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THIRD EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1897

V53:5991.L9

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PREFACE.

AFTER such great historians as Carlyle and Mignet, Michelet and Taine, have treated the history of the French Revolution, the author of a new book upon the subject is bound to give the reasons which have induced him to place himself in competition with them. The English public is hardly aware of the vast literature which has grown up in France during the last few years upon this fascinating period, and it is with the intention of giving the substance of the new information, which has thus been afforded, that the present work has been written. English readers derive their knowledge from the marvellous work of Carlyle, and are, as a general rule, ignorant of the new facts which have been brought to light since the publication of his history: The great name of Carlyle has made men wary of seeming to tread in his path, and the mass of English readers are therefore left in ignorance of the many points in which he erred, not wilfully, but from the scantiness of the information at his disposal. To give but a single instance, the exact relations of Mirabeau with the court were necessarily unknown to Carlyle, as M. de Bacourt's volumes, which contain the correspondence of Mirabeau with La Marck, were not published until 1851, and have never been translated into English. The most valuable English works upon the period, Croker's "Essays" and Smyth's "Lectures," are both now out of date, and even G. H. Lewes' "Life of Robespierre," though

in some ways the most remarkable book published upon that statesman in any language, is often incorrect in details. In more modern days nothing very valuable upon the period has been published in England with the exception of the "Gallican Church and the Revolution," by the Rev. W. H. Jervis, Mr. John Morley's essays on Condorcet and Robespierre, and Mr. Oscar Browning's most valuable edition of the "Gower Despatches," which has however appeared too recently to be used in this volume. Scattered papers of more or less value have been published in various reviews and magazines, but no real history of the French Revolution has been published in England since Carlyle's great work.

Before giving a sketch of the various phases through which the treatment of the history of the Revolution has passed in France, and classifying in some degree the new material which has been used, it is as well at once to declare that this work does not abound in surprises. With the exception of one document illustrating the career of Marat in England, the remarkable manuscript account of the storming of the Tuileries by the Baron de Durler contained in the British Museum, and the private letters of the Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador in Paris, to the Duke of Leeds, the Secretary of State, also in the Museum, I have had no access to unknown material, but I have made diligent use of the superb collection of pamphlets in the Museum Library, which is unrivalled, even in Paris. The foundation of this collection was laid by Sir Anthony Panizzi, and it was completed by the acquisition of the Croker pamphlets. Mr. Croker for many years entertained the idea of writing a history of the French Revolution, and Murray offered him 2500 guineas if he would undertake such a work; but, though he never did write a consecutive account of the period, he collected a vast library upon the subject. On this library he wrote, in 1854, after it

had been acquired by the trustees of the British Museum, "Be so good as to tell Mr. Panizzi, with my compliments, that my collection of Revolutionary pamphlets consisted of two parts—the first part was formed by myself from various sources, of which the most copious was an old bouquiniste of the name of Colin, who had been Marat's printer or publisher, and who had in some small, dark rooms, up two or three flights of stairs, an immense quantity of volumes of the earlier days of the Revolution. He had ten, twenty, fifty, of the same pamphlet, of each of which I would buy but one of course; but I bought, I should think, many thousands of others, of which he had but single copies" (Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries*, vol. iii. p. 318). Of the source of the second part of his collection, Mr. Croker, unfortunately, says nothing in this letter, or anywhere else in his correspondence. This most valuable collection was freely used by Louis Blanc in the composition of his history, but not by Carlyle. Mr. Froude, in his life of Carlyle, says, "In the British Museum lay concealed somewhere a 'collection of French pamphlets,' on the Revolution, the completest in the world, which, after six weeks' wrestle with officiality, Carlyle was obliged to find 'inaccessible' to him. Idle obstruction will put the most enduring of men now and then out of patience, and Carlyle was not enduring in such matters" (Froude's *Life of Thomas Carlyle*, vol. ii. p. 450). The truth is that Carlyle demanded a private room in the British Museum to work in, and that when such accommodation was naturally refused, he declined to make any use of the Museum collection, and contented himself with the books which he bought, and those which were lent to him by friends, like Mill. Many of the Museum pamphlets are still uncatalogued, but the freest access and the kindest assistance have always been given to me in the use of them by the authorities of the Museum Library, and especially by Mr.

Fortescue, the superintendent of the reading-room, who knows the collection better than any one else. This great collection has been used especially for Chapter I. of the present volume on the "Elections," which is based entirely upon it, but in subsequent chapters the contemporary journals have formed the groundwork of the story, though corrected and amplified by these pamphlets and by modern monographs.

The history of the French Revolution has gone through four distinct stages in France, which must be noticed successively, though the boundaries of the third and fourth stages cannot be distinctly defined. The first stage is that of contemporary histories. Though the various journals and pamphlets give the narrative of events at first hand, they were quickly followed up and made use of in regular histories. Of these the earliest in point of date is that of Rabaut de Saint Étienne, the Protestant pastor, and member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Convention, who wrote his "*Histoire de la Révolution française*" in 1792, in the happy conviction that the Revolution was all over, before it had reached the critical period in which he himself died on the guillotine. Of the numerous histories published under the Directory, the best known are those of the "*Deux Amis*" and of Lacretelle, of which Carlyle made copious use. But these writers lived too close to the time of which they wrote to be able to clear their minds of prejudices or to have knowledge of the documents which could alone unravel hidden intrigues.

The period of the Empire and the Restoration was the age of memoirs. Every one, who had played any part in the stirring times of the Revolution, wrote his memoirs, and many of these are naturally apologies rather than memoirs proper. From the memoirs published before he wrote Carlyle drew much of his material, and great use he made of it, but the time had not then arrived for the sifting of the statements of

the memoir writers by the light of documents. The most valuable of these memoirs were collected and republished by MM. Berville and Barrière in their great "*Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution française*," between 1821 and 1823, but many are now extremely rare and very difficult to procure. Though the epoch of memoirs ceased after the deaths of the contemporaries of the Revolution, many have since been published from the manuscripts they left, and others are published every year. The story of some of these memoirs is very curious, none more so than that of those of Larévellière-Lepaux, the Director, who left orders in his will that his memoirs were to be printed and published. His heirs were not proud of the part the Director had played, so, after complying with the terms of his will and printing the memoirs, they destroyed the whole issue at once, and the only copy extant is the one which, in accordance with the law of France, was sent to the "*Bibliothèque Nationale*" at Paris. Excerpts from unpublished memoirs are still being published every day by specialists and in the two magazines devoted to the history of the Revolution.

The epoch of memoirs was succeeded by the epoch of complete histories, of which the greatest are those of Mignet, Thiers, Louis Blanc, Quinet, and Michelet. Mignet's account, published in 1824, is to this day the most useful manual of the history of the Revolution, and from the clear insight of the great historian into the facts of which he treated, it is certain to retain its position. Mignet's fault was in being too terse, Thiers erred in the opposite direction. No one can deny the wonderful mastery of the art of weaving up a mass of details into an interesting shape which Thiers possessed, yet his history of the Revolution is marked by the blemishes which disfigure his far greater history of the Consulate and Empire. He is often inaccurate and often unfair, and allowed his own political

hopes and fears to influence his narrative. Louis Blanc's history is also of immense length, but it is marred by being written for a political purpose, and not to give a true account of facts. Quinet's history is both shorter and more brilliant than Louis Blanc's; but it is influenced in the same way by the author's political opinions. Of Michelet's history it can only be said that it is a work of genius, of genius of the most lofty character, but that it fails, as every history written by a Frenchman, who loves his country, is bound to fail, in trying to estimate the virtues and vices of his own ancestors. With Michelet's history may be classed Lamartine's rhapsodies, which exhibit indeed the genius of the poet, but not the careful industry of the historian. It has been said that no boundary could be drawn in this rough classification between the third and fourth stages, and so this is the place to mention the histories of Henri Martin and M. Taine.

Martin's history, which is a continuation of his great "*Histoire de France*," was written in his old age, and is without doubt the weakest thing he ever did; but M. Taine's volumes deserve a longer notice. For style, vigour, and power, they are unequalled; but the same remark must be made of him as of Michelet. He cannot do justice to all the actors engaged in that terrible crisis which is called the French Revolution, and it is not to be expected from him or from any Frenchman for at least a century. Only when the results of the Revolution cease to be burning political questions, and the names of its heroes cease to be flags, round which parties rally, can Frenchmen treat the history of their Revolution with dispassionate calmness. If it is difficult for an Englishman to maintain his impartiality in discussing those stirring times, how much more so must it be for a Frenchman? And a belief that an Englishman can by his nationality treat it more impartially than a Frenchman is an additional reason why this work has been written.

These were the various stages through which the history of the Revolution passed before the influence of Ranke and the German school made its way into France, and a new school of specialists arose, who, instead of writing elaborate general histories to prove their own theories, based their work upon the right appreciation of documents, and were content to treat departments of the subject alone. It is upon the labours of these specialists that the present work is founded. It is impossible to mention in this preface all the various books which have been consulted, and all which have supplied new facts have been quoted as authorities in the footnotes; but it is advisable to point out some of the departments in which the work of specialists has been particularly valuable, as it is in these departments of the subject that many of the new facts which will be found in this history have been diligently collected.

First and most important is the department of the provincial history of the Revolution. Local history is a subject which has attracted much attention in France during the last forty years, and the works upon it have reached a high standard of excellence. The local histories of more than forty years ago, though in many respects excellent, generally closed at 1789, or if they treated of the Revolution, treated it shortly, as a sort of conclusion to their books. Good examples of these older local histories are Victor Derode's "*Histoire de Lille*," Fabre's and Boudin's histories of Marseilles, Aldeguier's "*Histoire de Toulouse*," Giraudet's "*Histoire de Tours*," Poquet's "*Histoire de Château Thierry*," Pécheur's "*Histoire de Guise*," Dusevel's "*Histoire d'Amiens*," Melleville's histories of Laon and of Chauny, Bergevin and Dupré's "*Histoire de Blois*," Cayon's "*Histoire de Nancy*," Bourquelot's "*Histoire de Provins*," Ducrest and Villeneuve's "*Histoire de Rennes*," and Viaud and Fleury's "*Histoire de Rochefort*." In more modern local histories of

great, and even of small cities, more weight is laid upon the revolutionary period, and as they are compiled with more historical power than the older annalists displayed, their information is the more valuable. Of these more modern histories may be noted O'Reilly's "*Histoire de Bordeaux*," Carro's "*Histoire de Meaux et du pays Meldois*," Coët's "*Histoire de Roye*," Levot's "*Histoire de Brest*," Fouquet's "*Histoire de Rouen*," Hector de Rosny's "*Histoire du Boulonnais*," and Fauconneau-Dufresne's "*Histoire de Déols et de Châteauroux*." The concluding portions of these general local histories are both valuable in themselves, and still more so as leading the way to local histories of towns and districts during the period of the Revolution alone. To mention all of these would be impossible, but attention should be drawn to the more important among them. The earlier of these local specialist histories deserve a mention, though they are not so valuable as those produced during the last twenty years, since the improved knowledge of the Revolution has made its way into the provinces. Of the earlier histories the most notable are Du Chatellier's "*Histoire de Bretagne pendant la Révolution dans les Départements de l'ancienne Bretagne*," published in 1836, the works of Soullier and André on the Revolution at Avignon, Balleydier's and Morin's histories of Lyons during the revolutionary period, and Sommier's "*La Jura pendant la Révolution*." Among the innumerable modern histories the following, though but a few among many, deserve notice: the numerous works of F. C. Heitz and Francisque Mège on the Revolution at Strasbourg and in Lower Auvergne, Desmasures' "*Histoire de la Révolution dans le Département de l'Aisne*," Casteras' "*La Révolution dans le pays de Foix*," Lecesne's most valuable "*Histoire d'Arras pendant la Révolution*," Seinguerlet's "*Strasbourg pendant la Révolution*," Pothier's "*Roanne pendant la Révolution*,"

Véron Réville's "Département du Haut-Rhin," the Comte de Seilhac on the Bas-Limousin, Boivin Champeaux on the "Département de l'Eure," Lallié's "District de Machecoul," Babeau's "Troyes," Duval-Jouve's "Montpellier," Ramon's "Péronne," Darsy's "Amiens," Combe's "Castres pendant la Révolution," Bouvier's "Vosges," and Duval's "Archives révolutionnaires de la Creuse." This long string of names indicates the immense amount of work that has been done of recent years on the history of the Revolution in the provinces of France; but it by no means exhausts them. Histories of special periods, or even days, in the provinces abound, and, as instances, may be quoted at hazard Labot's "Cahiers, procès verbaux, etc., du Nivernois et Donzinois," and Chancel's "L'Angoumois en 1789," Bourcier's "Essai sur la Terreur en Anjou," and Durieux' "Une Alerte à Cambrai en 1791," Barbat de Bignicourt's "Les Massacres à Reims," and Victor Modeste's "Le Passage de Louis XVI. à Meaux au retour de Varennes le 24 Juin, 1791." In addition to these books and pamphlets must be noticed the innumerable articles on the history of the Revolution in the provinces published in the great reviews, the local magazines, and the bulletins of local archaeological and historical societies and academies. Among the former may be noted d'Ochsenfeld's "La Révolution à Colmar" in the *Revue de la Révolution* and Guibert's "Le parti Girondin dans la Haute-Vienne" in the *Revue Historique*, while it would be unfair to make mention of any articles in particular in the local magazines and bulletins. The extraordinary ability of many of these local productions is a further proof of the keen interest taken by provincial France in its local history. Where all are good it is impossible to single out a few without being partial; in all valuable contributions are made to the local history of the Revolution, but special mention may be made of the *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*,

the *Revue de l'Agenais*, the *Revue d'Alsace*, the *Revue de Gascogne*, and the *Revue de l'Anjou et de la Bretagne*, and, among societies, of the bulletins of the Société academique of Laon, of the Société historique et archæologique of Soissons, of the Société d'émulation de l'Ain, and in the "Archives historiques de Saintonge et de l'Aunis," issued by the Société academique of Saintes. This enumeration of only a few of the best sources of local history will by itself bear evidence to the attention the subject has received in France, and will show from what authorities I have compiled my account of the Revolution in the provinces, which, I believe, contains much that is new to English readers.

Next in importance, as bearing witness to the industry of specialists, is the subject of the biographies of the great personages of the Revolution. All the great leaders have had their biographers, who have generally been eulogists, and though, from this fact, the value of their books as historical works is minimized, yet from the labour spent upon them, and the documents contained in them, they make it possible to give the facts of the lives of these individuals more correctly than was possible to Thiers or Carlyle, and must necessarily throw a truer light upon their careers. The most important of these biographies, both in length and in intrinsic importance, is Hamel's "*Histoire de Robespierre*," a lengthy work, which partakes of the nature of an apology, and is eulogistic even for a biography, but which is full of valuable information. Less important, but worthy of mention, is the same author's "*Histoire de Saint Just*." The life of Danton has been treated by Bougeart, and more recently by Dr. Robinet, who has devoted many books to the examination of his life. M. Chèvre mont, who styles himself the "bibliographe de Marat," has spent more than twenty years in labouring upon the life of his hero, and until his numerous works were published it was

impossible to understand what was the real life and work of the most universally abused man of the whole revolutionary period. Without mentioning every biography which has been published of late years, special mention ought to be made of Vatel's "*Vergniaud*," Jean Reynaud's "*Vie et Correspondance de Merlin de Thionville*," the Comte de Pajol's "*Kléber*," Avenel's "*Anarchasis Clootz*," Victor Advielle's "*Babeuf*," Marc de Vissac's "*Romme le Montagnard*," Marcellin Boudet's "*Dulaure*," Bardoux' "*Montlosier*," and Colonel Iung's "*Histoire de Bonaparte*," which goes down to 1799, and the same author's very valuable "*Dubois-Crancé*." Before leaving this subject mention ought to be made of Von Arneth's publication of the letters of Marie Antoinette, both to her mother and her brothers Joseph and Leopold, which have entirely revealed the policy of the Queen, and of the regretted death of the Academician, Louis de Loménie, after the publication of the first two volumes of his great work "*Les Mirabeau*," from the style of which it may well be said that the greatest loss the history of the French Revolution has received for many years was the author's death before completing the life of the greatest statesman of the whole period.

A third department of special work, which deserves notice, is that of the relations between France and Europe during the revolutionary period, or what may be called the foreign policy of the Revolution. Until the publication, six months ago, of the first volume of M. Albert Sorel's masterly work "*L'Europe et la Révolution française*," which promises to be the most complete exposition of this subject from the French point of view, Bourgoing's "*Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe pendant la Révolution française*," and Masson's "*Histoire du département des affaires étrangères*," were the best French books on this subject. But in Germany much valuable

work had already been done, and M. Sorel would be the first to admit that without these German histories his own could never have been written. The most important of these works is without doubt Professor von Sybel's "Geschichte der Revolutionszeit," which is chiefly valuable from this point of view, and which has been translated into English by Dr. Perry. Of greater value, as containing a collection of the most important Austrian state papers, is Vivenot's "Quellen zur Geschichte der Deutscher Kaiserpolitik Oesterreichs während der französischen Revolutionskriege, 1790-1801," though not thrown into historical shape, and the same author's other works on the period, "Thugut, Clerfayt, und Wurmser," "Herzog Albrecht von Sachsen-Teschen, als Reichs-Feld-Marschall," and "Der Rastädter Congress." Other important German works on this period are Hermann Huffer's "Diplomatische Verhandlungen aus der Zeit der französischen Revolution," and Adolph Beer's "Joseph II., Leopold II., und Kaunitz," and his "Analecten zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit." Mention should also be made of Häusser's "Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs der Grossen bis zur Gründung des deutschen Bundes," and of the veteran Leopold von Ranke's "Ursprung und Beginn der Revolutionskriege," published in 1875. In this connection also a word should be said for Mr. Oscar Browning's valuable article, called "France and England in 1793," in the *Fortnightly Review* for February, 1883, and Mr. C. A. Fyffe's "History of Modern Europe," in which he has made use of the valuable despatches preserved in the Record Office.

It is not necessary to go through all the work which has been done by specialists of recent years. The most important departments have now been mentioned, but a few more books should be alluded to, if only to show the wide range over which work on the Revolution has been done in France.

First and foremost must be mentioned the publication of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly from the archives by MM. Mavidal and Laurent, at the expense of the French Government, under the title of "Archives Parlementaires," of which twenty volumes have at present been published containing the full debates and reports of the first eighteen months of its session, which necessarily supersede the accounts, hitherto relied upon by historians, published in the *Moniteur*, and in Buchez and Roux' "Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française." Even superior in interest to this colossal work is the "Tableaux de la Révolution française publiés sur les papiers inédits du département de la police secrète de Paris," by Adolph Schmidt, containing the reports of the spies of the police, on which he has based three volumes, called "Pariser Zustände, 1789-95." The history of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris has been discussed by M. Campardon and M. Henri Wallon, and the revolutionary courts in the provinces by M. Berriat de Saint Prix. The question of the reforms in education and public instruction has been discussed by MM. Célestin Hippeau, Albert Duruy, Victor Pierre, Albert Babeau, and the Abbé Maggiolo. The finances of the Revolution have been treated by M. René Stourm, society, both under the Revolution and the Directory, by the brothers De Goncourt, the theatre and the almanacks of the Revolution by M. Welschinger, the prisons by M. Dauban, art by M. Renouvier, the constitutional clergy by M. Sciout, and the émigrés by M. Forneron and by M. André Lebon. Minuter subjects even have had important works written upon them, as, for instance, the history of the famous battalion of Marseillais, who entered Paris before August 10, by MM. Pollio and Marcel.

But it is not so much in books that specialists in the history of the Revolution exhibit the results of their inquiries,

as in magazines and reviews. All the most important French magazines contain valuable articles every year upon the subject. In such work the *Revue des Deux Mondes* holds, of course, the pre-eminence, and only recently it had the honour of publishing M. Albert Sorel's important articles on Dumouriez. The *Revue historique*, *Revue critique*, *Revue des Questions historiques*, and *Contemporain* are not far behind it, and often contain valuable contributions on different revolutionary subjects. But naturally the two monthly magazines devoted solely to this history contain the most valuable articles of all, though they are edited from different standpoints. *La Révolution française* was started in July, 1880, to prepare the minds of the French people for the centenary of the Revolution in 1889, under the editorship of M. Auguste Dide and the management of a committee including the name of Henri Martin. It is written from a revolutionary point of view, its editor and contributors believe profoundly in the Revolution, and very much valuable work has been done by it, and very valuable articles published in it. The *Revue de la Révolution* was established to all appearances to combat the *Révolution française*. It is also published every month, under the editorship of MM. Charles d'Héricault and Gustave Bord, and is bitterly hostile to the Revolution. Yet the work it does in publishing documents is very great, and many most valuable documents and memoirs would probably never have seen the light but for its existence. It is not only, however, in the various monthly magazines, that articles appear upon the Revolution, but in three important Parisian newspapers a weekly article appears upon some subject connected with the history of the Revolution. In the *République française* a weekly article was some years ago started by Georges Avenel, whose place is now taken by M. Marcellin Pellet, the author of the "Curiosités révolution-

naires." A similar article is likewise published every week in the *République radicale* by M. Jean Bernard, and in the *Justice* by the brilliant writer who signs himself "Santonnax."

This rapid sketch of the special work lately done upon the Revolution in France will justify me, I hope, in undertaking a new history of the Revolution. But the fact that so much has been published which is unknown to English readers would not be sufficient excuse of itself, if I had not a yet stronger conviction that the history of this important period is imperfectly known in England. It is without doubt the most important period in modern history. Modern Europe is utterly different from the Europe of 1789, and the French Revolution marks the beginning of the change. Not only, however, are its results important, but its history is most dramatic. It is full of a living interest, as the history of a great people passing through a great crisis, and it is almost impossible to be impartial in treating it. I have tried consistently to treat the men, who played a part in it, as men, and neither to over-praise nor over-depreciate. It is hardly possible for a Frenchman, whose grandfather must have taken some part in it, to be impartial; it is possible for an Englishman to be so, and my hope is that in my endeavour not to write a partisan history I have not destroyed all the dramatic interest of the story. There is, however, a yet further reason. In the history of the great French Revolution, can be read great political lessons. It was not only a period of destruction, but a period of construction, and at a time when democracy is evidently going to have its say in English politics, it is useful to study the period of its development in France. Nearly every expedient, whether socialistic or purely democratic, which has been proposed of recent years for benefiting the condition of the people, was tried between 1789 and 1799, and, if history has any value at all, it is this period which ought to be examined

before any other, in order to learn the political lessons which it teaches.

Last of all, I must express a few words of thanks to all who have helped me in my work, and say that I hope the second volume, carrying the history down to the death of Robespierre, will be published in the summer, and the third volume, completing it down to the end of the Directory and the assumption of power by Bonaparte, next winter. To the third volume a complete index will be added. To my wife I owe my hearty thanks; and also to F. Clift, LL.D, as well as to my old schoolfellow, James Gay, of Thurning Hall, Norfolk, without whose aid this volume could not have been completed.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

LONDON, 1856.

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APPENDIX II.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, JUNE 17, 1789, TO SEPTEMBER 12, 1791.....

PLANS.

THE BASTILLE IN 1789.....

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APPENDIX I. **MINISTERS FROM 1783 TO SEPTEMBER, 1791.**

CONTROLLERS-GENERAL OF THE FINANCES.	MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.	MINISTERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.	MINISTERS FOR WAR.	MINISTERS FOR THE NAVY AND COLONIES.	KEEPPERS OF THE SEALS.
C. A. de Calonne, 1783—April 8, 1787. Mgr. E. C. Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, May 1, '87—Aug. 26, '88. Jacques Necker, Director-General, Aug. 26, '88—July 12, '89. E. Foulon de Doué, July 12—16, '89. Jacques Necker, Director-General, July 16, '89—Sept. 6, '90.	Comte de Vergennes, 1774—Feb. 1787. Comte de Montmorin, Feb. '87—July 12, '91.	Baron de Breteuil, 1783—1787. Laurent de Villedeuil, '87—July 12, '89.	Maréchal de Ségur, 1780—1787. Comte Loménie de Brienne, Sept. '87—Aug. '88. Comte de Puysségur, Aug. '88—July 12, '89.	Maréchal de Castries, 1780—Aug. 26, 1787. Comte de Montmorin (<i>ad interim</i>), Aug. 26—Dec. 24, '87. Comte de la Luzerne, Dec. 24, '87—July 12, '89.	Hue de Miromesnil, 1774—April 7, 1787. Lamoignon de Basseville, April 7, '87—Aug. 26, '88. François de Paule de Berentin, Aug. 26, '88—July 15, '89.
C. G. Lambert, Sept. 6—Oct. 19, '90.	Duc de la Vauguyon, July 12—16, '89. Comte de Montmorin, July 16, '89—Nov. 27, '91.	Baron de Breteuil, July 12—16, '89. Comte de Saint Priest, Aug. 3, '89—Aug. 9, '90.	Maréchal de Broglie, July 12—16, '89. Comte de Puysségur, July 16—Aug. 7, '89. Marquis de la Tour- du-Pin, Aug. 7, '89—Nov. '90.	A. de Laporte, July 12—16, '89. Comte de la Luzerne, July 16, '89—Oct. 24, '90.	Mgr. J. M. Champion du Clerc, Archbishop of Bordeaux, Aug. 8, '89—Nov. 21, '90.
A. de Valdec de Lessart, Dec. 4, '90—Jan. 26, '91. (<i>and ad interim</i>) Jan. 26—May 16, '91.		* MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR.	C. Duportail, Nov. 16, '90—Dec. 8, '91.	Comte de Claret de Fleurieu, Oct. 24, '90—May 16, '91.	M. L. F. Duport du Tertre, Nov. 21, '90—April 27, '91.
* MINISTER OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.		Comte de Saint Priest, Aug. 9, '90—Jan. 26, '91. A. de Valdec de Lessart, Jan. 26, '91—Nov. 29, '91.		Vice-Admiral Antoine de Thieuvard, May 16, '91—Sept. 18, '91.	MINISTER OF JUSTICE.
L. H. Turbé, May 16, '91—Mar. 23, '92.				A. de Valdec de Lessart (<i>ad interim</i>), Sept. 18—Oct. 20, '91.	M. L. F. Duport du Tertre, April 27, '91—Mar. 23, '92.

¹ The Breteuil ministry was only named on July 12, but the ministers had not time to come into office before the taking of the Bastille caused the immediate recall of Necker (see Chap. III. p. 91).
² The Ministry of the Household was changed to the Ministry of the Interior by a decree of August 7, 1790.
³ Ministries of Public Contributions and of Justice were created in place of the Controller-Generalship of the Finances and the Keepership of the Seals, by the decree of April 9, 1791, regulating the functions of the ministers.

APPENDIX II.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, JUNE 17, 1789, TO SEPTEMBER 12, 1791.

The presidents were elected by the absolute majority every fortnight, and
were eligible for re-election.

	Elected
1. Jean Sylvain Bailly	June 17, 1789
2. The Duc d'Orleans (refused to take office)	July 3 „
3. Mgr. Lefranc de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne	July 3 „
4. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt	July 20 „
5. Isaac Gui René Le Chapelier	Aug. 3 „
6. The Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre	Aug. 17 „
7. Mgr. de la Luzerne, Bishop of Langres	Aug. 31 „
8. The Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre (second time)	Sept. 14 „
9. Jean Joseph Mounier	Sept. 23 „
10. Emmanuel Marc Marie Fréteau de Saint Just	Oct. 12 „
11. Armand Gaston Camus	Oct. 23 „
12. Jacques Guillaume Thouret	Nov. 12 „
13. Mgr. de Boisgélin de Cucé, Archbishop of Aix	Nov. 23 „
14. Emmanuel Marc Marie Fréteau de Saint Just (second time)	Dec. 7 „
15. Jean Nicolas Desmeuniers	Dec. 22 „
16. François Xavier Marc Antoine de Montesquiou-Fézensac, Abbot of Beaulieu	Jan. 4, 1790
17. Gui Jean Baptiste Target	Jan. 18 „
18. Jean Xavier Bureaux de Fussy	Feb. 2 „
19. Mgr. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Bishop of Autun	Feb. 16 „
20. François Xavier Marc Antoine de Montesquiou-Fézensac, Abbot of Beaulieu (second time)	Feb. 23 „
21. Jean Paul Rabaut de Saint-Étienne	Mar. 13 „
22. The Baron de Menou	Mar. 28 „
23. The Marquis de Bonnay	April 12 „
24. The Comte de Virieu	April 27 „
25. Jean Louis Gouttes, curé of Argilliers	April 29 „

Presidents of the Constituent Assembly. 533

	Elected
26. Jacques Guillaume Thouret (second time)	May 10, 1790
27. Bon-Albert Briois, Chevalier de Beaumetz	May 27 "
28. Emmanuel Joseph Siéyès	June 8 "
29. Michel Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau	June 21 "
30. The Marquis de Bonnay (second time)	July 5 "
31. Jean Baptiste Treilhard	July 17 "
32. Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'André	Aug. 1 "
33. Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours	Aug. 16 "
34. The Baron de Jessé	Aug. 30 "
35. Jean Xavier Bureaux de Pusy (second time)	Sept. 12 "
36. Jean Louis Claude Emmery	Sept. 26 "
37. Philippe Antoine Merlin de Douai	Oct. 9 "
38. Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave	Oct. 25 "
39. Charles Antoine Chasset	Nov. 9 "
40. The Chevalier Alexandre Victor de Lameth	Nov. 20 "
41. Jerome Pétion de Villeneuve	Dec. 4 "
42. The Marquis de Bonnay (third time)	Dec. 20 "
43. Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'André (second time)	Dec. 22 "
44. Jean Louis Claude Emmery (second time)	Jan. 4, 1791
45. Henri Grégoire, curé of Embermesnil	Jan. 18 "
46. The Comte de Mirabeau	Jan. 31 "
47. Adrien Duport de Prélaville	Feb. 14 "
48. The Vicomte de Noailles	Feb. 26 "
49. The Marquis de Montesquiou-Fézensac	Mar. 14 "
50. François Denis Tronchet	Mar. 30 "
51. Charles Chabroud	April 9 "
52. Jean Rewbell	April 25 "
53. Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'André (third time)	May 9 "
54. Jean Xavier Bureaux de Pusy (third time)	May 25 "
55. Jean Dauchy	June 6 "
56. The Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais	June 18 "
57. The Comte Charles Malo François de Lameth	July 3 "
58. Joseph Defermon des Chapellières	July 19 "
59. The Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais (second time)	July 31 "
60. The Prince de Broglie	Aug. 14 "
61. Théodore Vernier	Aug. 29 "
62. Jacques Guillaume Thouret (third time)	Sept. 12 "

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BECCLES.

A Classified Catalogue OF WORKS IN GENERAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

91 AND 93 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, AND 32 HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY.

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