to be given to the department of the Aude.
Vol. VII. p. 480 Oct. 18, 1793.	A sum of money is to be given to the commune of Peronne.
Vol. VII. pp. 499-500 Oct. 19, 1793.	6,000 livres are to be paid to the popular society of Grenoble.
Vol. VII. p. 512 Oct. 20, 1793.	Charbonnier is to give an account of the sums entrusted to him.
Vol. VII. p. 513 Oct. 20, 1793.	500,000 livres are to be paid to the committee of General Security.
Vol. VIII. p. 21	100,000 livres are to be paid to the director

Oct. 26, 1793. of powders at Tours.

Thus it will be seen that Herault was instrumental in voting money for the use of representatives on mission, for the use of the committee of General Security, for the relief of cities and departments, and for other purposes. Herault was also interested in decrees of arrest having signed seventeen such decrees providing for the arrest of the following persons:-

Vol. V. p. 413 Montane president of the Revolutionary
July 29, 1793. Tribunal;

Vol. V. p. 532-3 Sta, syndic attorney of the province of
Aug. 12, 1793. Lille and his wife;

Vol. VI. p. 42 The chiefs of the rebels and conspirators
Aug. 20, 1793. of the departments of Bretagne;

Vol. VI. p. 87 Sir Harthlay, an Englishman;
Aug. 24, 1793.

Vol. VI. p. 143 Brunet, former general of the army of the
Aug. 28, 1793. Var;

Vol. VI. p. 164 Suspected individuals in certain places
Aug. 29, 1793. (not designated);

Vol. VI. pp. 165-6 Suspected persons at Laland and Plessis

Aug. 29, 1793	Saint - Antoine.
Vol. VI. p. 353 Sept. 8, 1793.	Le Pelletier de Morfontaine and Berthier, his secretary;
Vol. VI. p. 444 Sept. 12, 1793.	Tuncq, general of the division of the army on the coast of La Rochelle;
Vol. VII. pp. 83-4 Sept. 27, 1793.	Houchard, former general in-chief of the army of the North, and Barthelmy, former chief of the staff of the same army;
Vol. VII. p. 131 Sept. 30, 1793.	Grosbois, midshipman;
Vol. VII. p. 210 Oct. 4, 1793.	Schauenburg, former general of the army of the Rhine and Briey, former commander at Metz;
Vol. VII. pp. 373-4 Oct. 12, 1793.	General Kellerman;
Vol. VII. p. 374 Oct. 12, 1793.	Barnet (tradesman), Vitry, Fradiel, the person who examined Fradiel at the war office, Dumas, commissary of war, and Hervelin of the war office;
Vol. VII. p. 274 Oct. 12, 1793.	Dupont, commissary of war to the army of the North;
Vol. VII. p. 565 Oct. 22, 1793.	Former general Carlenc.

It is to be observed that among the above arrests the most important are those of eight generals of the armies and of several officers connected with the war department; also that of the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

It is evident that Herault was almost equally interested in the organization of forces, including military orders and matters of a similar nature, there being fifteen decrees under this classification which bear his signature. They are in substance as follows:

Vo
Vol. V. pp. 131-2 The situation in Evreux is such that it is
June 30, 1793 necessary that an armed force be immediately sent there. In order not to arouse the people and produce a civil war the committee provides that the minister of war shall order three battalions to set out ostensibly for one of the departments of Bretagne and then when they have gone as far as Evreux he shall transmit to them an order to remain there for an indefinite length of time.

Vol. V. pp. 371-2 The re-organization and equipment of the
July 26, 1793. army of the coast of la Rochelle in preparation for its march against the rebels in the Vendee are provided for.

Vol. V. p. 486 It is decreed that measures be taken for
Aug. 6, 1793. the safety of the arsenal and other public storehouses of Paris.

Vol. V. p. 521 The Committee orders the march of the
Aug. 10, 1793. garrison of Mayence to the Vendee.

Vol. VI. p. 115 It is provided that an agent be sent to
Aug. 26, 1793. levy soldiers for the army.

Vol. VI. p. 201 The Committee orders a messenger to be sent
Aug. 31, 1793. with certain instructions (not stated) to an officer of the Helvetian regiment.

Vol. VI. pp. 566-7 The Committee provides the movements of
Sept. 19, 1793. various battalions to certain places.

Vol. VI. pp. 589-90 The Convent of the Minimes in Paris is to
Sept. 21, 1793. be used for the manufacture of arms.

Vol. VII. p. 28 It is decreed that certain officers be re-
Sept. 24, 1793. quired to give an account of the instructions given to their men.

Vol. VII. p. 69 It is decreed that the Executive Provisory
Sept. 26, 1793. Council submit to the Committee of Public Safety a plan of operations to be followed by the commanding generals of the armies in the departments surrounding the Vendee.

Vol. VII. pp. 109-111 The Committee provides for the establish-
Sept. 29, 1793. ment of an extraordinary manufacture of arms in the city of Paris.

Vol. VII. p. 182 The army of the Ardennes is to be put pro-
Oct. 2, 1793. visionally under the orders of the general in chief of the army of the North.

Vol. VII. p. 229 The battalions that have been requisitioned
Oct. 5, 1793. are to be promptly formed, reserved and disciplined.

Vol. VII. p. 584 It is decreed that the Executive Council
Oct. 23, 1793. take the necessary measures in order to break up and render impracticable all the passages of Mont- Blanc which are able to offer communications with Piedmont.

It is worthy of note that three of the above decrees deal with the insurrection in the Vendee and one with Mont-Blanc. Also the levying and discipline of troops, the manufacture of arms and instructions to the armies were matters with which Herault was concerned.

He also took an active part in arranging subsistences and supplies of various kinds, having signed ten decrees relative to such subjects. Summarized briefly they are as follows:-

Vol. V. p. 496 The commune of Baulne is to be required to
Aug. 7, 1793. permit the free transportation of all grain brought in its district and charged to the account of the city of Paris.

Vol. V. pp. 505-6 The Committee, having heard that the city of

Aug. 8, 1793. Pontoise is locking up a certain quantity of flour requires an investigation to be made.

Vol. VI. p. 140 It is decreed that the executive council
Aug. 28, 1793. assist in the purchase of grain.

Vol. VI. p. 461 Agents are to be sent to purchase grain
Sept. 13, 1793. in Turkish Dalmatia, North Africa, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, and North America.

Vol. VII. pp. 132-3 An inquiry is to be made to ascertain the
Sept. 30, 1793. exact amount of grain existing in the district of Montargis in order to determine whether the petition of the said district to be exempt from the requisitions should be granted or not.

Vol. VII. p. 211 The Executive Provisory Council is to formu-
Oct. 4, 1793. late a plan for securing the greatest possible quantity of grain from foreign countries.

Vol. VII. p. 340 The Executive Provisory Council is to treat
Oct. 10, 1793. for the purchase of subsistences brought by neutral ships from foreign countries.

Vol. VII. p. 407 The ministers of War and of the Marine
Oct. 14, 1793. shall purchase subsistences, amunition and materials for the equipment of the army and navy.

Vol. VII. p. 464 The minister of the Interior shall make

Oct. 17, 1793. provision for the needs of the hostages detained at the Abbay.

Vol. VII. p. 583 The minister of War shall arrange for the
Oct. 23, 1793. purchase of horses in foreign countries.

It will be seen that the above decrees, for the most part, deal with the purchase of grain both in France and in foreign countries.

Herault was also considerably interested in the sending of delegates on mission having signed ten decrees to this effect which are in brief as follows:

Vol. V. p. 536 Michot, Vigny and Mainaut are sent on
Aug. 13, 1793. mission to the departments of the Finistere, of the Morbihan, of the Ille - et - Vilaine, of the Cotes - du - Nord and of the Loire - Inferieure.

Vol. V. p. 555 The missions of Roux and of Bonneval are to
Aug. 15, 1793. be extended to the department of the Loiret.

Vol. VI. pp. 85-6 Citizen Loys is sent into the departments of
Aug. 24, 1793. the Bouches - du - Rhone and of the Gard.

Vol. VI. p. 86 Bonhommet is to go to Peronne and from there
Aug. 24, 1793. to the army of the North.

Vol. VI. p. 141 Espert and Clauzel are <u>not</u> to go on mission

as ordered by a former decree.

Vol. VI. p. 587 1) Herault and Guermeur are charged with the
Sept. 21, 1793. mission for the arrest of the deputy conspirators.

Vol. VII. p. 2 Prieur (de la Marne) and Jeanbon Saint -
Sept. 22, 1793. Andre are to go to the fleet commanded by the
Vice - Admiral Morard de Galle.

Vol. VII. p. 109
Sept. 29, 1793 Citizen Carrier is to go to Nantes.

Vol. VII. p. 132 Prieur (de la Marne) and Jeanbon Saint -
Sept. 30, 1793. Andre are to go to Brest in order to take measures of public safety relative to the navy.

Vol. VII. pp. 512-13
Oct. 20, 1793. Hentz is to go without delay to Maubeuge.

Two of the above decrees are especially worthy of note, those which provide for the mission of Prieur (de la Marne) and Jeanbon Saint - Andre. Both these men were members of the committee of Public Safety and their mission to look after the affairs of the navy was important.

A group of nine decrees relative to the marine, in-

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1) Evidently another Herault. Probably the man of that name who was a commissioner of the Executive Council.

cluding supplies for the navy, instructions and kindred matters serve to show Herault's interests in that direction. They are in brief as follows:

Vol. V. p. 141 July 1, 1793. An agent of the minister of the Marine at Hamburg has an opportunity to send to France 30,000 guns loaded upon neutral ships. The Committee authorizes the minister of the Marine to follow up this negotiation.

Vol. VI. p. 202 Aug. 31, 1793. Vessels belonging to the German powers which have a deliberative voice in the Diet of Ratisbon-having been declared by the Convention to be hostile vessels, the ships "la Dame - Catharine" and "la Gertrude" captured by the corsair "le Republicain" are therefore a fair prize.

Vol. VI. p. 478 Sept. 14, 1793. The Committee authorizes the felling of trees in the department of Mont - Blanc for the use of the navy.

Vol. VI. p. 480 Sept. 14, 1793. The Committee decrees that the minister of the Marine give an order to the admiral commanding the fleet of the Republic to go to intercept the convoy of whose approach he has been warned. The admiral is to conduct himself with all the necessary prudence but if the English fleet appears in order to protect the convoy

and he sees the favorable occasion for fighting, he is to do all in his power to sustain the honor of the French flag. He is not to attack the Portuguese vessels if some of them are escorting the convoy but if these vessels oppose an active resistance is to employ the same means against them.

Vol. VII. p. 2 — The minister of the Marine is to make
Sept. 22, 1793 — preparations for landing 100,000 men immediately upon the coast of England.

Vol. VII. pp. 30-31 — Orders are to be given for the construction
Sept. 24, 1793. — of vessels. Also the minister of the Marine is to prepare a list of winter cruises, whose purpose is protect the commerce of France, to interfere with that of the enemy, and especially to favor the arrival of ships loaded with subsistences.

Vol. VII. p. 28 — Cavellier, former chief of the administra-
Sept. 24, 1793. — tion of the marine is to appear before the Committee.

Vol. VII. p. 480 — An attack is to be made upon the island of
Oct. 18, 1793. — Noir - moutier to assure the possession of it to the Republic.

Vol. VII. p. 538 — The Committee approves the decree of the

Executive Provisory Council concerning the list of winter cruises to be established by the minister of the Marine in the English Channel, in the Bay of Biscay, and in the other seas of Europe.

It is evident that these decrees are varied in character. They deal with the transporting by water of supplies to France, with the capture of vessels, with the construction of ships and somewhat with the attitude of France toward other countries. The latter point will be discussed later.

The treatment thus far has been with the main part of Herault's work. There still remain, however, a number of decrees among which are some which show certain special interests of his. I have classified these into four groups dealing respectively with 1) public opinion, including the press and the theater, 2) the telegraph, 3) saltpetre 4) the city of Lyons. The first of these groups comprises five decrees of which the substance is as follows:

Vol. V. p. 506 Aug. 8, 1793. A republican journal having been established in order to mold public opinion; citizen Garat is appointed editor of it.

Vol. VI. p. 88 Aug. 24, 1793. This journal is to be printed by citizen Nicolas.

Vol. VI. p. 164 The drama of Pamela is not to be played

Aug. 29, 1793. until the committee comes to a further decision in regard to it.

Vol. VI. p. 396 The ministers of War and of the Interior
Sept. 10, 1793. are authorized to subscribe, to the amount of a thousand copies each, to the journal entitled l' Anti-federaliste ou le correspondant des Societes populaires. The minister of the Interior is also authorized to furnish the monastery of the Capucins to the editors for their presses and their offices.

Vol. VI. p. 443 The deputy, David is to be called upon to
Sept. 12, 1793. employ his talents in order to increase the number of cuts and caricatures tending to arouse public opinion and to make the enemies of liberty and of the Republic appear ridiculous.

Four of the above decrees have been given before among those in Herault's handwriting but it was thought best to mention them again in order to have the group complete. The fact that Herault wrote such a large proportion of them shows that he was unusually interested in such subjects. His interest in newspapers and the theatre is easily accounted for when we consider that he had a decided literary bent.

Herault also appears to have been very much interested

in the telegraph. The fact that three of the decrees relating to that subject are either in his handwriting or are signed by himself alone (as before stated) seems to indicate that he had an extraordinary interest in this new invention. The decrees concerning the telegraph are in brief as follows:

Vol. VI. pp. 97-8 Garnier is to remain overseer of the con-
Aug. 25, 1793. struction of the telegraph in order that no delay may be caused. A sum of money is appropriated for the sixteen telegraphs necessary for the correspondant of Lille.

Vol. VI. p. 98 Pierre Chappe, Ignace Chappe and Prosper
Aug. 25, 1793. Delaunay are to assist the inventor of the telegraph in his operations.

Vol. VI. pp. 565-6 Citizen Chappe is authorized to purchase
Sept. 19, 1793. materials for the construction of the telegraph.

Vol. VII. pp. 29-30 Citizen Chappe is authorized to place his
Sept. 24, 1793. telegraph on any towers or high buildings that he may wish to use for that purpose and to cut down any trees that may interfere with its operation. The municipalities where the machines are to be placed are required to furnish workmen and materials for their construction. Upon the establishment of the line from Lille to Paris

citizen Chappe shall submit to the committee a list of the different posts and of the agents who occupy them.

Another matter of interest to Herault was the manufacture of saltpetre. The decrees which he signed relative to that subject are summarized as follows:

Vol. VI. pp. 439-40 The residues resulting from the manufacture
Oct. 16, 1793. of sulphuric acid are to be preserved by the manufacturers in order that they may be used in the refining of saltpetre.

Vol. VI. pp. 601-603 Establishments for the burning of saltpetre
Oct. 24, 1793. are to be set up in various places throughout France.

Vol.VIII. p. 3 A sum of money is to be paid to Jacotot,
Oct. 25, 1793. the commissary for the exploitation of saltpetre.

Herault was more over concerned with the affairs of the city of Lyons, perhaps because of the fact that he had formerly been on mission to that part of the country and knew the conditions there. The decrees relating to this subject are in brief as follows:

Vol. V. p. 239 For fear that the city of Lyons may con-
July 12, 1793. fiscate a certain sum of money about to pass through its territory, the committee sends a messenger to intercept it and have it sent another way.

Vol. VI. p. 445 Agents are to be sent to confiscate cer-
Sept. 12, 1793 tain merchandise stored in warehouses near Lyons.

Vol. VII. pp. 164-5 Certain measures are decreed relative to
Oct. 1, 1793 the attack upon Lyons. Provision is made for a change in the staff of the army, for the furnishing of ammunition and other similar matters.

There still remain a few decrees which are not of any especial importance but which will be mentioned in order to make the account of Herault's work complete. I have classified them in groups, the first of which relates to the appointment of individuals to certain offices. They are in substance as follows:

Vol. V. p. 169 Citizen Percheron is to be employed for
July 4, 1793. the supplying of the islands of France.

Vol. VIII. p. 164 Rousin is proposed as division general and
Oct. 1, 1793. Boulanger as general of the brigade of the Revolutionary Army.

Vol. VII. p. 277 Captain Pleville is to take the place of
Oct. 7, 1793. Captain Vence as commander of the vessel "Duquesne".

Vol. VII. p. 295 Citizen Brune is to have command of the
Oct. 8, 1793. division of the army of the Western Pyrenees.

Vol. VIII. p. 19 Brunet is made administrator of the depart-

Oct. 26, 1793. ment of Herault; Goujon syndic attorney general of the Seine - et - Oise; and Raisson, secretary general of the department of Paris.

Another group provides for the supplying of Paris. These decrees might also have been classified under the head of subsistences. They are as follows:

Vol. VI. p. 88 Three agents are appointed to go wherever
Aug. 24, 1793. necessary in order to gather sufficient grain for the subsistence of Paris.

Vol. VI. p. 352 One million livres are to be set aside for
Sept. 8, 1793. the supplying of subsistences to the city of Paris.

Vol. VII. p. 132 One million livres are to be sent to the
Sept. 30, 1793. department of Seine - et - Marne to serve as payment for 4,200 sacks of flour which it is required to furnish per week for the supplying of Paris.

Vol. VII. p. 278 Requisitions made for the supplying of the
Oct. 7, 1793. armies are not to interfere with those for the supplying of Paris.

Still another group deals with the granting of indemnities to individuals. These decrees are as follows:

Vol. VI. p. 396 Citizen Jeannet is to be paid a sum of
Sept. 10, 1793. money as indemnity for certain movable property

which has been taken from him by the rebels of Calvados.

Vol. VII. pp. 131-2 Citizen Comte is to be re-embursed for ex-
Sept. 30, 1793. penses which he incurred while on mission in the departments of the Eure and of Calvados.

Vol. IX. p. 770 1,000 livres are to be paid to citizen
Dec. 31, 1793. Morel on account of indemnities which are due him.

Herault assisted in setting at liberty certain individuals as follows:

Vol. VI. p. 270 The patriot Taschereau is to be liberated.
Sept. 4, 1793.

Vol. VII. p. 322 Citizen Regnier, a guide in the army of
Oct. 9, 1793. Maubeuge, is set free.

Vol. VII. pp. 538-9 Citizen Barruel (tradesman) the examiner
Oct. 21, 1793. of Fradiel at the war-office, Dumas (muster-master) Hervelin of the war office and Dupont (muster-master) are to be set at liberty.

Two other decrees deal with dismissals of individuals from office as follows:

Vol. VI. p. 85 Redon, civil intendant of the marine at
Aug. 24, 1793. Brest is deprived of his office.

Vol. VI. p. 479 The minister of war is ordered to dismiss

Sept. 14, 1793. immediately general Barbantane, commander of the army of the Pyrenees - Orientales.

There still remain four decrees that were difficult to classify. They are as follows:

Vol. V. p. 506 The committee decrees that there be sent
Aug. 8, 1793. immediately to the National Treasury a little sealed package upon which are written these words: Diamonds found in a letter without signature addressed to Frankfort, 81 carats and a half or thereabouts; these diamonds having been sent by Milhaud, Borie and Ruamps, representatives of the people in the vicinity of the army of the Rhine. It is further decreed that the Treasury send a receipt for them to the committee as well as a receipt for gold and silver in bullion and various jewels contained in a letter written to Longjumeau by the citizen governor.

(The purpose of the above decree is difficult to fathom)

Vol. VI. p. 323 The committee decrees that a letter dated
Sept. 7, 1793. Sept. 5 and signed: Femmes B. 1 2 3 4 5 A of the fraternal Society, be communicated to the minister of the interior to the effect that the said minister have detained from that instant up to and including Thursday next the letters addressed to the following bankers :

Feline, Beaubourg street and widow Duptireux, Dauphine street.

Vol. VII. p. 15 The Committee decrees: 1st, that each
Sept. 23, 1793 of its members be attached to a division of work; 2nd, that in the sessions of the Committee, current affairs will first be treated, the different deputations will be received and the correspondence read and distributed; next it will deliberate upon the reports, upon the results of the correspondence of the day, upon the projects for decree to be presented the next day to the National Convention, and upon the matters of government; 3rd, that there will be alternately a member of the committee who will go to hear the different petitioners or deputations.

Vol. VIII. p. 2 Citizen Jacotot, having been required for a
Oct. 25, 1793 temporary mission, shall have his position as prinicpal and as professor of physics at the college of Dijon and also his salary during all the time of his absence, kept for him.

On the 23rd of October Herault signed with several of his colleagues a proclamation addressed in the name of the committee to the armies - a document whose oratorical style suggests that Herault may have had a hand in its composition. It reads in part as follows:

Vol. VII. pp. 585-6 Republican soldiers! The cowardly satellites

of tyranny have fled before you at your approach. They have abandoned Dunkerque and their artillery; they have hastened to escape from their entire ruin by putting the Sambre between them and your victorious columns. Federalism has been beaten in Lyons. The Republican army has entered into Bordeaux in order to strike it the last blow; the people of Piedmont and the Spanish are driven from our territory; the defenders of the Republic have just destroyed the rebels of the Vendee; they have exterminated the sacrilegious cohorts. This guilty earth has herself devoured the monsters she has produced; the rest are going to fall under the-axe of the people.------- Republican soldiers! there still remain beyond the Sambre and on the banks of the Rhine and of the Moselle, ferocious slaves armed against the holy cause that we are defending; they are covered with the blood of your wives and children; they are covered with the blood of the representatives of the nation. O woe! they remain even in our cities, they remain in execrable Toulon. The moment has come to punish all their crimes. The fatal hour of the tyrants sounds and it is by your hands that they ought to perish.

Republican soldiers! the shades of your murdered brothers implore you, glory calls you, the fatherland is looking to you, the representatives of the nation are encouraging and guiding you. March, strike; let the French people be avenged in a month, liberty affirmed, the Republic

triumphant; let the tyrants and slaves disappear from the earth; let there remain only justice, goodness and virtue!

The Members of the Committee of Public Safety. Signed: Robespierre, Herault, Carnot, Billaud - Varenne.

We have now finished with the phase of Herault's work which is concerned with decrees. There still remain, however, some letters to be considered, two of which were written by Herault himself. The first of these was written to Carrier, representative in the Ille - et - vilaine and neighboring departments. It is in brief as follows:

Vol. VII. p. 115 Herault urges Carrier in the name of the
Sept. 29, 1793 Committee to go to Nantes as soon as possible to purge that city. He says that the English are threatening the French ports and that there is reason to fear for Brest. He asks Carrier to keep a close watch there. He further enjoins him to lock up every suspected individual. He tells him not to remain in one city continuously but to divide his time between Rennes and Nantes for he adds that the committee thinks it best that the representatives should not stay long in one place but should strike, in passing, with a bold hand and leave the responsibility upon those who are charged to execute their orders.

The second letter was written to Andre Dumont, repre-

sentative in the Somme. It is in brief as follows:

Vol. VII. p. 443 Oct.16, 1793. You have acted politically for us concerning the little woman from Geneva who has been very much touched by this deed, because, for her, everything is individual; and the result of this sentiment of gratitude serves us to procure bread and guns.

The Committee decrees that you go to Beauvais on mission in association with Levasseur.

The above letters have no especial significance and require little comment. There remain to be considered in connection with them certain letters written by the committee to representatives on mission which were signed by Herault. They are in brief as follows:

Vol. VII. pp. 135-6 Sept. 30, 1793. The representatives to the army of the Alps near Lyons are urged to make an example of that city for the benefit of the republican cause.

Vol. VII. p. 168 Oct. 1, 1793. The same representatives are urged to hasten their operations, to discontinue the siege and to take the city at the point of the bayonet.

Vol. VII. p. 232 Oct. 5, 1793. The same representatives are ordered to direct their efforts against Toulon as soon as Lyons shall have fallen.

Vol. VII. pp. 252-3 The representatives to the army of the Rhine

Oct. 6, 1793. are required to be constantly on the lookout for treachery and especially to watch the generals.

Vol. VII. p. 254-5 Maignet and Chateauneuf - Randon, repre-
Oct. 6, 1793. sentatives to the army of the Alps and in the Rhone - et - Loire near Lyons, are severely rebuked for the slowness and ineffectiveness of their operations against Lyons. The recall immediately of Dubois - Crance and Gauthier is ordered.

Vol. VII. p. 363 The Committee, having heard of a conspiracy
Oct. 11, 1793. which consists in the poisoning of several cases of brandy furnished to Peronne, orders the representatives to the army of the North to have tests made without giving publicity to the affair.

Vol. VII. p. 377-8 The representatives to the army of Alps near
Oct. 12, 1793. Lyons are rebuked for the leniency of their treatment of the rebels of the captured city.

Vol. VII. p. 466 Instructions are sent to the representatives
Oct. 17, 1793 at Brest relative to the shipping of grains. They are also to keep a close watch upon the inhabitants of Morbihan and of Finistere.

The above letters serve to show that Herault must have been very much interested in the work of the representatives in the various parts of France. It should be especially observed that five out of these eight letters deal with the

city of Lyons, a fact which bears out conclusions which we have already arrived at, namely, that Herault was interested to a considerable extent in the affairs of that city. Another point to be noticed is that all except one of these letters were written in October, showing that Herault was concerned most with the operations in the provinces during the latter part of the period of his activity in the committee.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONS OF HERAULT WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Herault seems to have worked at some time or other with each one of the members of the committee of Public Safety. But the number of times he signed decrees with each varies greatly. For instance he signed seventy-eight times with Barere and three times with Robert Lindet. The members of the committee named in the order of their importance in connection with Herault's work as shown by the number of decrees they signed with him, are as follows: Barere, Billaud - Varenne, Carnot, C. - A. Prieur, Collot d' Herbois, Robespierre, Prieur (de la Marne), Jeanbon St. Andre, Couthon, Saint Just, and Robert Lindet.

In certain phases of the committee's work certain members appear more important in their connection with Herault than others. In connection with financial decrees Billaud - Varenne, Barere, C. - A. Prieur, and Carnot figure most prominently. Under the decrees of arrest the names most often signed are Robespierre, Barere, Carnot and Billaud - Varenne. Under the decrees which deal with the organization of forces Herault's name

is found most frequently with those of Barere, Carnot, St. Andre, Robespierre and Saint Just. In connection with the decrees dealing with subsistences we find Barere, Billaud-Varenne and Collot d' Herbois the most important and in connection with those concerned with missions Barere, C. - A. Prieur and Carnot. Under the decrees on marine affairs the names of Barere, Billaud - Varenne, C. - A. Prieur, and Collot d' Herbois are found most often. Herault signed decrees connected with the telegraph with Carnot, Barere, C. - A. Prieur, Prieur (de la Marne) and Billaud - Varenne; decrees providing for the refining of salt-petre with C. - A. Prieur, Carnot, Billaud - Varenne, and Collot d' Herbois; decrees concerned with Lyons with Billaud - Varenne, Collot d' Herbois, C. - A. Prieur, and Barere; and decrees on the subject of public opinion with Barere, Carnot, Couthon, Robespierre, C. - A. Prieur, Prieur (de la Marne) and Billaud-Varenne. The men with whom he signed letters addressed to representatives on mission were Barere, Billaud - Varenne, Collot d' Herbois, Carnot,and Robespierre.

Certain members of the committee became important in Herault's work at different times. Jeanbon St. Andre worked with him principally during the month of September but not at all after that month. The same thing may be said of Prieur de la Marne's work. Barere began to sign

with Herault from the very first and continued until the very last signing a relatively large number each month. Saint Just signed several decrees each month. Couthon's work with Herault took place principally in August. After that he ceased signing decrees with the latter. Robert Lindet signed only three decrees in conjunction with Herault, one in June, one in July and one in December. Robespierre's name appears with Herault's principally during August, September and October. Carnot worked with Herault during the same three months and likewise C. - A. Prieur, Billaud - Varenne and Collot d' Herbois did not begin to sign decrees with Herault until September but during that month, and especially in October their names appear very often.

The activity of Barere in connection with Herault is particularly noticeable. He signed a far greater number of decrees with him than did any other member of the committee. Both the first decree that Herault signed and the last bear Barere's signature also. The latter was important during the whole period of Herault's activity in the committee and the decrees which he signed with him were so varied in character that they covered practically the whole field of Herault's work.

CHAPTER IV.

HERAULT'S PART IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TERROR.

The larger part of Herault's work consisted of measures which provided for the government of the Terror. The financial decrees are important in this connection. They supplied funds for the use of the Committee of General Security, for the purchase of supplies, for the use of representatives on mission, for the relief of cities and departments in the various parts of France, all of which have to do with a very essential part of the regime of government. The decrees of arrest, with which, as we have seen, Herault was also very much concerned, also play a large part in the Terror. Likewise the decrees which provide for the organization of forces including military orders and matters of a similar nature, belong in this category. In this connection Herault assisted in ordering the organization of the armies and in arranging for their equipment and their supplies, as well as for their movements in the various parts of France. He helped to provide for the levying of fresh troops, for the manufacture of arms and for the putting down of insurrections in the Vendee and in Mont - Blanc. Another group of decrees which may be put under this heading consists of

those which deal with the supplying of subsistences to France. Herault assisted in organizing the government in the provinces by signing decrees sending delegates on mission to the various parts of the country. Decrees connected with marine affairs in which supplies were arranged for and the movements of the navy were directed were also connected with the organization of the government. Likewise the decrees dealihg with public opinion, with the putting down of the insurrection in Lyons, with appointments and dismissals and with various other subjects are all concerned with the governemtn. Thus it may be observed that the bulk of Herault's work which consisted in signing decrees relative to such matters as have just been outlined was therefore intimately connected with the organization of the government under the Terror.

The letters to the representatives on mission which Herault signed show very clearly the methods and spirit of this new government. A particularly significant statement occurs in a letter written by Herault himself. He says:

Rec. des Actes
Vol. VII. p. 115
Sept. 29, 1793.

"It is necessary unceasingly to dismiss and to lock up every suspected individual. Liberty does not compromise. We can be human only when we shall be assured of being victors."

CHAPTER V.

THE PART PLAYED BY HERAULT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The idea seems to be prevalent among most writers on the subject that Herault was active in the conduct of foreign affairs while he was a member of the great committee but an examination of the decrees which he signed proves this idea to be absolutely erroneous. There are no decrees whatsoever that provide in any way for diplomatic communications with foreign countries and only a few in which foreign countries are even mentioned. Among these few are such decrees as that of July 1st which provides

Vol. V. p. 141 that since an agent in Hamburg has some opportu-
July 1, 1793. nity to procure for France 30,000 guns by loading them upon neutral ships he is to follow up the negotiation.

Another decree reads in part as follows:

Vol. VI. p. 202 The Committee of Public Safety, considering
Aug. 31, 1793. that the decree of the 16th of August leaves no doubt in regard to the vessels belonging to the German powers which have a déliberative voice in the Diet of Ratisbonne, which vessels the Convention has declared to under the denomination of hostile vessels and to be a fair prize counting from the day of the declaration of war, has approved the decree passed the 2nd of August by the Provisory Executive Council relating to the ships " la Dame -

Catharine " and "la Gertrude" held by the corsair "le Republican" of Nantes. These ships ought to be declared a fair prize in virtue of the decree of August 16th.

Vol. VI. p. 461 Sept. 13, 1793 — By a decree of September 13th the committee of Public Safety, considering that the united powers are trying to prevent France from obtaining subsistences, orders that agents be sent to purchase grain in Turkish Dalmatia, North Africa, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark and North America.

Vol. VI. p. 480 Sept. 14, 1793. — A decree of the following day, providing for the escort of a convoy, gives the French admiral permission to fight the English fleet if it appears and a favorable opportunity occurs. Under similar circumstances permission is given to attack the Portuguese.

Vol. VII. p. 2 Sept. 22, 1793. — Another decree orders the minister of the Marine to make preparations for landing 100,000 men on the coast of England.

Vol. VII. pp. 30-31 Sept. 24, 1793. — Still another decree requires the minister of the Marine to prepare a list of winter cruises whose purpose is to protect the commerce of France and to interfere with that of the enemy.

Vol. VII. p. 211 — According to a decree of October 4th the

Oct. 4, 1793 Executive Provisory Council is to arrange for securing the greatest possible quantity of grain from foreign countries.

A decree of October 10th reads in part as follows:

Vol. VII. p. 340 The Committee of Public Safety after having
Oct. 10, 1793. deliberated upon the despatches of the representations of the people sent into the department of the Seine-Inferieure and neighboring departments, in regard to the sale of merchandise brought by neutral ships, has authorized the Executive Provisory Council to treat by private agreement for the purchase of subsistences and materials of the greatest necessity brought by neutral vessels and which are foreign property.

The captains of foreign vessels will not be able to export except conformably to the decrees.

Vol. VII. p. 460 One other decree provides for the attack on
Oct. 18, 1793. the island of Noirmoutier in order to secure possession of it to the Republic.

It will be observed that these decrees deal with the supply of subsistences with commerce, and with attacks on foreign possessions. They have nothing to do with diplomatic relations between countries. Moreover, in comparison to the large number of decrees which Herault signed, they are very few in number. It is evident that he had no very

especial interest in these decrees for not one of them is in his handwriting or is signed by himself alone.

CHAPTER VI

HERAULT'S WORK IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

There still remains one phase of Herault's activity yet to be considered, namely, his work in the National Convention as a Member of the Committee of Public Safety. He was present in the convention most often during June and only a few times after that. The following table will indicate his attendance in each month.

June	14 times
July.....	5 times
August.....	twice
September.....	3 times
October.....	once

His work in this connection may be divided roughly into two parts; first, that dealing with the Constitution; and, second, that dealing with the various departments and cities of France.

With the first of these he was occupied during almost the entire month of June, for, as we have seen, he was elected to the committee on the 30th of May for the purpose of assisting in the drawing up of a new constitution

and it was naturally to the fulfillment of this duty that he first turned his attention. By June 10th the constitution was finished and Herault appeared on that day as the representative of the Committee of Public Safety to present it to the Convention for ratification. He made a long and eloquent speech beginning with these words: "From all parts of the Republic an imperious voice calls for the constitution. Never has a greater necessity tormented a whole nation. Twenty-seven millions of men are crying with loud voices for "the Law." If in certain countries effervescences manifest themselves, it is principally because they have no constitution. It seems that it would be a national crime to delay it a day longer; but the day when we shall have made it will be one of resurrection for France, of revolution for Europe. All our destinies rest in that moment; it is more powerful than all the armies." He continued with a discussion of two important points of the constitution, that of representation based upon the population and that of the national jury. He concluded in a burst of oratory, urging upon the convention the immediate adoption of the document. The next day he began presenting the articles of the constitution one by one, for the Convention to vote upon and in this work he continued for about ten days. Most of the articles were adopted as they stood.

Arch. Parl.
Vol. 66 pp. 256-64
June 10, 1793.

Arch. Parl On the 20th of June Herault, in the name of the
Vol. 67. p. 22 committee, made a report upon the jury. In a long
June 20, 1793. speech he maintained that there should be no civil jury but only a jury in criminal cases. As a substitute for the civil jury he proposed that public arbiters be elected by the electoral assemblies.

On July the first Herault presented to the Convention an address to the French people which he had been called upon to draw up concerning certain alterations in the constitution. He said in part as follows:

Arch. Parl. "Frenchmen,
Vol. 68. p. 27 The National Convention learns that
July 1, 1793. already the enemies of liberty have falsified the constitution and that they are hastening to spread about in the Republic with a perfidious profusion copies of it dishonored by their falsehoods. Their aim is easy to discover; they wish to prevent the people from knowing and appreciating the real work of their representatives; they wish to corrupt and divide public opinion in advance; they wish to stifle the assent of the nation ready to throw itself before the eternal foundations of liberty and equality." He continued long and eloquently in this strain and finally sat down in the midst of great applause.

As we have already seen, Herault was very much interested in the organization of the government, in the various departments of France and in the putting down of rebellions in the cities.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 68. p. 622 July 12, 1793.

Upon one occasion he presented for approbation a decree which provided that those who should be convicted of having kept at Lyons the military convoys of the army of the Republic should be put to death.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 73, pp. 20-21 Aug. 25, 1793.

Again he made a report upon the invasion of a part of the department of Mont-Blanc by the Piedmontese troops. He made a long speech upon the subject in which he said that the situation was due principally to the revolt in Lyons, and urged the convention to send assistance at once to Mont-Blanc.

On several occasions he also presented reports relative to Bordeaux. On the first of these he said that there were many patriotic people in Bordeaux but that it was necessary to take stern measures against the counter - revolutionists. Again he said:

Arch Parl. Vol. 75. pp. 246-7 Sept. 27, 1793.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 76. p. 168 Oct. 6, 1793.

"Patriotism has just revived at Bordeaux; but in order to insure in this city the duration of its reign, it is necessary to take two vigorous measures

the first is to disarm the suspected men, the second is to annul the passports given to the suspected men".

He also made reports concerning various other outlying districts such as La Rochelle, Evreux, Eure and Caen. Moreover he was instrumental in securing money for the use of the departments.

There still remain to be discussed two occasions on which Herault figured prominently in the National Convention as a member of the Committee. One of these was

Arch. Parl. Vol. 70. p. 137 Aug. 2, 1793.

on August 2nd when he made a report upon the proposition of Danton tending to elevate the Committee of Public Safety into a committtee of provisory government and to put at the disposition of this committee a sum of fifty millions. Herault made an eloquent speech in which he declared himself not to be in favor of the first part of the decree. He wanted the Committee to remain as it was but he approved of having the fifty millions put at their disposal.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 74. p. 47 Sept. 13, 1793.

At another time he appeared as the reporter of the Committee to read to the convention the official report of the "immortal day of the 10th of August" which he had been asked to draw up. He began with these words: "Citizens, the Convention having decreed that an official report be drawn up of the fete of

August the 10th the task of writing it has been assigned to me because as president of the Convention I presided at all the events." He described this festival consecrated to the inauguration of the constitution of the French Republic in every detail including the monuments, the march, and the speeches. He said, "Only a free nation could conceive such a fete, only a republican could describe it." The report was very eloquent and was greeted with much applause.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF HERAULT.

As we have seen, Herault, with one exception, ceased to be present at the meetings of the Committee after October 26th. He had begun to be suspected and after December his fate was practically assured. He was the one member of the committee who was a Dantonist, and, with the other followers of Danton, he was doomed to fall. On the 15th of March the Committee ordered the provisional arrest of Herault. This was followed by a definite arrest made by Saint - Just on the 17th.

Gros
Le Cornite de Salut
Public p. 96

The trial of Danton and his followers lasted from April 2nd to April 5th. There were sixteen accused men altogether. They were divided into four groups in the first of which were Danton and Herault, accused of having formed "a conspiracy tending to re-establish the monarchy and to destroy the national representation and the republican government."

Aulard
Fr. Revol.
Vol. III. p. 149

The trial of Herault began by the president's asking him whether he had not had counter- revolutionary designs. The reply was in the negative. The next question was whether he had not introduced him-

1)

Robinet
Proce s des
Dantonists
p. 156

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1) All further references will be to this same work.

self into the diplomatic committee purposely in order to dominate it and also in order to give information of its proceedings to foreign governments. Herault answered that he had never intrigued to secure an office. He said, "It is a fact that I have been named with Barere in order to direct the operations of the diplomacy; but for a long time all correspondence with the enemy has been interrupted, and we have nothing to say to them except: 'We despise you and do not fear you in the least; we have nothing in common with you; let us fight.' In regard to the diplomatic operations, I have done nothing on my own account without consulting anyone, and if I have happened as any other of my colleagues to propose some plans, I have always sub-
p. 157. mitted them to the sanction of my collaborators, and I believe them all too much the friends of truth to dispute with me this fact, and to accuse me of having won them over to my opinion". He also denied having communicated any plans of the French government to the enemy.

p. 157 The president now produced two letters in which were passages which gave the impression that Herault was treacherous to the French government. One was purported to have been written by Las Casas, ambassador of Spain at Venice and addressed to Henin, representative of France in Constantinople, and the other by Clemente de Campos, also ambassador

of Spain at Venice, and addressed to the Duke de la Alcudia.

p. 158 After having read these communications the president said, "Are these letters conceived in terms suitable to convince you of your correspondence -- with our enemies?" Herault replied, "The contents of these letters, the perfidous style in which they are written, indicates sufficiently that they have only been manufactured in foreign lands in order to cause the patriots to be suspected and to ruin them. Certainly the trap is too rudely constructed to catch me."

p. 161 The president next accused Herault of having sent Dubuisson into Switzerland and of having corresponded with him, as well as with Proly, both of whom were proscribed. Herault answered that it was the minister of foreign affairs who had sent Dubuisson into Switzerland; that he had not had any intimate relation with these two men; and that he had been deceived concerning them just as had the whole convention.

Herault was then asked if he had not given shelter to a woman named Chemineau who was an emigre. He denied that he had, and said that the woman had never made any demands upon him.

The final accusation made against Herault was that he had corresponded with a refractory priest. The answer was that the priest in question was merely a canon and moreover

that the letter written by him had been given a false interpretation.

Without any further ceremony the trial was suddenly brought to an end, and the accused, including Herault, were condemned to death. The whole affair had been a fraud, a mere pretext for getting rid of certain men whose existence was thought to be dangerous for those in power. Documents which might have proved the innocence of these men were never produced, debates were suppressed and the pleading of the lawyers was not heard. To quote from Robinet, "The Dantonists were then condemned without having been convicted, since their defense was prevented, contrary to the jurisprudence of the Tribunal, by an extraordinary order extorted from the Convention by a maneuver of the leaders of the Committee of Public Safety; since the witnesses for the defense ---- were arbitrarily refused --- and no more were called". The same author also says, "Their condemnation was a work of hate, of covetousness and of fear, a criminal coup d' etat, contrary to justice and moral law." The trial was terminated on the 5th of April and on that day the execution took place, Herault perishing on the same scaffold with Danton.

A P P E N D I C E S

I. HERAULT'S RECORD OF ATTENDANCE IN THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

The following appendices, with the exception of the table giving the record of Herault's attendance as a member of the Committee in the National Convention, are based upon the Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut Public.

In the table immediately following, which gives the record of Herault's attendance in the Great Committee, Herault is considered as present on those days when his name appears on the roll in the minutes of the Committee. However, it must be observed that his name is frequently signed to decrees which were passed on days when he did not answer to the roll call. He is counted as absent on those days although it is probable that he was present in most cases - he might have come in late or for some other reason did not get his name on the list of the members who were present. Of course, it is barely possible that his signature may have been forged in some instances. Since there is considerable uncertainty upon this point, it was thought best to count him present only on the days when his name occurs on the roll.

It will be observed that on two different days.there is no meeting recorded and that the roll-call was omitted four times.

Record of Attendance for June, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume IV									
525	12								
		539	13						
		556	14						
570	15								
		577	16						
		585	17						
		591	18						
		Volume V.							
		1	19						
22	20								
30	21								
44	22								
		57	23						
		63	24						
		76	25						
86	26								
95	27								
107	28								
		119	29						
131	30			132	30				

Record of Attendance for July, 1793.

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V.									
138	1			141	1				
147	2								
152	3								
164	4			169	4				
		179	5						
		188	6						
		200	7						
		208	8						
217	9								
		223	10						
232	11								
239	12			239	12				
249	13								
256	14								
262	15								
270	16								
279	17								
290	18								
299	19								
309	20								
324	21								
335	22								

Record of Attendance for July, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V.									
343	23								
354	24								
						364	25		
371	26			372	26				
392	27								
								405	28
413	29			413	29				
420	30								
429	31								

Record of Attendance for August, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V.							
439	1						
446	2						
		459	3				
		470	4				
		478	5				
		485	6	486	6		
		495	7	496	7		
505	8			506-8	8		
513	9						
521	10			521	10		
528	11						
		532	12	533	12		
535	13			535-6	13		
544	14						
554	15			555	15		
Volume VI.							
2	16						
13	17						
19	18						
24	19						
38	20			43	20		
						47	21

Record of Attendance for August, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VI.							
	22						
		68	23				
	84	24		85-6-7-8	24		
	96	25		98	25		
114	26			115	26		
127	27						
140	28			140-4	28		
162	29			163-5	29		
	184	30					
201	31			201-2	31		

Record of Attendance for September, 1793.

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VI.									
215	1								
235	2								
249	3								
270	4			270	4				
282	5								
295	6								
323	7			323	7				
351	8			352-3	8				
373	9								
395	10			396-7	10				
415	11			417	11				
443	12			443-5	12				
		459	13	461	13				
477	14			478-80	14				
487	15								
511	16								
533	17								
551	18			553	18				
565	19			566-7	19				
								575	20
		587-90	21	587-90	21				

Record of Attendance for September, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VII.							
		1	22	2	22		
		13	23	15	23		
28	24			28-31	24		
51	25						
68	26			69	26		
		82	27	84	27		
		100	28				
109	29			109-11	29		
130	30			131-3	30		

Record of Attendance for October, 1793.

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
		Volume VII					
		164	1	164-5	1		
182	2			182-3	2		
197	3						
209	4			210-11	4		
		229	5	229	5		
		245	6				
277	7			277-8	7		
295	8			295	8		
322	9			322	9		
		339	10	340	10		
						359	11
373	12			374	12		
394	13						
407	14			407	14		
420	15						
439	16			440	16		
463	17			464	17		
480	18			480	18		
499	19			500	19		
511	20			512-13	20		
537	21			538-9	21		
		562	22	565	22		

Record of Attendance for October, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Vol. VII.							
583	23			583-6	23		
				603	24	601	24
Vol. VIII.							
		1	25	2-3	25		
18	26			19-21	26		

Record of Attendance for December, 1793.

Days Present	Days Absent		Signed Decrees.	
	page	date	page	date
	Volume IX.			
	770	31	770	31

II. RECORD OF ATTENDANCE IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, AS A MEMBER OF THE GREAT COMMITTEE

The references given below are to the Archives Parlementaires.

Date	Volume	Page
June, 1793		
10	66	256-64
11	"	282-4
12	"	451
14	"	517
15	"	540
16	"	572
17	"	596
18	"	673
20	67	22
21	"	52
22	"	71
23	"	106
24	"	138
29	"	648
July 1	68	27
12	"	622
13	"	679
17	69	101
18	"	138
Aug. 2	70	137
25	73	20
Sept. 13	74	47
23	75	8
27	"	246-7
Oct. 6	76	168

III. DECREES WHICH HERAULT ALONE SIGNED

Date	Volume	Page
1) Aug. 25	VI	98
Aug. 28	VI	144
Aug. 29	VI	164
Oct. 12	VII	274

1) One copy of this is signed by Herault alone.

IV. DECREES IN HERAULT'S HANDWRITING.

Date		Volume	Page
July 12, 1793		V	239
Aug. 8,	"	V	505-6
Aug. 8,	"	V	506
Aug. 13,	"	V	536
Aug. 24,	"	VI	87
Aug. 24,	"	VI	88
Aug. 25, 1)	"	VI	97-8
Aug. 28,	"	VI	144
Aug. 28,	"	VI	144
Aug. 29,	"	VI	162-3
Aug. 29,	"	VI	164
Aug. 29,	"	VI	164
Aug. 29,	"	VI	165-6
Sept. 4	"	VI	270
Sept.12	"	VI	443
Sept.12	"	VI	444
Sept.14	"	VI	479
Sept.19	"	VI	565-6
Sept.21	"	VI	587
Sept.29,	"	VII	115
Oct. 1,	"	VII	164-5
Oct. 7,	"	VII	278

1) The last paragraph only in Herault's handwriting.

V. CLASSIFICATION OF DECREES WHICH HERAULT SIGNED

The following table must not be taken as a rigid classification of the decrees which Herault signed. The task of arranging them in groups was in some cases difficult, for certain ones among them seemed to cover various phases of activity. However they have been classified as nearly as possible according to their most important characteristics.

I. Financial decrees

Date	Volume	Page
August 8 1793	V	508
August 13	V	535
August 28	VI	144
August 28	VI	144
August 29	VI	162-3
August 29	VI	163
August 29	VI	163-4
September 10	VI	397
September 11	VI	417
September 18	VI	553
September 26	VII	69
September 27	VII	84
October 2	VII	183

I. Financial Decrees (continued)

Date		Volume	Page
October 18	1793	VII	480
October 19		VII	499 - 500
October 20		VII	512
October 20		VII	513
October 26		VIII	21

II. Arrest of Individuals

Date		Volume	Page
July 29	1793	V	413
August 12		V	532 - 3
August 20		VI	42
August 24		VI	87
August 28		VI	143
August 29		VI	164
August 29		VI	165 - 6
September 8		VI	353
September 12		VI	444
September 27		VII	83 - 4
September 30		VII	131
October 4		VII	210
October 12		VII	374
October 12		VII	374
October 12		VII	374 - 4
October 22		VII	565

III. Organization of Forces, Military Orders, etc.

Date	Volume	Page
June 30 1793	V	131-2
July 26	V	371-2
August 6	V	486
August 10	V	521
August 26	VI	115
August 31	VI	201
September 19	VI	566 -7
September 21	VI	589-90
September 24	VII	28
September 26	VII	69
September 29	VII	109-10-11
October 2	VII	182
October 5	VII	229
October 23	VII	584

IV. Subsistences and Supplies, Military or Otherwise.

Date	Volume	Page
August 7 1793	V	496
August 8	V	505-6
August 28	VI	140
September 13	VI	461
September 30	VII	132-3

IV. Subsistences and Supplies, Military or Otherwise (continued)

Date	Volume	Page
October 4 1793	VII	211
October 10	VII	340
October 14	VII	407
October 17	VII	464
October 23	VII	583

V. Missions

Date	Volume	Page
August 13 1793	V	536
August 15	V	555
August 24	VI	85-6
August 24	VI	86
August 28	VI	141
September 21	VI	587
September 22	VII	2
September 29	VII	109
September 30	VII	132
October 20	VII	512-13

VI. Marine, Supplies for the Navy, Instructions, etc.

Date	Volume	Page
July 1 1793	V	141
August 31	VI	202

VI. Marine, Supplies for the Navy, Instructions, etc. (continued)

Date	Volume	Page
September 14 1793	VI	478
September 14	VI	480
September 22	VII	2
September 24	VII	28
September 24	VII	30-31
October 18	VII	480
October 21	VII	538

VII. Public Opinion, the Press, Theater, etc.

Date	Volume	Page
August 8 1793	V	506
August 24	VI	88
August 29	VI	164
September 10	VI	396
September 12	VI	443

VIII. Appointments.

Date	Volume	Page
July 4 1793	V	169
October 1	VII	164
October 7	VII	277
October 8	VII	295
October 26	VIII	19

IX. Telegraph

Date	Volume	Page
August 25 1793	VI	97-8
August 25	VI	98
September 19	VI	565-6
September 24	VII	29-30

X. Paris.

Date	Volume	Page
August 24 1793	VI	88
September 8	VI	352
September 30	VII	132
October 7	VII	278

XI. Indemnities to Individuals

Date	Volume	Page
September 10 1793	VI	396
September 30	VII	131-2
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XII. Saltpetre

Date	Volume	Page
October 16, 1793	VII	439-40
October 24	VII	601-2-3
October 25	VIII	3

XIII. Setting Individuals at Liberty

Date		Volume	Page
September 4	1793	VI	270
October 9		VII	322
October 21		VII	538-9

XIV. Lyons

Date		Volume	Page
July 12	1793	V	239
September 12		VI	445
October 1		VII	164-5

XV. Dismissals

Date		Volume	Page
August 24	1793	VI	85
September 14		VI	479

XVI. Miscellaneous.

Date		Volume	Page
August 8	1793	V	506
September 7		VI	323
September 23		VII	15
October 25		VIII	2

VI. HERAULT'S SIGNATURE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

The number of times each member of the Committee signed decrees in conjunction with Herault is shown by the following table:

Barere	78	times
Billaud Varenne	55	"
Carnot	52	"
C. - A. Prieur	49	"
Collot d' Herbois	38	"
Robespierre	35	"
Prieur (de la Marne)	28	"
Jeanbon St. Andre	19	"
Thuriot	15	"
G. Couthon	13	"
Saint Just	12	"
L. B. Guyton	3	"
T. Berlier	3	"
R. Lindet	3	"
J. F. B. Delmas	2	"
D. V. Ramel	1	"
Danton	1	"
Cambon fils aine	1	"

VI. HERAULT'S SIGNATURE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

The following table shows the number of times each of the members of the Committee signed dispatches or letters to representatives on mission with Herault.

Barere	8	times
Billaud-Varenne	6	"
Collot d'Herbois	6	"
Carnot	4	"
Robespierre	2	"

VII. CLASSIFICATION SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TIMES HERAULT SIGNED CERTAIN KINDS OF DECREES WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

	Financial	Arrest	Organization of forces	Subsistences	Missions
Couthon	1	2	3	2	1
Barere	9	10	8	9	10
Saint Just	1	3	6	1	
Carnot	8	6	7	4	4
Robespierre	4	10	6	3	1
C.- A. Prieur	9	5	5	1	5
Prieur(de la M)	4	5	5	2	2
Varenne	10	6	4	6	3
St. Andre	2	5	7		1
D' Herbois	4	3	5	5	2
Thuriot	3	4	3		
Guyton			1		
Berlier			1		
Delmas			1		
Danton			1		
Lindet			1		

CLASSIFICATION SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TIMES HERAULT SIGNED CERTAIN KINDS OF DECREES WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE (continued)

	Marine	Telegraph	Saltpetre	Lyons	Public Opinion
Couthon	1				2
Barere	7	2		1	3
St. Just					
Carnot	4	3	2		3
Thuriot					1
Robespierre	4				2
C.-A.Prieur	6	2	3	1	2
Prieur de M.	1	1			2
Varenne	7	1	1	2	1
Saint Andre	2				
d' Herbois	6		1	1	
Cambon	1				
Lindet	1				
Guyton	1				
Berlier	1				
Delmas	1				

CLASSIFICATION SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TIMES HERAULT SIGNED DECREES IN EACH MONTH WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

	June	July	August	September	October	December
Guyton	1	2				
St. Andre	1	1	3	12		
Barere	1	4	20	24	24	1
Saint Just	1	1	4	3	3	
Berlier	1	2				
Delmas	1	1				
Danton	1					
Couthon	1	1	11			
Lindet	1	1				1
Cambon		1				
Prieur (de la M)		2	4	19		
Robespierre		1	12	10	11	
Thuriot		1	9	4		
Ramel		1				
Carnot			16	23	13	1
C.-A.Prieur			12	21	14	
Billaud-Varenne				23	28	1
d' Herbois				15	19	

IX. HERAULT'S CORRESPONDENCE WHILE IN THE COMMITTEE

The following letters were written by Herault while he was a member of the Committee:

Date	Volume	Page	To Whom.
September 29	VII	115	To Carrier, representative in the Ille- et - vilaine and neighboring departments.
October 16	VII	443	To Andre Dumont, Representative in the Somme.

X. LETTERS FROM THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY TO THE REPRESENTATIVES ON MISSION SIGNED BY HERAULT.

Vol. VII. pp. 135-6 September 30, 1793

To the representatives to the army of the Alps near Lyons.

Vol. VII. p. 167, October 1, 1793

To the same.

Vol. VII. pp. 231-2 October 5, 1793

To the same.

Vol. VII. pp. 254-5 October 6, 1793

To Maignet and to Chateauneuf - Randon, representatives to the army of the Alps and of the Rhone and the Loire near Lyons.

Vol. VII. pp. 252-3 October 6, 1793

To the representatives to the army of the Rhine.

Vol. VII. p. 363 October 11, 1793

To the representatives to the army of the North.

Vol. VII. pp. 377-8 October 12, 1793

To the representatives to the army of the Alps.

Vol. VII. p. 466 October 17, 1793

To the representatives at Brest.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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Archives Parlementaires

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Legislatives et Politiques des Chambres

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PRIEUR OF THE MARNE AS A MEMBER OF THE GREAT COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of California

by

HAZEL CATHERINE RELSEN

Berkeley, California, April, 1913

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CHAPTER I

PRIEUR OF THE MARNE BEFORE HIS ELECTION TO THE GREAT COMMITTEE

Pierre Louis Prieur known as Prieur de la Marne was born at Sommesous, August 1, 1756. When a young man he went to Reims and took up the study of law in the university of that city. In 1775 he was received as an avocat in the parlement of Paris, and thought some of settling there, but soon returned to Châlons-sur-Marne where his father was residing.

Prieur became well known and very popular so that when the States General was convoked he was elected as a deputy by the Tiers Etat of the royal bailliage of Châlons, March 24, 1789. His advanced ideas and boldness of speech caused him to be noticed from that time. As a member of the Constituent Assembly he was very active in assisting in the work on the Constitution and was also one of the organizers of public assistance and became secretary of the Committee of Mendicity (created by a decree of January 21, 1790). Prieur and his colleagues of this Committee reorganized entirely the service of the hospitals and laid down the dominant principle of the

revolutionary doctrine that assistance is a national service which a government must perform for its needy citizens.

In the month of September 1791 the electors of the Marne chose Prieur as an administrator of their department. He served as deputy of the procureur général syndic from December 1791 until September 1792. He organized a strong resistance against the émigrés, Austrians, and Prussians who were threatening the district, and he made a tour throughout the country to organize battalions of volunteers.

In the midst of these dangers the electoral assembly of the Marne met to nominate deputies to the National Convention, September 3, 1792. The electors chose Prieur the first deputy from the department of the Marne by 386 votes, out of 442 cast. As a member of the Convention Prieur took a very active part. At first he was sent with Carra and Sillery to Champagne to proclaim the Republic. Early in 1793 he assisted in the organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal and March 26th was put on the Committee of General Defense. Soon after, Prieur was sent on mission but on his return to Paris was elected the seventh member of the Great Committee of Public Safety, by 142 votes. It is the phase of his work as a

member of this Committee that we shall take up in detail.[1]

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(1) Based on G. Laurent's Introduction to Notes et Souvenirs Inedits de Prieur de la Marne.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF PRIEUR'S WORK IN THE GREAT COMMITTEE

It was during an evening session of the National Convention July 10, 1793 that Prieur de la Marne was elected to the Great Committee of Public Safety. As a member of this important organ of government he took a very active part in affairs. An examination of the records of the Committee shows that Prieur was as much a factor in carrying on the Terror as those members whose names are always linked with this great event, and it seems strange that his important mission to La Vendée has been chiefly the phase of his work on which emphasis has been placed.

Vol. V p. 224 (1)

Arch. Parl. Vol. 68 p. 521

Before taking up a consideration of Prieur's work it may be well however to give a brief sketch on the general organization of the Committee. The meetings were held daily — both morning and evening. No one was chosen as president but all worked together, taking up the various topics on hand and accomplishing a vast amount

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(1) References are to Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public, unless otherwise stated.

of work. We find that until July 20th their business was brief, and the decrees were not signed by any particular members, but the measures seemed to be passed on by all present as a whole.

A few decrees may best illustrate something of the character of their meetings. August 3rd 1793 the Committee decrees that its meetings open each day at 9

Vol. V p. 459 o'clock at the latest. The meeting shall be occupied first with the correspondence of which the general secretary shall regularly present an abstract. It shall then deliberate on all the measures of public safety.

At exactly one o'clock the members of the Committee shall betake themselves to the Convention to be present at the meeting until it be adjourned.

At seven o'clock in the evening the Committee shall meet again, and the meeting shall be dissolved at ten o'clock.

(no signatures)

The Committee of Public Safety seeing the urgence

Vol. VI p. 575 and multiplicity of the work of its bureaux,

Sept. 20, 1793 and considering that the chief secretary alone cannot sufficiently watch over such extended details, decrees that citizen Pierre one of the chiefs of its

bureaux shall be adjoint from this day to citizen Ambusson, chief secretary, and that he be allowed an indemnity of 5000 livres per year.

(Signed by C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne, Robespierre, Barère)

Vol. VI p. 587
Sept. 21, 1793

The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention deliberating on the internal organization of its meetings decrees as follows:

When the members of the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention and those composing the Executive Council of the Republic have to discuss matters together, they shall unite, at hours indicated, in the room between those where they hold their separate meetings. Anyone of the Ministers who has special matters to submit to the Committee shall be invited there or shall invite himself for this purpose.

No citizen other than the members of the Committee shall be present at these meetings.

Two members of the Committee shall be named each day to communicate with deputations and citizens who present themselves from noon until two o'clock in the afternoon. There shall be no audience at all in the evening.

Citizen secretaries and clerks shall not enter except when called by the Committee.

(Signed by Carnot, Robespierre, C. A. Prieur, Billaud-Varenne, Prieur de la Marne)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees:

Vol. VII p. 15 Sept. 23, 1793

1. That each of its members be assigned to one division of work.

2. That in the meetings of the Committee there shall be dealt with first the current affairs, the various deputations shall be received, the correspondence read and distributed; then there shall be deliberated the reports, the results of the correspondence of the day, the projects of the decrees to be presented the next day at the National Convention, the measures of public safety, and matters of government.

3. That they shall have alternately a member of the Committee who shall go to hear the various petitioners and deputations.

(Signed by Collot-d'Herbois, Barère, Hérault, Robespierre)

It may be that the Committee could not abide by these rules when the strain of the work became heavier, but they give us an idea as to the general method of procedure in that body.

Probably the most noticeable fact after a review of

the records[1] is that although the Great Committee existed a year (July 10, 1793 - July 27, 1794) Prieur was actually present at its sessions only three months, and not regularly even for this period of time. Nevertheless he may be termed one of the great workers of this body for whenever he did attend meetings he assumed an important role. The heaviest part of his work was in the month of September, just before he went away on his important mission.

It is evident from the decrees which he signed[2] that Prieur's work was of a wide range. As a rule he signed decrees in conjunction with his colleagues, but in the case of five bills his signature appears alone. These decrees are as follows:[3]

Vol. VI p. 140-1
Aug. 28, 1793
(de la main de Prieur)

The Committee of Public Safety considering the difficulty of putting troops on horseback in the imposing position where they ought to be, provides especially for the separation of the different depots of the troops of the same army; considering that some have horses without saddles, some

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(1) See Appendix I

(2) See Appendix V

(3) See Appendix III

horses with saddles, others have saddles without horses, some sabers but not pistols, some different objects of equipment which others lack, and that the only means of preventing all these inconveniences is to put in a general store these various articles, to distribute them to each regiment according to its needs and in such a manner that the equipment be completed as soon as possible, decrees:

I. That the Minister of War shall determine during the week, for each army of the Republic, four principal arrondissements where shall be united all the particular depots of each army of the troops on horseback.

II. The inspector charged with the guarding of each of the four depots shall see to it that the distribution of the horses, arms and other objects of equipment be made in such a way that each regiment be completely supplied as soon as possible.

III. All the horses belonging to each army and destined for service in the cavalry shall be united in the same principal arrondissements according to the nature of service to which they belong.

IV. There shall be attached to each depot two commissioners who shall see to the execution of this present decree, as well as to the agents entrusted with the feeding and

horses with monkeys, camels from monkeys to lions, lions
come behind our own plants, some different colors of
equipment which carry land, and then we only added it
preventing all those inventions-does it to get in a con-
ural store where various activities, in diversity that is
such training according to the needs and to meet a number
that the equipment is required as well as operations, be-
cause:

I. That the existence of the small -formative working for
work, for each kind of the capacity, they provided in-
creasingness where will be notice all the principle
depots of land with a the issues on increasing.

II. The improved machinery and the working at work of the
equipments which has to at that the accomplishing of the
matter. Some the small capacity of equipment to make or
such a way that each equipment is completely satisfied to
meet the problem.

III. All the farmers according to their need and condition
for measure in some weather which is which is the same
principal improvements according of the service of the-
ture to which they [illegible].

IV. There must be all some [illegible] the conditions-
are and depending to the [illegible] of this present design,
as will be of the depots [illegible] with the [illegible] and

maintenance of the horses.

The Committee of Public Safety decrees:

Vol. VI p. 141 1st. The Minister of War shall take all neces-
Aug. 28, 1793 sary measures to employ in the transporting and carting for the armies, the greatest number of oxen possible, having care to use them only in the interior. 2nd. There shall be taken from among the horses, replaced by the oxen, those suitable for the service of the cavalry of the dragoons, the chasseurs, the hussars; they shall be immediately sent to the places which shall be indicated by the Minister of War.

The Committee of Public Safety of the National Con-
Vol. VI p. 162 vention considering 1st, that the most certain
Aug. 29, 1793 means of repulsing the tyrants and their satel-
(de la main lites from the land of liberty is to oppose
de Prieur) them by a cavalry capable of stopping the pillage and devastation which they are exercising in the territory of the Republic, 2nd, that the difficulty of securing horses from foreigners comes from the fact that they do not wish to receive payment for them except in specie, decrees:

I. The administrators of the Department of Côte d'Or are authorized to obtain from Switzerland the greatest quantity possible of horses of cavalry, dragoons, chasseurs and

maintenance of the peace.

The Question of Public Safety Courses:

Vol. VI p. 165 Int. The Secretary of War Baker will inves-
Aug. 28, 1920. every measure is working in the transportation
and carrying in the strike, the strikers number of men
remaining, having gone to see them only in the interest.
ing. There will be peace from every in-coming, implicated
in the area, their quickly for the security of the peace-
ing of the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth; they
shall be immediately work to the Police which shall be
increased by the minister of War.

The Commission of Public Safety of the National Con-
Vol. VI p. 167 vention considering Int. that the most peaceful
Aug. 29, 1920. means of regulating the strikers and their metri-
(de la Huerta Police from the hand of liberty in the Congress
de Prensa) There are a security problem of adopting the pi-
lage and organization which are controlling in the
territory of the Republic. Mr. that the critical of
matching Barrera Chief Constabulary those from the fact that
they do not wish to receive payment for some service in
Spain, Cadenas:

I. The municipalities of the Department of Cibao are
commanded to retain from Saint-Jean and Espaillat
to provide of forces of security, Sanchez, Samana and

hussars, paying the price in specie, provided it does not exceed 500 livres per horse.

II. The National Treasury shall deposit in the hands of the administrators of the Department of Côte d'Or a sum of 300,000 livres, as much for the execution of this decree as for the payment of 17,684 livres 10 sols necessary for the execution of the purchases previously made; further decrees that the administrators of the Department shall render an account to the Minister of War of the courses to be taken by the horses procured, and that it shall demand orders for their destination.

Vol. VI p. 397
Sept. 10, 1793

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the National Treasury place at the disposition of the president and procureur-general-syndic of the Department of Paris, and of the mayor of the same city a sum of 40,000 livres, for measures of security, to be taken out of the fifty millions at the disposition of the Committee.

Vol. VI p. 417
Sept. 11, 1793
(de la main de Prieur)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the administration of the Department of the Marne shall take measures most promptly to procure, through the requisitions made in the districts of Sainte-Menehould, Vitry and Sezanne, of the same Department, for the district of Reims and d'Epernay,

the subsistences necessary for them.

From the above decrees it may be seen that the special trend of Prieur's work was in the direction of the organization of an equipment and system of provisioning which should be able to cope with the urgent needs of the Republic. Before further characterizing the type of his work it will be well to illustrate further by decrees in his handwriting, which doubtless show his special interests in the Committee.

The Committee decrees that in execution of the de-
Vol. V p. 352 crees of yesterday, the municipality of Paris
July 24, 1793 shall place at the disposition of the Minister of War all the chevaux de luxe, with their harnesses, which are at Paris, to be employed by the administration of the military relays in the service of the Republic. These horses and harnesses shall be placed in the Palace, formerly of the Bourbons.

(no signatures)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the Min-
Vol. VI p. 296 ister of War have ex-general Brunet arrested
Sept. 6, 1793 immediately and imprisoned in the Abbaye of this city, and render account to the Committee of Public Safety in the execution of the present decree.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, C. A. Prieur)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the pro-
Vol. VI p. 353 cureur-général syndic of the Department of Pa-
Sept. 8, 1793 ris go to the Revolutionary Committee of the section of the Droits-de-l'Homme, for the purpose of examining and taking inventory of papers of a correspondence with the Bourbons, contained in a box under seal at the house of Le Pelletier de Morfontaine, and Berthier, old Temple Street number 76; and that he render account of all to the Committee.

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the citizens Albertier and Sadous, officers of the peace shall go immediately to Forges-les-Eaux, Department of the Seine-Inférieure for the purpose of arresting the said Le Pelletier de Morfontaine and Berthier his secretary, and render account to the Committee. Urges upon all civil and military authorities to give all the assistance necessary to carry this out.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, C. A.
Prieur, Thuriot, Carnot, Hérault,
Robespierre, Barère)

The Committee of Public Safety of the National Con-
Vol. VI p. 374 vention decrees that the National Treasury send
Sept. 9, 1793 without delay to the paymaster of the war, in the Department of the Manche, the sum of 50,000 livres,

to be placed at the disposition of citizen Le Carpentier, representative of the people in this Department; which sum shall be taken out of the fifty millions at the disposition of the Committee of Public Safety, according to the law.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, Robespierre)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the Min-
Vol. VI p. 396 ister of War and of the Interior, be authorized
Sept. 10, 1793 to subscribe for the quantity of 1000 copies each of the newspaper entitled l'Antifédéraliste ou le Correspondant des Sociétés populaires,(1) drawn up by citizens Julien, Payan and Fourcade, and that they shall deliver to the editors in advance the amount of the first three month's subscription; that the Minister of the Interior be authorized to furnish to the editors the site of the Capucins for their presses and offices until they be disposed of otherwise.

(Signed by Hérault, Prieur de la Marne)

The Committee of Public Safety and Committee of Gen-
Vol. VI p. 589 eral Security united, informed that there has
Sept. 21, 1793 just broken out in the commune of Jagny, near

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(1) Ce journal parut du 26 janvier 1793 au 19 janvier 1794.

Luzararches, district of Gonesse, a counter-revolutionary plot which exposes the safety of the patriots, and that this plot seems to extend into the rest of the Department of Seine-et-Oise and in many communes of the Department of Paris, decree:

1st. Citizens Clémence and Marchand, members of the Committee of Public Safety of Paris, are named commissioners to go immediately to these places here named, and in all others where the same danger has manifested itself, to scatter the tumultuous counter-revolutions which have broken out, to arrest the guilty and the suspects, and take all measures which public safety demands.

2nd. They are invested with the power of directing and employing every place where needed a force of 300 men with two pieces of cannon, which will be furnished by the general commandant of the National Guard of Paris.

3rd. There shall be remitted to them a sum to defray personal expenses, for which they shall render account, and for the necessary expenses of this mission.

4th. It is enjoined upon all the civil and military authorities to comply with the requisition made upon them (by these men) either for assistance or objects relative to their mission.

5th. The commissioners shall render account of their oper-

ations day by day to the Committee of General Security.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, Panis,[1] Collot-d'Herbois, Le Bas,[1] Billaud-Varenne, Robespierre, Carnot, Barère)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that citizen Thirion, representative of the people sent by the National Convention into the Department of the Sarthe and its environs, go immediately to the Department of the Mayenne to exercise there the power entrusted to him.

Vol. VII p. 1
Sept. 22, 1793

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, C. A. Prieur)

This concludes what might be termed Prieur's special work, as the remainder of decrees with which he aided are in the handwriting of other members and signed by various of his colleagues.

We may conclude from the above decrees that his work was by no means limited in scope, but of an extensive nature. The balance of the decrees in which Prieur was interested will be classed into various groups — the one most important being the class of financial bills. He had a share also in decrees on arrests of those persons of-

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(1) Members of the Committee of General Security.

fending against the Republic, decrees on Paris, organization of forces, subsistences, sending of men on mission, dismissals and appointments of persons; and two decrees seem of sufficient importance to fall into separate classes — one on the telegraph system, and one on the diplomatic bases.

It is an interesting fact that the first important bill which Prieur signed in the Committee was one pertaining to finance, being as follows:

Vol. V p. 351 In view of the decree made April 24th by the representatives of the people in the Department of
July 24, 1793 Corsica, and the urgent need of means for the defense and maintenance of the garrisons which are in, or are going to be sent into this Department, the National Treasury, in order to conform to the decree made by the representatives of the people, and because of the necessity of subsistences for the 9,000 men who are going to form these garrisons, will give orders that there be sent to the general paymaster of the Isle of Corsica 300,000 livres in specie, and to give him orders to use it in the execution of the decree made by the representatives of the people.

(Signed by Barère, Couthon, Prieur de la Marne)

All of the financial decrees in which Prieur assisted will not be given in detail, but a brief sketch which will illustrate the numerous demands on the Committee for financial assistance.

August 28, 1793 the Committee decreed that the Nation-
Vol. VI p. 143 al Treasury put 60,000 livres at the disposition of the city of Gravelines.(1)

August 30, 1793 decreed that 3,000 livres be given
Vol. VI p. 187 to Ferru, Guichard, and Romuald Bertin who were charged with a mission to the Departments of Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Drôme and Basses-Alpes.(2)

September 2, 1793 decreed that the National Treasury
Vol. VI p. 236 give 3,000 livres to citizen Henry-Raoul-Dutrannoit who was to fulfill a mission.(3)

September 3, 1793 decreed that 1,500 livres be given
Vol. VI p. 283 citizen Gossuin, one of the representatives,(4)

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(1) Signed by Carnot, Robespierre, Barère, Prieur de la Marne, Jean Bon Saint-Andre.

(2) Signed by Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Barère, Prieur de la Marne.

(3) Signed by Jean Bon Saint-André, Barère, Thuriot, Prieur de la Marne.

(4) Signed by Jean Bon Saint-André, Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne.

All of the financial records in Julio [illegible] Bailiwick would not be given it should, but a brief work is which will illustrate the [illegible] demands on the municipality the financial resources.

August 28, 1787 the committee proposed that the [illegible]

Vol. VI p. 142 [illegible] of Treasury [illegible] at the disposition of the city of [illegible].[1]

August 30, 1787 [illegible] that 3,000 florins be given.

Vol. VI p. 147 [illegible] Treasury, and municipal [illegible] and were charged with a mission to the [illegible] of [illegible] Tax, Tacna and [illegible].[2]

September 8, 1787 [illegible] the National Treasury

Vol. VI p. 208 [illegible] 3,000 florins [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a mission.[3]

November 3, 1787 [illegible] 1,000 florins be given [illegible]

Vol. VI p. 302 [illegible] one of its representatives.[4]

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(1) Signed by [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

(2) Signed by [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

(3) Signed by [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

(4) Signed by [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Vol. VI p. 295 and September 6th that 800,000 livres be sent to Marseilles at the disposition of citizen Adet.(1)

September 10th citizen Marc-Antoine Jullien to receive

Vol. VI p. 397 12,000 livres.(2)

A somewhat detailed decree was passed September 26th as follows:

The Committee of Public Safety after consulting with

Vol. VII p. 69 the members of the Committee of General Security, knowing that the Committees of Surveillance of the sections of Paris were occupied with public interest, in pursuing all the counter-revolutionists of this city and of the Department, has decreed to pay out of the sum put at the disposition of the Provisional Executive Council, the amount necessary for their secretaries, office boys, expense of office, rent and cost of their establishment as follows:

Secrétaires	1200 livres
Garcons de bureau	800
Frais de bureau	400
Loyer	300
Dépense une fois payée, frais d'établissement	300
Total	3000

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(1) Signed by Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Barère, Prieur de la Marne.

(2) Signed by Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne, Hérault, Billaud-Varenne.

This, for the forty-eight sections for a year, amounts to 144,000 livres, which will be placed by the Provisional Executive Council at the disposition of the mayor and administrators of finance of the city; to be used as stated above, and an account rendered.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, Hérault, Billaud-Varenne, Barère, Collot-d'Herbois)

September 27th, 1793 the Committee decreed that

Vol. VII p. 84 8,000 livres be sent to the Department of Mont-Blanc.(1)

Many other financial bills have been classed under Parisian decrees or in some of the other groups in the classification, but the main point to be noted is that Prieur had a particular interest in the matter of finance.

In the matter of arrests only decrees dealing with persons of special importance or interest will be noted.

July 29, 1793 the Committee decreed that citizen Mon-

Vol. V p. 413 tané, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal be arrested immediately.(2)

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(1) Signed by C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne, Hérault, Jean Bon Saint-André, Billaud-Varenne.

(2) Signed by Barère, Hérault, Robespierre, Prieur de la Marne, Jean Bon Saint-André, Thuriot.

Vol. VI p. 87 August 24, 1793 the Committee decreed that Mr. Harthlay an Englishman be arrested immediately,[1] and

Vol. VI p. 98 the next day decreed that a nephew of Pitt (of the same name) who was in the neighborhood of Dinan, and very much suspected under the present circumstances, be arrested and transferred to Paris to be questioned by the Committee of General Security.[2]

The Committee of Public Safety on the account ren-

Vol. VI p. 577 dered to it of the last operations on the fron-

Sept. 20, 1793 tier of the north, and of the causes which prevented the Army of the North from profiting from its victory, decrees that Houchard, Ducaus, Landrin, Dumesny, Demars, de Hédouville, Berthelmy and Vernon be arrested immediately and brought to Paris: charges the Representatives of the people Hentz and Duquesnoy with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed by Billaud-Varenne, Robespierre, C. A. Prieur, Carnot, Jean Bon Saint-André, Saint-Just, Prieur de la Marne)

During the month of September many arrests were made

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(1) Signed by Hérault, Couthon, Barère, C. A. Prieur, Thuriot, Prieur de la Marne, Jean Bon Saint-André.

(2) Signed by C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne.

Vol. VI p. 47 [illegible] Dr. Ellis's [illegible] Dedicatory Sermon.[1]

Vol. VI p. 48 [illegible] Dr. Ellis's [illegible] Dedicatory Sermon.[2]

Vol. VI p. 377 [illegible] Dr. Ellis's [illegible] Dedicatory Sermon.[3]

[illegible] Dr. Ellis's [illegible] Dedicatory Sermon.

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(1) Address by Gilmore, [illegible], Dr. Ellis's Dedicatory Sermon, Boston, 1844, p. 48.

(2) Address by [illegible], [illegible], Dr. Ellis's Dedicatory Sermon, Boston, 1844, p. 48.

(3) Address by [illegible], [illegible], Dr. Ellis's Dedicatory Sermon, Boston, 1844, p. 377.

and as has been shown Prieur did his share of work with these decrees.

In regard to Paris there are about four decrees which stand out prominently from among those which Prieur signed, and are as follows:

The Committee considering that, at this moment when
Vol. V p. 309 the enemies of the Republic seem to redouble
July 20, 1793 their efforts to secretly bring about its ruin, it seems fitting to redouble its watchfulness, to frustrate the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres, and that to refuse pecuniary sacrifices to assure this protection would compromise the safety of the country, decrees that the Minister of the Interior place at the disposition of the general commander of the Parisian National Guard the sum of 8,000 livres, and at the disposition of each of the Committees of Surveillance of the forty-eight sections of Paris 2,000 livres, which sums, destined to expenditure when the search for the conspirators and evil doers shall occasion it, shall be delivered on the discharge of the presidents of the aforesaid Committees and of the general Commander.

(Signed by Couthon, Hérault, Prieur de la Marne, Barère, Thuriot, Gasparin)

The Committee of Public Safety on the account which

Vol. VI p. 352 has been rendered to it as to the state of
Sept. 8, 1793 Paris in regard to subsistences, decrees that the National Treasury place at the disposition of Paris the sum of one million, which shall be deposited, according to the usual form, in the bank of the city of Paris, subject to the orders of the mayor and the administrator of the domains and finances, on the agreement that the said municipality render count to the Convention as to the use of this money and restore the said sum of one million to the bank of the National Treasury.

(Signed by Hérault, Thuriot, Barère,
Carnot, Robespierre, Prieur de la Marne)

The Committee of Public Safety considering the urg-
Vol. VII p. 52 ent need of subsistences for the city of Paris,
Sept. 25, 1793 has authorized the Minister of the Marine to deliver to the municipality of Paris, grain to the amount of 10,000 hundred weights, charging the Minister of the Interior to replace in the stores of the navy the same quantity of grain.

(Signed by Barère, Billaud-Varenne,
C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne,
Robespierre)

The Committee of Public Safety after the report made
Vol. VII p. 132 to it, by the mayor of Paris, on the subsis-

Feb. VI 2. 1944. Has been rendered in 19.44 in the state of
Sept. 6, 1944. Paris is ripe to consistrance, because the
the essential Economic place as the disposition of Cable
the use of the nation, which still is impartial, whether
ing so the model free, in the hand of the city of Paris.
subject to the wishes of the Sujet was the modalitiy
of the dispose our finance, so we appreciate that the
well monetarily power could be the bionomics in
the use of this money nationalize the mail use of use
million in the year of the Economic Tendency.

(signed in pencil, Dorfer, Jerry-
Lewis, Investigate, Finance in a hurry)

The Committee is finally certain concerning the cir-
Vol. VII 3. 1944. Has been of considerable in in its of Paris.
Sept. 13, 1944. Has submitted the circular of the letter to
Paris to the municipality of Paris, given to the amount
of 30,000 Dentral million. Reduce the circular of the
Tabular is reduce in the figure is in my life same
quantitiel group.

(signed by Jerry, Allied Forces,
C. A. Bruce, Deputy to is Paris,
Administrator)

The Quantities is Paris Jerry after the report made
Vol. VII 4. 1944. In it, by the mass of Paris, in the stipula-

Sept. 30, 1793 tences, and after seeing the letter relative to this object, decrees that there be delivered to the National Treasury an order for the sum of a million to be put at the disposition of the mayor and administrators of finances of the city of Paris, to be sent to the Department of Seine-et-Marne and be used for the payment of 4,200 sacks of flour, which ought to be furnished each week for the provisioning of the city of Paris.

(Signed C. A. Prieur, Hérault, Billaud-Varenne, Carnot, Barère, Collot-d'Herbois, Prieur de la Marne)

Vol. VII p. 109 Prieur's work in the organization of forces,
Sept. 29, 1793 including the manufacture of weapons and arm-
p. 30 - 31 ing of vessels, shows the great efforts which
Sept. 24, 1793 the Committee put forth in September 1793, in order to withstand the increasing vigor of the enemies of the Republic. The most extensive decree of this nature which Prieur signed was passed September 29th.

Some of the decrees relating to subsistences have been given previously under other subjects, in this paper, and of the remainder which Prieur signed the one of September 13, 1793 seems of greatest interest.

The Committee of Public Safety considering that un-
Vol. VI p. 461 der the present circumstances the powers in co-

alition try in every way to cut off or stop subsistences for the Republic, which commerce and the neutral nations are bringing to it; considering that each day the needs of the army and navy become more urgent, and that in the midst of plots of evil-doers to starve the Republic and excite complaints from its citizens, it is necessary to provide for the needs of subsistences for the next year, has decreed that the Provisional Executive Council shall immediately send agents of a pronounced patriotism, or take other measures that it deems suitable, to buy grain in Turkish Dalmatia, in the Barbary States, Italy, Sweden, Denmark and likewise North America. And to this result the Executive Council shall purify the choice of diplomatic agents already sent to various parts of the world; which purifying shall be submitted to the approbation of the Committee of Public Safety, with instructions which shall be given.

(Signed by Barère, Carnot, C. A. Prieur,
Prieur de la Marne, Hérault)

Prieur's work on dismissals, appointments and sending of men on mission was not very extensive and does not seem to require special illustration from decrees. However two special decrees will be given before leaving the subject of his Committee work, as they are somewhat unique.

These bills are on the telegraph, and on the diplomatic bases.

The Committee of Public Safety seeing the memorandum Vol. VII p. 29-30 of citizen Chappe, telegraph engineer, decrees Sept. 24, 1793 as follows:

Citizen Chappe is authorized to place the telegraph machines on the towers, belfries and places that he has chosen for their establishment, and to have made there all the necessary work and construction, even to cut down trees which might hinder the direction of the view of one machine from another; the proprietors both of the land on which the machines are set up, as well as those whose trees have to be cut down, shall be subject to indemnity: for the trees according to their value, and for the lands according to the estimation of the rate of rent of each portion occupied by the machine. These estimates shall be made by two experts of whom one shall be named by the municipality of the place, and the other by the proprietor, all in the presence of the one entrusted with the superintendence of the telegraph machine, who shall be able to make all necessary requisitions on this subject.

The Minister of the Interior shall without delay give orders necessary for the municipalities of the places where the machines are to be placed to see to their reser-

vation, by all the means in their power, and procure for citizen Chappe the workmen and materials which he needs.

Citizen Chappe is authorized to name the various agents of the telegraph correspondence; he shall submit a list to the Minister of War, who is charged to give them their commissions and attend to their appointments; citizen Chappe will immediately present a project of regulation on the exactness and discipline to be observed by the agents in each part of their service; this project will be submitted to the Minister of War who will submit it to the approval of the Committee of Public Safety.

On the establishment of the communication from Lille to Paris, citizen Chappe shall submit to the Minister of War and to the Committee of Public Safety a certified statement by the superintendent of the telegraph machine, which shall indicate the names of the different posts and of the agents who occupy them, as well as the nature of their employment, and shall contain the detail of the furnishings, instruments and objects which belong to each machine.

To hasten the construction of the telegraph machines the Minister of War shall give orders, if necessary, to put on requisition the workmen whom citizen Chappe needs.

The Minister of War is authorized to give to citizen

Chappe, for his trips and communication, one of the horses put at the disposition of the Republic, charging citizen Chappe to return the horse when he shall no longer have need of it.

(Signed by Hérault, Prieur de la Marne, Carnot, Barère, Billaud-Varenne)

The Committee of Public Safety decrees provisional diplomatic bases as follows:

Vol. VII p. 29

Sept. 24, 1793

1. During the war and until the Constitution be put into execution, there shall not be ministers plenipotentiary or ambassadors with any foreign powers. The Provisional Executive Council shall employ only secret agents, secretaries of legation and those charged with business.

2. To revise the list of all diplomatic employées abroad and to discharge or recall them.

3. There shall no longer be written instructions given to diplomatic agents to be carried away with them; they shall be known before their departure and deposited in the archives of the foreign affairs. There shall be given to them only powers and letters of credit.

4. There shall be an exception to article 1 only for the two free peoples, the Americans and the Swiss.

5. The Committee of Public Safety and the Provisional Ex-

eoutive Council shall not treat with any foreign agents or ministers who have not a positive character in favor of the French Republic.

(Signed by Prieur de la Marne, Barère)

We have now characterized the work of Prieur in the Committee regarding the decrees on which he acted, but one other phase of his work at this time needs consideration. This is the matter of his correspondence with Le Carpentier, the representative charged with the levy en masse in La Manche et L'Orne.(1)

The letters which passed between these two men show the great care which Le Carpentier exercised in keeping the Committee informed of his actions, and also the personal effort which Prieur put into his work, for in the month of September he was especially busy and it must have taken extra time for him to keep up this special correspondence.

Le Carpentier wrote of his efforts to make the Republic triumphant, and gave descriptions of the places which he visited and the nature of public opinion there.

One of Prieur's letters was delayed, and Le Carpentier reading in a paper that he was to have an adjoint, Garnier

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(1) See Appendix VII .

(de Saintes), wrote to Prieur to ascertain the reasons of the Committee for making this appointment. He ended his letter thus:

Ecrivez-moi donc souvent, ou bien, si la multiplic-
Vol. VI p. 596 ité de vos occupations, qui embrassent tous les
Sept. 21, 1793 points de la République, ne vous permet pas, contre votre désir et votre promesse, de donner une attention particulière au départment dans lequel je me trouve, veuillez bien m'en informer, afin que, par un autre arrangement fait entre nous avec autant de fraternité que le premier, je corresponde officiellement avec le Comité de salut public, si vous le croyez plus commode pour vous, et ce sans préjudicier la correspondance particulière que, dans tous les cas, je me ferai un véritable plaisir d'entretenir avec vous.

Salut et fraternité,

Le Carpentier.

A portion of Prieur's answers to Le Carpentier shows something of his attitude on the enemies of the Republic.

..... Continuez, citoyen collègue, à remplir
Vol. VII p. 35 comme vous l'avez commencée la mission que vous
Sept. 24, 1793 a confiée la Convention, et vous aurez bien mérité de la République, en prouvant aux traîtres et aux aristocrates, fédéralistes, royalistes et fanatiques, que la

liberté triomphera malgré leurs complots et leurs conjurations. Si nous vous avons envoyé un collègue, ce n'est pas que nous avons douté un seul instant de votre vigueur, mais nous avons pensé, d'après les dénonciations fréquentes qui nous ont été faites, et des manoeuvres de Pitt dans nos ports, et des projets des enemis de la République qui semblent s'y porter de toutes parts, qu'il était nécessaire qu'un répresentant fût particulièrement chargé de cette surveillance, afin de laisser à l'autre la faculté de se livrer aux autres opérations, que l'esprit des administrations du départment de la Manche et de l'Orne rendent on ne peut plus pressantes.

page 36-37 ..... Vous pourrez donc agir avec Garnier, ensemble ou séparément, suivant que vous croirez que l'intérêt de la Republic l'exigera; la Convention compte sur vous pour faire triompher le patriotisme dans ces contrées, et nous sommes déjà à même de lui prouver que ses espérances sont bien fondées. Ainsi, citoyen collègue, n'ayez aucune inquiétude, ni sur les dispositions du Comité de Salut public, ni sur celles de votre collègue. Le Comité est plein de confiance en vous, et votre ami entretiendra avec le plus grand plaisir la correspondance dont il est convenu avec vous, à moins qu'il ne soit obligé de partir pour prévenir tout movement. Dans ce dernier cas, ad-

dressez dorénavant votre correspondance au Comité; je la verrai et la surveillerai; de même ajoutez, à chacune de vos lettres, un mot pour votre collègue et, s'il est présent, il se fera la plus grand plaisir d'y répondre.....

As we have stated before, Prieur was away from the Committee, on mission, much of the time. His first mission was in the month of August, and the other one lasted from October 1793 until after the 9th of Thermidor, 1794.

The very fact that Prieur was given charge of important missions seems to prove the reliance which the Committee placed in him, and furthermore shows that he had marked ability as an administrator.

His relation to his colleagues in the Great Committee will be given in later chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRIEUR'S WORK IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

During the period when Prieur served as a member in the Committee of Public Safety, he attended some of the meetings of the National Convention, but it was always as a representative of the Great Committee that he made reports, and not on behalf of any other committees. On one occasion we find him as the "rapporteur" of the Committee of Public Safety.

Arch. Parl.
Vol. 70 p. 34
July 30, 1793

Whenever Prieur addressed the Convention his speeches were brief, yet powerful and to the point so that his audience was convinced to his way of thinking. He was present mostly in July and September, but not regularly.(1)

Various subjects were treated by Prieur, and in several cases he read letters from various officials, such as the one from the Representatives at Niort,(2) one from

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(1) See Appendix II.

(2) Arch. Parl. Vol. 69 page 95, July 17, 1793.

the municipal officers at Louviers,[1] another from the council-general at Nogent-sur-Seine,[2] and one from Orbec on the matter of troops.[3]

Prieur spoke on the work of education,[4] and at some length on the case of General Hédouville.[5]

A portion of his speeches in the Convention will be given here, leaving for a later chapter his work dealing especially with the Terror.

On July 13th, 1793 Prieur, in the name of the Commit-
Arch. Parl. tee of Public Safety, made a report on measures
Vol. 68 p. 678 to be taken against certain administrators of the district of Pont-l'Evêque, Department of Calvados. He spoke thus: "Legislators, in the crisis in which the Republic finds itself it is necessary to realize one truth, it is that this is the result of a conspiracy long since contrived between the rebel administrations. I come from those Departments where the center of this revolt is burning; I saw there that the people, for a mo-

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(1) Arch. Parl. Vol. 69 page 281, July 21, 1793.

(2) Arch. Parl. Vol. 69 page 283, July 21, 1793.

(3) Arch. Parl. Vol. 69 page 284, July 21, 1793.

(4) Arch. Parl. Vol. 74 page 238, Sept. 15, 1793.
Arch. Parl. Vol. 74 pages 269, 275-6, Sept. 16, 1793.

(5) Arch. Parl. Vol. 75 pages 129, 131, 156, Sept. 25, 1793.

ment led astray, were returning to a realization of the truth; that justice would be as terrible as had been the depth of error, and that the conspirators would soon be punished. Yet it must not be thought that all the administrators are to blame. Three classes of men compose all the administrations; some are traitors who do the plotting; others are weak, whom people lead astray; the last are men little informed, whom people deceive. The aim of the Committee is to search out and punish the first of these, who are the only ones to blame. It is necessary to hunt them in the administrations of the Departments and of the districts, in the tribunals and even in the councils-general of the communes."

Following this report, Prieur proposed the replacement of certain administrators of the district of Pont-l'Evêque, to which the Convention agreed.

On July 21, 1793, Prieur stated: "The citizens Pont and Bemiourt, members of the council-general of the commune of Rouen have brought to your Committee of Public Safety the procès-verbaux of the 26 sections of the city from which it results that the Constitution was accepted there almost entirely unanimously, I say almost unanimously for out of the immense number of those voting only twenty-six were opposed."

Arch. Parl. Vol. 69 p. 293

(Vifs applaudissements) (La Convention décrète la mention honorable et l'insertion au Bulletin.)

On August 25th, 1793 Hérault made a report on the state of affairs in the Department of Mont-Blanc which was threatened by enemies, principally from Lyons, and concluded by saying that the Committee of Public Safety would suggest the sending of two commissioners who should examine the situation and aid the citizens of Mont-Blanc.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 73 p. 21

In the discussion which followed, many seemed to think that Mont-Blanc did not merit a consideration but the Convention adopted the proposed decree after the following speech by Prieur:

"All the citizens of the Republic have sworn to defend it and not to permit the least dismemberment. Is not the Department of Mont-Blanc an integral part of the Republic? And since we have taken the sacred pledge to defend all parts, it merits fixing your entire attention on it, and even if it should be true that the minority has accepted the Constitution, one ought to conclude that in this Department as in many others the people have been deceived. We ought to think that in Mont-Blanc the people, reclaimed from their error, will hunt down as has been done elsewhere, all the trait-

Arch. Parl. Vol. 73 p. 22

ors and conspirators who have beguiled them.

"Citizens I come from the army; these opinions are shared by all our brave soldiers, they have sworn on their swords to exterminate all the tyrants, and to die rather than to permit them to blemish any part of the Republic by their domination. Let us remember our oaths, punish Lyons and save Mont-Blanc."

We see Prieur in the Convention acting with the same energy and enthusiasm as in the Committee, which seems to prove, as has been stated above, that he was essentially a worker in whatever field he happened to find himself.

CHAPTER IV

PRIEUR'S RELATIONS WITH ROBERT LINDET AND JEAN BON SAINT-ANDRÉ

In an examination of Prieur's work in the Great Committee one would naturally expect to find him acting with Robert Lindet, principally in the matter of subsistences. Statements to this effect are found in Carnot's Memoires,[1] Levy-Schneider's account of Jean Bon Saint-André,[2] and in other books which consider Prieur of sufficient importance to mention him at all.

However the record of attendance of these two men shows that when Prieur was present in the Committee, namely the greater part of July, August and September, Lindet was not there;[3] and from a consideration of the men with whom Prieur signed decrees,[4] we see that Lindet was the

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(1) Hippolyte Carnot: Memoires sur Lazare Carnot. Vol. I page 350.

(2) L. Levy-Schneider: Le Conventionnel Jean Bon Saint-André. Vol. I page 461.

(3) The Record of Attendance on Robert Lindet was prepared by Miss Harriet Tuft.

(4) See Appendix VI.

only member of the Committee with whom Prieur did not sign at least one decree.

Of all the members of the Committee, the one man with whom Prieur seemed to have special relations was Jean Bon Saint-André. The reorganization of the navy was doubtless due to their efforts and both of these men seem to have been able administrators.

On both of the occasions when Prieur was sent on mission, during the period of the Great Committee, Saint-André was sent with him, and the fact that they worked in conjunction is shown by the letters which they sent to the Committee.

On August 1st, 1793 the National Convention decreed
Vol. V p. 442 that Prieur de la Marne, Saint-André and Le Bas
Arch. Parl. go immediately to the armies of the North, Ar-
Vol. 70 p. 107 dennes, Moselle and Rhine, to plan with the gen-
erals on all the measures necessary in the existing cir-
cumstances.
Vol. V p. 492 August 6th, 1793 Saint-André and Prieur sent a
report to the Committee and August 9th they rendered an
Vol. V p. 519 account of the consignment of 12,000 men for the
army of the North, also giving details on the resources
and patriotism in the places visited.
Vol. V p. 526 It is interesting to note that August 10th they

only member of the Committee with whom Irving did not also get least one vote.

Of all the members of the Committee, the one who was giving evidence of some special relations was Joel Jon Dalzel-Job. The recommendation of the Party was designed due to their activity was some of those who seem to have been also sympathizers.

On both of the occasions when Irving was used on station, during the period of the Grand Committee, Dalzel-Job was chairman, and the fact that that Party acquired in consultation is shown by the initial quite-but-only-one of the Committee.

On August 1st, 1788 the Estimated Conversion Service Vol. 7 p. 4[illegible] that Irving be in Leeds, Dalzel-Job in the Area. Staff. To Bamberley to the Junction of the Rivers, Vol. 70 p. 107 Gordon, Somerset and Wales. To come with the provide on all the available evidence in the Committee Committee.

Vol. 7 p. 4[illegible] August 4th, 1788 Dalzel-Job and Irving had a report to the Committee as a result of the Conference.

Vol. 7 p. 35[illegible] Approval of the Committee is to be sent for the body of the Board, Dalzel-Job being on the Committee and Irving in the Leeds Staff.

Vol. 7 p. 3[illegible] It is interesting to note that Irving and Dalzel-Job

recounted how the anniversary of that day was celebrated at Saarbrück.

August 12th they gave an account of the measures
Vol. V p. 534 which they had taken to reorganize the army of the Moselle, which had been weakened by the 30,000 men in the reinforcement which they had to send to the army of the North.

A little later they busied themselves in procuring
Vol. VI p. 5 horses for the Republic, and in indicating the
Aug. 16, 1793 possible remedies in the manufacture of arms. However it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss Prieur's work while on mission, but these extracts serve to bring out clearly the fact that he was associated with Saint-André more closely than with any other member of the Committee.

In September we find their names appearing together
Vol. VII p. 2 again.
Sept. 22, 1793 The Committee of Public Safety after taking cognizance of the dispatches sent by the vice-admiral Morard de Galle, relative to the fleet which is at Quiberon, decrees that two members of the Committee of Public Safety, Prieur de la Marne and Jean Bon Saint-André, go immediately to the naval force commanded by the vice-admiral Morard de Galle, to take there such

measures of public safety as they shall judge suitable.

(Signed by C. A. Prieur, Carnot, Barère, Billaud-Varenne, Collot-d'Herbois, Hérault)

Vol. VII p. 132 — The Committee of Public Safety considering that the evil-doers do not cease to do their work in the city of Brest, and considering that it is important under the existing circumstances to guard with severity all which concerns the navy of the Republic, has decreed that citizens Prieur de la Marne and Jean Bon Saint-André go immediately to Brest in order to take there, relative to the navy, all the measures of public safety which they shall consider necessary, and that they shall exercise, either in respect to the navy, or to the authorities constituted in the various departments through which they shall pass, the same powers as the representatives of the people in the armies.

Sept. 30, 1793

(Signed by Barère, Hérault, C. A. Prieur)

Vol. VII p. 212 — October 4th, 1793, the National Convention after hearing the report of the Committee of Public Safety decrees that citizens Prieur de la Marne and Jean Bon Saint-André go immediately to Brest to take all necessary measures, relative to the

Arch. Parl. Vol. 76 p. 45

navy.

They are invested as regards the navy, as well as regards the authorities constituted in the various Departments which they shall traverse, the same powers as the representatives of the people with the armies.

From the preceding statements we may draw the conclusion that if any one member of the Committee is to be chosen as Prieur's special colleague it must be Saint-André and not Robert Lindet.

CHAPTER V

PRIEUR'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

One of the marked characteristics of the Committee was its solidarity, and by examining the number of times the members signed decrees with Prieur we find that all of his colleagues (except Lindet who was away) took a part in his work.(1)

Barère, C. A. Prieur and Carnot were the members with whom Prieur signed most decrees, but on the whole we may say that the Committee work was pretty evenly divided, at least in regard to the bills in which Prieur was interested.

Besides the matter of decrees we find Prieur's name with some of the members who wrote letters to various representatives on mission.

September 3, 1793 he signed with Carnot, Robespierre,
Vol. VI p. 255 C. A. Prieur, and Thuriot in a letter to Couthon and Maignet, who were with the army of the Alps.

September 22 he signed with Billaud-Varenne, Carnot,
Vol. VII p. 4 Collot-d'Herbois, C. A. Prieur and Barère, in

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(1) See Appendix VI.

CHAPTER V

PRIMARY REALIZATIONS VIA SOUND SEQUENCE OF THE CONDITIONS

One of two marked characteristics of the conditions are its collectivity, making association two orders of magnitude and whose algebra begins with zeroes at first look [1] of his collaborator (except Lipsey who was only) [illegible] part in his work.

Barkes, C. A. Prieur and Darrel were the members with whom Prieur algebra most concerns, but on the whole we may say that the conditions with the purely verbal evidence, as least in regards to the kind in which Prieur was interested.

Despite the merits of Barkes on Lisa Prieur's name with many of the members who were Lecture to various typewriterhives on biation.

Wednesday 3, 1752 he signed also Darrel, Complaints.

Vol. II p. 320 C. A. Prieur, and Tuesday is a letter to Dem- Cuno and Lagrange, who were with the [illegible] of the [illegible].

Beginning 22 he signed just Gilland-Prieur, Darrel.

Vol. VII p. 4 Cahier-d'exercis, C. A. Prieur and Darrel, in

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(1) see appendix VI.

a letter to Thirion representative in La Sarthe.

September 25th he signed with Billaud-Varenne, C.
Vol. VII p. 56-8 A. Prieur, and Barère, in a letter to the representatives in the army of the Rhine.

Gros says Prieur was an "ardent Robespierriste"[1] and Bliard, dealing with the effect of the 9th of Thermidor on Prieur, states: "Sa colère éclata d'abord contre les auteurs de cette révolution et l'on raconte qu'à cette nouvelle il mutila dans sa fureur un buste de Tourville, oublié dans le salon de la préfecture maritime où il habitait."[2] He further adds that Prieur, because of his prudence and also fear, soon proclaimed himself satisfied with the events of the 9th of Thermidor.

After reading such accounts it is interesting to examine the letter which Prieur wrote from Brest, August 2, 1794, to the Committee of Public Safety,[3] on receipt of the news of the fall of Robespierre.

A portion of this letter is as follows:

J'ai recu ce matin, citoyens collègues, par un cour-

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(1) Gros: Comité de Salut Public, page 63.

(2) Bliard: Le Conventionnel Prieur de la Marne en Mission dans l'Ouest, page 427.

(3) Recueil des Actes du Comité, Vol. XV, page 611.

rier que m'a expédié notre collègue Laignelot, un exemplaire de la proclamation de la Convention Nationale sur la conspiration de Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, Le Bas, Hanriot, etc. contre la République, avec une copie de votre lettre du 10 aux représentants du peuple près l'armée des côtes de Brest. Sur-le-champ les autorités civiles et militaires de terre et de mer ont été assemblées pour leur faire part du triomphe de la Convention Nationale sur ces Catilinas modernes. La garnison, les ouvriers du port, les marins, les citoyens de la commune, les autorités constituées ont été appelés autour de la Montagne élevée sur la place. La proclamation a été lue; elle a été accueillie par des cris mille fois répétés de Vivent la Republique, la Liberté, la Convention Nationale, la Montagne! Périssent les conspirateurs et les tyrans! Et nous y avons tous répété le serment de vivre libres ou de mourir, et juré d'exterminer les conspirateurs et les tyrans.....

Continuez, chers collègues, à déjouer les conspirateurs qui cherchent à troubler le centre de la République: je vous réponds de la partie où je me trouve.

Salut et fraternité,

Prieur (de la Marne).

We may thus conclude that Prieur was ready to act with those of his colleagues whom he considered to have the good of the Republic at heart, and did not let his personal likes or dislikes interfere with his duties as a member of the Great Committee.

CHAPTER VI

PRIEUR'S WORK IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TERROR

One of the special phases of Prieur's work, both in the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention, was his share in the general organization of the Terror.

A number of decrees given in earlier chapters have illustrated this part of his work somewhat, such as the
Vol. VI p. 589 decree of September 21, 1793, made in conjunction with the Committee of General Security; the decree
Vol. VI p. 309 placing money at the disposition of the Com-
July 30, 1793 mittees of Surveillance of Paris, that deter-
Vol. VII p. 29 mining various diplomatic bases, besides
Sept. 24, 1793 others mainly of a financial nature.

There is one other typical decree, not stated heretofore, which throws light on Prieur's work on the Terror.

The Committee of Public Safety having deliber-
Vol. VI p. 395 ated on the dispatches of the Representatives
Sept. 10, 1793 of the people Baudot and Ysabeau, of the date of September 2nd decrees:

1st. That there be sent by the Committee some pronounced patriotic agents into the city of Bordeaux and its vic-

[illegible] OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE [illegible]

One of the special issues of France's war, both in the debates of Public Safety and the National Convention, was the issue in the general organization of the Terror.

A number of orators given to written composition have illustrated this part of the Terr movement, such as the Vol. VI p. 659 Decree of September 12, 1793, made in continuation with the Constitution of Democratic Security; the Decree Vol. VI p. 309 Placing among the organization of the Commission July 30, 1793 Witness of Commissioners of Prisons, that deter- Vol. VI p. 29 Making various illegality laws, because Sept. 24, 1793 State Security of a liberated nation.

There is now Public Security Committee, or Public Deter- bution, which forms right in France's work on the Terror.

The Committee of Public Safety covered Committee- Vol. VI p. 390 was on the Commission of a Representative Sept. 10, 1793 of the people Senate in Toulouse, of the date of September and Antoine:

1st. This State is part of the Revolutionary Committee particular agents also the city of Antoine and 4th Tri-

inity, to rouse public spirit, to urge the execution of laws emanating from the National Convention, to restore to the principles of unity and indivisibility of the Republic those who have been led astray.

2nd. That the Committee shall plan with the Minister of War to unite the forces necessary to have these decrees executed at Bordeaux, and to restore the rebel citizens to obedience to the national authority.

3rd. That citizen Brune, brigadier-general, go, on the authorization of the Minister of War, to act with the Representatives of the people Ysabeau at Réole near Bordeaux, and Tallien (Representative of the people sent into the Department of the Gironde), on military measures to be taken relative to the requisition of young citizens in the Department of the Gironde and nearby Departments, prescribed by a decree of August 23rd; charges General Brune expressly to visit the citadels of Blaye and Royan, and to assure himself as to the state of defense of these places, and to plan so as to make provision with the representatives of the people.

4th. That the Minister of War have articles of equipment immediately sent to Tonneins and Réole, necessary for an army of 4,000 men.

5th. That out of the funds placed at the disposition of

the Minister of War there be given by the National Treasury, for the disposal of the Representatives sent to Bordeaux, Ysabeau and Tallien (who will cooperate in the operations in the Gironde) the sum of one million, and at the disposition of General Brune the sum of 300,000 livres; the accounts of the use of this money to be rendered to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Signed by Carnot, Barère, C. A. Prieur, Prieur de la Marne)

In the National Convention also Prieur exercised his duties in regard to the Terror. He spoke at some length in July in regard to the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Arch. Parl. Vol. 70 p. 32 July 30, 1793

He made a report in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, presenting the project for a decree relative to the creation of a second section of the Revolutionary Tribunal. He spoke thus:

"Citizens I am charged by your Committee of Public Safety to make a report to you on the actual situation of the Revolutionary Tribunal. It is now at the time when the Revolution is about to be accomplished, that evil-doers have agitated to make it retrograde, and that conspiracies have broken out. You have thought that the only means of destroying them was to punish the con-

spirators severely, consequently you have established a tribunal which is able to terrify them by its rigor; yet at the moment when the acceptance of the Constitution makes it possible to form new plots in the Departments, the Revolutionary Tribunal finds itself overtaxed with its work so that it will not be able to give information except after a long delay: and during this time the conspirators may cherish the hope of escaping from the vengeance of the laws; it is to hasten its progress that the Committee proposes the establishment of a second Revolutionary Tribunal."

After the Convention agreed to his proposal Prieur continued:

"Citizens I am charged to make known to you facts which you would hardly believe if they had not been written. You have established a tribunal to punish the counter-revolutionists. Well! citizens, will you believe that the president of this tribunal is himself a counter-revolutionist! (Mouvements d'étonnement sur un grand nombre de bancs.) The items which prove this fact have been sent to the Committee of Public Safety by the public accuser, the judges, and the clerk of the court. It is after learning this that the Committee is determined to have Montané arrested. (Applaudissements)

"Here are the papers submitted to the Committee by the public accuser attached to the Revolutionary Tribunal and signed by all the judges."

page 34 Prieur de la Marne, rapporteur, continued: "The president of the Revolutionary Tribunal is accused of two offenses, the first is having wished to stop the confiscation of the goods of the assassins of Léonard Bourdon, among whom were many millionaires; secondly in wishing to establish, in abridging the judgment on the maiden Corday, these words: avec des intentions contre-révolutionnaires, that an assassination committed on the person of a representative of the people was not a crime of treason. I shall not dwell any longer on my opinions, the character of the crime is sufficiently known. Your Committee proposes that you send Montané before the second section of the Revolutionary Tribunal to be tried."

The Convention adopted Prieur's proposals.

On September 15, 1793, Barère presented a decree to
Arch. Parl. the Convention relative to the provisional re-
Vol. 74 p. 231 newal of various established authorities, and relative to the arrest of counter-revolutionary administrators, ordered by the representatives of the people sent into the Departments by virtue of the law of August 23rd.

Prieur of the Marne proposed some additional articles, all of which were adopted as follows:

"The National Convention, after hearing the report of its Committee of Public Safety, decrees as follows:

"The representatives of the people sent into the Departments by virtue of the law of August 23rd shall render account, in the briefest delay possible, to the Committee of Public Safety of the measures which they ought to take for the provisional renewal of the members of the various established authorities, as well as for the arrest of counter-revolutionary administrators, and of the confiscation of their goods pronounced by the decrees already rendered. They are charged especially with hastening more vigorously all the operations of the sale of goods of the émigrés.

"They are also specially charged with putting into execution the article of the law of last August 23rd, which places in requisition the horses suitable for the service of the Republic.

"The Minister of the Interior shall send to the Committee of Public Safety the names of places where the horses, put on requisition, ought to be left for the service of each army."

On September 24, 1793 Prieur announced to the Conven-

Points of the Lenin program were adopted and were:

"The National Convention, after hearing the report of the Committee of Public Safety, resolves as follows.

"The representatives of the people have been the spokesmen by nature of the law at critical times during many centuries. In the present being political, in the Committee of Public Safety of the Convention, they ought to take the individual command of the national of the moment revolutionary activities, in spite of the threat of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, and of the hesitancies of their peers (colleagues) by the same already proscribed. They are charged especially with hastening more strongly all the operations of the made of power of the Convention.

"They are also especially charged with hastening the execution the execution of the law of 22nd August 1793, which places in requisition the entire military for service of the Republic.

"The Minister of the Interior shall send to the members of Public Safety the names of those who have the courage, and the temperament, ready to be left on the altar of such duty."

On September 5, 1793 Lenin succeeded in the Commission

Arch. Parl tion that the requisition of young citizens
Vol. 75 p. 87 from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, had produced in the Department of Pas-de-Calais alone, twenty battalions which had all sworn to extinguish the tyrants. The Procureur-général-syndic of the Department in sending the list, exclaimed: "Ah! citoyens, quelle nation que celle dont vour êtes les représentants et nous les administrateurs! qu'il est doux de la servir et de mourir pour elle!" (Mention honorable, insertion au Bulletin)

Prieur's share in the organization of the Terror proves his desire to bring about the triumph of Revolutionary Government, and also further illustrates the fact that his work during the period of the Committee was both diversified and important.

CHAPTER VII

THE LATER CAREER OF PRIEUR OF THE MARNE

Prieur left Brest September 6, 1794, and returned to Paris where he found his place on the Committee of Public Safety as well as many other committees filled by others. However his influence was still great and his former services appreciated, so that October 2, 1794 he was named a member of the Commission of the Colonies, and four days later he was returned to the Committee of Public Safety, being the only representative then present of the old or Great Committee. On October 22, 1794 he was elected president of the National Convention for the usual term of fifteen days.

The revival in favor of Prieur was of short duration. On February 3, 1795 he retired from the Committee of Public Safety in due course after four months' service, and somewhat later was arrested. For several days he was guarded at his residence, but on June 12th, when warned that he was to be transferred to a prison, he escaped during the night and reached a village near Château-Thierry where he was received by a relative and concealed until the amnesty of Brumaire Year IV (October 1795).

Later Prieur returned to Paris and on August 2, 1799 succeeded in obtaining a place as administrator in the hospitals of that city (which he had aided in reorganizing 1790-1). He did not enjoy this employment long, for suspected of Jacobinism because he and some former revolutionists had formed a club called "Société du Manège" (July 6, 1799), and having refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Consuls, he was dismissed from office after the Coup d'État of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799).

During the Empire he was reduced to the resources to be obtained from his practice of law. Although poor he refused offers which the Emperor's advisers made to him. The events of 1814 roused him from his semi-retreat, and he became a sergeant of the National Guard.

After the law of January 12, 1816 against the regicides, Prieur voluntarily left France. At first he thought of going to the United States, but finding the expense of the trip too great, he went to the Netherlands, reaching Brussels February 9, 1816, where he resided until his death May 30, 1827.

In a note written in 1823 (1) it can be seen that Prieur resented keenly the neglect of his native country for

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(1) Notes et Souvenirs de Prieur, page 51.

which he had worked so faithfully. He wrote:

"Le passé ne cesse de retracer sous mes yeux le dévouement avec lequel j'ai combattu pour la cause de la liberté et surtout l'ingratitude d'une nation entière qui, sauf quelques amis fidèles, m'ont complètement oublié, sans songer à la situation cruelle où m'ont réduit tous mes sacrifices!

"Le présent! huit ans de bannissement seule marque de souvenir que me laisse la nation francaise, les privations de toute espèce, la misère, compagne inséparable d'une telle situation! Voilà ma récompense!

"L'avenir! Ah! du moins il cessera pour moi et avec lui la source des maux qui m'accablent."

A P P E N D I C E S

I. PRIEUR DE LA MARNE'S RECORD OF ATTENDANCE IN THE GREAT COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY

The following appendices are based on an examination of the Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public. Prieur is counted as present on those days when his name appears in the list of members attending the meetings, such as is given in the Recueil des Actes at the beginning of each session. He is considered as absent on those days when his name is not found anywhere on the records of the meeting, either at the beginning or among names of members who signed decrees.

However from an examination of the decrees which he signed it would seem that Prieur was present at times when his name does not appear in the list given of those present at each session, perhaps because he entered the meeting late, or on account of an omission in the records. Of course it may be that someone signed his name to certain decrees in his absence, but this hardly seems probable in Prieur's case, for on the days under consideration he was not absent on mission or anywhere else as far as we can discover. For this reason the dates of all decrees which he signed will be given that one may get a clearer idea of his

presence in the Committee.

During the period under examination it will be observed that two meetings were omitted, and on two days the roll was not taken.

Record of Attendance for July, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V									
232	11								
239	12								
249	13								
		256	14						
		262	15						
270	16								
279	17								
290	18								
299	19								
309	20			309	20				
324	21								
335	22								
343	23								
351	24			351, 352	24				
						364	25		
				371, 372	26				
		392	27						
								405	28
				413	29				
420	30			422	30				
429	31								

Record of Attendance for August, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume V							
439	1						
446	2						
459	3						
		470	4				
		478	5				
		485	6				
		495	7				
		505	8				
		513	9				
		521	10				
		528	11				
		532	12				
		535	13				
544	14						
		554	15				
Volume VI							
2	16						
13	17						
19	18						
24	19						
38	?20						

Record of Attendance for August, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Meeting	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VI							
						47	21
58	?22						
68	23						
84	24			87, 89	24		
96	25			98	25		
114	26			116	26		
127	27						
140	28			140, 141, 143	28		
162	29			162, 164	29		
184	30			186, 187	30		
201	31			201, 202	31		

Record of Attendance for September, 1793

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VI							
215	1						
235	2			236	2		
		249	3				
270	4			270	4		
				283, 284	5		
295	6			295, 296	6		
323	7			323	7		
351	8			351, 352, 353	8		
				374	9		
395	10			395, 396	10		
				416, 417	11		
443	12						
				461	13		
477	14						
		487	15				
511	16			511, 512	16		
533	17						
		551	18				
565	19			566	19		
				575, 576, 577	20	575	20
587	21			588, 589	21		

Reading of Arkansaw, for September, 1734.

Page Dynamic	Page Static	Page Dynamic	Page Static	Page Dynamic	Page Static	Page Dynamic	Page Static
Volume II							
110	1						
102	2			139	4		
		102	3				
170	3			170	5		
				102, 104	6		
102	4			102, 170	7		
102	5			102	8		
102	6			102, 170, 178	9		
				170	10		
130	10			102, 102	11		
				121, 127	12		
140	11						
				102	13		
177	12						
		127	14				
112	13			121, 122	15		
102	14						
		101	16				
130	15			140	17		
				117, 177, 178	18	170	19
102	16			102, 102, 104	20		

Record of Attendance for September, 1793 (continued)

Days Present		Days Absent		Signed Decrees		No Roll Call	
page	date	page	date	page	date	page	date
Volume VII							
1	22			1	22		
13	23			14	23		
28	24			29,30,31	24		
				52	25		
68	26			69	26		
82	27			83, 84	27		
100	28			101	28		
109	29			109, 110, 111	29		
130	30			131, 132, 133	30		
October							
164	1						

II. RECORD OF ATTENDANCE IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, AS A MEMBER OF THE GREAT COMMITTEE

Prieur attended, and took an active part in some of the meetings of the Convention, during the time when he served on the Great Committee of Public Safety. The days he attended are given below, the references being to the Archives Parlementaires.

July	1793		
	13	Volume 68	page 678
	14	Volume 68	" 728
	17	Volume 69	" 95
			" 104
	21	Volume 69	" 281
			" 283
			" 284
			" 293
	22	Volume 69	" 334
	30	Volume 70	" 32
			" 34
August	1793		
	25	Volume 73	Page 22
September	1793		
	15	Volume 74	page 231
			" 238
	16	Volume 74	" 269
			" 275
			" 276
	24	Volume 75	" 87
	25	Volume 75	" 129
			" 131
			" 156

II. REVIEW OF ATTEMPTS IN THE BRITISH CONTEXT, AS A GROUP OR THE SAME QUESTION

Either attempted, but failed, before that it was of the meeting of the Commission, having the time been served on the Final Completion of Public Policy. The days the citizens are also going, the citizens going to the Public Participation.

1. 2013	1793	
	30 Volume 30	Page 123
	34 Volume 34	" 456
	37 Volume 37	" 90
		" 100
	41 Volume 41	" 245
		" 180
		" 400
		" 300
		" 124
	47 Volume 47	" 124
	50 Volume 50	" 30
		" 34

Summary	1790	
	58 Volume 58	Page 58

Conference	1792	
	19 Volume 19	Page 241
		" 245
	24 Volume 24	" 278
		" 277
		" 177
	54 Volume 54	" 97
	58 Volume 57	" 400
		" 124
		" 124

III. DECREES WHICH PRIEUR ALONE SIGNED

There are five decrees in the Recueil des Actes du Comité which Prieur signed, independent of the other members. Their dates are as follows:

August 28, 1793	Volume VI, page 140-141 two decrees
August 29, 1793	Volume VI, page 162
September 10, 1793	Volume VI, page 397
September 11, 1793	Volume VI, page 417

IV. DECREES IN PRIEUR'S HANDWRITING

The decrees of the Committee written "de la main de Prieur" are found as indicated below, together with a few letters which he wrote.

July 24, 1793	Volume	V	page	352
August 28	"	VI	"	141
August 29	"	VI	"	162
September 6	"	VI	"	296
September 7 (letter)	"	VI	"	330-2
September 8	"	VI	"	353
September 9	"	VI	"	374
September 10	"	VI	"	396
September 11	"	VI	"	417
September 21	"	VI	"	589
September 22	"	VII	"	1
September 22 (letter)	"	VII	"	4
September 24 (2 letters)	"	VII	"	34-7

IV. [illegible] IN [illegible] LANGUAGES

The [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] in Germany was [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] below on [illegible].

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (1 [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 11	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 12	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 13	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 14 (1 [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] 15 (1 [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

V. CLASSIFICATION OF DECREES WHICH PRIEUR SIGNED

Prieur's work in the Committee was of a varied nature in the matter of signing decrees, and the classification here given is an attempt to group and organize as far as possible the character of his committee work. Many of the bills are of such a nature as to fall under several of the headings selected, but in these cases the decrees have been classified according to their main characteristics, and the classes given are not meant to be absolutely exclusive of each other. Ten chief divisions have been chosen as typical, the references being to the Recueil des Actes du Comité.

1. Financial Decrees

July 24, 1793	Volume	V	page	351
August 28	"	VI	"	143
August 29	"	VI	"	162
August 30	"	VI	"	187
September 2	"	VI	"	236
September 3	"	VI	"	283
September 6	"	VI	"	295
September 8	"	VI	"	351
September 9	"	VI	"	374

1. Financial Decrees (continued)

September 10, 1793	Volume	VI	page	395
September 10	"	VI	"	397
September 11	"	VI	"	417
September 20	"	VI	"	575
September 21	"	VI	"	589
September 26	Volume	VII	"	69
September 27	"	VII	"	83
September 27	"	VII	"	84
September 30	"	VII	"	132-3

2. Arrests of Individuals

July 29, 1793	Volume	V	page	413
July 30	"	V	"	422
August 24	Volume	VI	"	87
August 25	"	VI	"	98
September 6	"	VI	"	296
September 7	"	VI	"	323
September 8	"	VI	"	353
September 20	"	VI	"	577
September 27	Volume	VII	"	83
September 28	"	VII	"	101
September 28	"	VII	"	101
September 30	"	VII	"	131

3. Paris

July 20, 1793	Volume	V	page	309
July 24	"	V	"	352
August 29	Volume	VI	"	164
September 8	"	VI	"	352
September 8	"	VI	"	353
September 10	"	VI	"	396
September 21	"	VI	"	588
September 23	Volume	VII	"	14
September 25	"	VII	"	52
September 30	"	VII	"	132

4. Organization of Forces

July 26, 1793	Volume	V	page	371
August 28	Volume	VI	"	140
August 28	"	VI	"	141
September 11	"	VI	"	416
September 16	"	VI	"	512
September 19	"	VI	"	566
September 20	"	VI	"	576
September 24	Volume	VII	"	30-1
September 26	"	VII	"	69
September 26	"	VII	"	69

5. Subsistences

August 9, 1793: :letters	Volume	V	page	519
August 16	Volume	VI	"	5
September 5	"	VI	"	284
September 6	"	VI	"	295
September 11	"	VI	"	417
September 13	"	VI	"	461
September 29	Volume	VII	"	109

6. Missions

August 1, 1793	Volume	V	page	442
August 30	Volume	VI	"	187
August 31	"	VI	"	201
September 10	"	VI	"	395
September 21	"	VI	"	589
September 22	Volume	VII	"	1
September 29	"	VII	"	109

7. Dismissals

August 26, 1793	Volume	VI	page	116
September 16	"	VI	"	511
September 16	"	VI	"	512

8. Appointments

September 20, 1793 Volume VI page 575

September 22 Volume VII " 1

9. Diplomatic Bases

September 24, 1793 Volume VII page 29

10. Telegraph

September 24, 1793 Volume VII page 29

VI. PRIEUR'S SIGNATURE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

The following table shows the number of times each of the members of the Committee signed decrees in connection with Prieur de la Marne.

Barère 38 times

C. A. Prieur 38

Carnot 36

Billaud-Varenne 26

Hérault de Séchelles 25

Robespierre 23

Jean Bon Saint-André 22

Collot d'Herbois 12

Thuriot 12

Saint-Just 6

Couthon 5

Gasparin 1

On two occasions the Great Committee signed decrees in conjunction with Committee of General Security, (in meetings when Prieur signed these decrees).

July 30, 1793 was the first occasion, and the members of the Committee of General Security who signed were,

Laignelot

Legendre

Amar

VI. Problems connected with Open-Endedness of the Language

The following table shows the number of times each of the members of the Cambridge school decided in conformity with Gilmour's judgment.

Barbara Ed Kinds	
[illegible] Ed	
Gurney Ed	
Allingham Ed	
Schmidt Ed Dialect Ed	
Dunnghaisy Ed	
Pan and Kilcoomey Ed	
Dublin Alphabet Ed	
Tinker Ed	
Donat-Gry E	
Gulkana E	
Dennehy E	

In the decisions for Donat Gurrtheen Eligen Gurrtheen in conformity with Gmelin's or Moneret's decisions. (In Dunlinge when Tyburn Eligen Tabin Gurrtheen).

Only on, 1891 was the first meeting, and the number of the decisions of Dublin Dialect was -Eligen Gurr-

Lakeville	
Lagoons	
Dunn	

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

147. On September 21, 1793 two members of the Committee of General Security signed decrees, namely

Panis

Le Bas

VII. PRIEUR'S CORRESPONDENCE WHILE IN THE COMMITTEE

While present in the meetings of the Committee, Prieur carried on a correspondence with Le Carpentier, one of Representatives in La Manche. The letters of each may be found as follows:

September 2, 1793	Le Carpentier to Prieur, Volume VI page 240
September 7, 1793	Prieur to Le Carpentier, Volume VI page 330-2
September 9, 1793	Le Carpentier to Prieur, Volume VI page 381-3
September 11, 1793	Le Carpentier to Prieur, Volume VI page 426-7
September 18, 1793	Le Carpentier to Prieur, Volume VI page 558
September 21, 1793	Le Carpentier to Prieur, Volume VI page 595
September 24, 1793 (2 letters)	Prieur to Le Carpentier, Volume VII pages 35, 36, 37

VII. Miller's Correspondence Dealt in the Complaint

While reason is not derived at the complaint, Miller cerified as a correspondence that he corresponded one of Representatives in the Senate. The letters of such may be found as follows:

September 2, 1780 — Le Correspondit to Pilsner, Volume VI page 340

September 7, 1780 — Issue to be Correspondent, Volume VI page 344-

September 9, 1780 — Le Correspondent as Pilsner, Volume VI page 345-6

September 11, 1780 — Le Correspondit to Pilsner, Volume VI page 346-7

September 12, 1780 — Le Correspondent to Pilsner, Volume VI page 348

September 21, 1780 — Le Correspondent to Pilsner, Volume VI page 350

September 24, 1780 — Pilsner to Le Correspondent, (& Letters) Volume VII page 14, 16, 17

(page 75 bound at the 77)

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